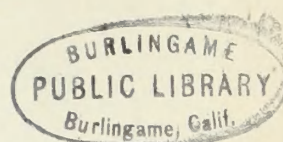


BURLINGAME
PUBLIC
LIB.

✓125023

THE *Nation*

America's Leading Liberal Weekly Since 1865



122896

INDEX TO VOLUME 173

JULY 7, 1951 to DECEMBER 29, 1951

The following letters are used to indicate the type of article:

- A Art
- C Correspondence
- Ct Cartoon
- D Drama
- E Editorial Article
- EP Editorial Paragraph
- M Music
- MP Moving Pictures
- P Poetry
- S Signed Article

Book reviews and reviewers are indexed separately in the Book Review Section.

Pages		
1-20	July 7	269-228 October 6
21-40	July 14	289-316 October 13
41-60	July 21	317-336 October 20
61-80	July 28	337-364 October 27
81-100	August 4	365-384 November 3
101-120	August 11	385-412 November 10
121-140	August 18	413-432 November 17
141-160	August 25	433-460 November 24
161-180	September 1	461-488 December 1
181-200	September 8	489-508 December 8
201-220	September 15	509-536 December 15
221-248	September 22	537-556 December 22
249-268	September 29	557-576 December 29

A

A. F. of L. See Labor—Union	
A. W. See Werth, A.	
Academic freedom	
American federation of teachers; attitude of. B. Mazen; C. with editorial comment	371
At Harvard university; EP	3
Landmark in honoring of W. H. Kilpatrick; EP	463
Mundel case, Fairmont state college, West Virginia; EP	250; see also C
New York city; extension of policy of excluding teachers suspected of advocating communism or fascism; EP	461
Suspension of Doctor Fordrung from Hunter college faculty; EP	3
See also Education	
Acheson, Secretary Dean G.	
Limitation of armaments proposal; EP	413
Acis and Galatea. B. H. Haggin; M	458
Adamic, Louis, American. C. McWilliams; S	230
Adenauer, Konrad. See Germany, Western	
Administration, Truman. See Truman, President Harry S.	
Administrative tribunal. See United nations	
Africa	
Colossus, emergent. B. Davidson; S	187
North; storm signals in. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S	512
South. See Union of South Africa	
Agents, foreign. See Foreign agents	
Agricultural workers. See Labor—Farm	
Agriculture: See Farming	
Aid, economic, for foreign countries. See Economic aid for foreign countries	
Aida. B. H. Haggin; M	554
Aikman, Duncan	
Smith, Senator Margaret Chase; S	207
Alinsky, Saul	
Tribute to J. B. Thompson; C	99; 200
see also C	200

Allen, Charles R., Jr.	
Prudential life insurance company strike; S	548
Reform in Philadelphia; S	351;
see also EP	413; C
Verdict in cases of six Trenton Negroes; S	52; see also C
Aluminum squeeze in the northwest. R. L. Neuberger; S	342
Alvarez del Vayo, Julio	
Disarmament and rearmament; debate in Paris; S	465
Deadlock in Paris; S	540
Europe; situation, present; S	144
Helsingör peace conference; S	210
"Marginal war" in Korea and elsewhere; S	8
North Africa; storm signals in; S	512
Peace through trade; meeting of the Economic and social council in Geneva; S	324
Peace treaty with Japan, echoes from San Francisco, issue of September 22	
Spain:	
Bases for dollars; S	63
Report on, from the border; S	273
United nations:	
Alignments in, new; S	492
Assembly, meeting in Paris; preview; S	388
Assembly meeting; S	416
Germany at the meeting; S	437
Amendment, fifth. See Constitution, United States	
American federation of labor. See Labor—Union	
American federation of teachers and academic freedom. B. Mazen; C. with editorial comment	371
Amortization, tax. See United States—Finances	
Anglo-Iranian oil company profits in 1950; EP	491
Ansari, M. I.	
Minority rights in India; C	200;
see also C	247
Apollo; ballet. B. H. Haggin; S	485
Arabs; refugee problem; plan for solution	563; see also EP
Argentina	
Economic and political deterioration; EP	1
Perón, Juan and Evita. H. L. Matthews; S	375
Arizona; dispute with California over water of Colorado river; EP	3
Armaments	
Acheson proposal for limitation; inacceptability of; EP	413
Deadlock in Paris. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S	541
Debate in Paris. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S	465
Disarmament; facts versus propaganda. L. H. Fuchs; S	500
See also United States—Defense, National	
Armstrong, George W.; buying of Piedmont college. H. E. Bowen; S	277
Around the United States; issues of October 20, October 27, November 3, November 10, November 17, November 24, December 8, December 22, December 29	
Arrests of British trying to enter Berlin, by Americans. E. Wulger; S	167
Art, reviews of. See Farber, M.	
Asia, see Pacific area; names of countries	
Assembly, freedom of. L. Engel; S	239
Assembly, United nations. See United nations	
Atom; constructive use of. L. Engel; S	526
Attorneys general; appointments to supreme court; E	184
Austin, Aleine	
Revolt against J. Ryan; S	473

Taft-Hartley act; harmful effect on labor; S	10; see also EP, 1; C
Austria; incident in; arrests, by Americans, of British trying to enter Berlin. R. Wulger; S	167
B	
Baller, Albert H.	
Slick mentality of America; C	536;
see also	392
Bailey, Gerald	
Quakers in Moscow; S	146
Ball, W. MacMahon	
Defense pact for the Pacific; S	66
Baptists, southern. W. Whitman; S	191;
see also correction	248
Barbirolli, John. B. H. Haggin; M	18
Barefoot in Athens. J. W. Krutch; D	430
Baseball; employment conditions aired; EP	103
Bastion of freedom: The fifth amendment. L. B. Boudin; S	258
Battle for free schools. See Education	
Battle, Representative Laurie C.; bill for severance of relations with communist nations. A. J. P. Taylor; S	186
Beals, Carleton	
Copper, Chile, and communism; S	302
Belfrage, Cedric	
Guilt of W. Oatis; C	459
Bell, Aaron	
Libel suit of <i>The Nation</i> against C. Greenberg and the <i>New Leader</i> ; C	19
Bendix, Reinhard	
Public's image of big business; S	521
Benne, Kenneth D.	
What's wrong with our schools? S	495
Berryton mills, Summerville, Georgia; strike; EP	1; see also 10; C
Betting on dog racing. See Oregon	
Beuve-Méry, Hubert; retention as editor of <i>Le Monde</i> . A. Werth; S	569
Bevan, Aneurin; pamphlet, with others, on British-American relations; EP	41
See also Great Britain—Politics	
Birth control. See Censorship	
Blanshard, Paul H.	
Replies to, by Father Dunne. J. Stocker; S	236
Block, Irvin, and W. Kraft	
Committee of writers for peace; C	100;
see also issue of May 26	
Bloom, Hannah	
"Haves," the forgotten; Fifield manor, Los Angeles; S	130
Hollywood hearings on communism; S	304
Lawyers, Los Angeles, lose practices for defending civil rights; S, issue of December 29	
Blum, Eleanor	
Misleading book jackets; C	120
Boccherini, Luigi. B. H. Haggin; M	198
Bolivia	
Conditions in, and negotiations for tin by the Reconstruction finance corporation; EP	339, 340
Tin, market for; EP	511, 512
Bond, Horace, and M. Poner	
Jim Crowism in schools; S	446
Bonneville-Grand Coulee power lines; dispute over; EP	183
Books	
Censorship, screening of public-school textbooks in Indiana; EP	511
Jackets, misleading. E. Blum; C	120
Paper. H. Swados; S	114, 134
Publishers; problems in Great Britain. V. Brome; S	475
Born yesterday, film; award questioned; EP	61
Boss of Nassau county, J. R. Sprague. J. Munves; S	128

	PAGE		PAGE		PAGE
Boston; reform in. J. P. Mallan; S.....	350;	Chicago; "reform." W. A. J.; S, issue of		In Hollywood, EP.....	222;
see also EP.....	413; also correction.....	December 22.....		add, see also EP.....	367; C.....
Boudin, Leonard B.....		Children's emergency fund, United nations	9	Membership in, must be proved; reversal	384
Fifth amendment: Bastion of freedom;		international; American contributions.....		of Remington conviction; E.....	164
S.....	258	Chile; copper and communism in. C. Beals;	302	No reds in Mill valley, California. C. Mc-	
Bowen, H. E.....		S.....		Williams; S.....	12
Buying of Piedmont college by G. W.		China, nationalist; recall of officers from	251	Confederate states flag in vogue; EP.....	182
Armstrong; S.....	277	Washington; revelations of grafting; E.....		Conference of American small business orga-	
Bowles, Chester B.; appointment as ambassa-		China lobby; proposed investigation of;	41	nizations, and Mrs. Crain. F. McLaughlin;	
dor to India; EP.....	221	EP.....		C..... 59 (comment on letter in issue of	
Boyle, Kay.....		Church, Roman catholic. See Roman catholic		June 30).....	
Hans Jahn fights rearmament; S.....	519	church.....		Congo, Belgian; exploitation of; EP.....	539
Brameld, Theodore; editor of articles on		Church and state.....		Congress; investigations by; extravagances;	
fever spots in American education.....	344	Case of use of public funds for sectarian		EP.....	162
Four-point agenda for education; S.....	523;	hospital in Washington, District of Colum-	61	Investigating committees' abuse of power;	
see also C.....	576	bia; EP.....		EP.....	537
Bright victory. M. Farber; MP.....	118	Down the road to Rome. G. B. Oxnam;	368	Congress of industrial organizations conven-	
British trying to enter Berlin arrested by		S.....		tion, New York, action taken; EP.....	414
Americans. E. Wuliger; S.....	167	Nuns forbidden to wear religious garb	289	Congress of racial equality; letter asking for	
Brokaw, Amos; sentenced for violation of		in public schools of New Mexico; may		aid. C. F. Urie; C.....	412
draft act. E. Toohy; S, issue of October 20		teach there; EP.....		Conscientious objectors.....	
Brome, Vincent.....		Public or parochial high school in Minne-	68	Fellowship of reconciliation, prosecution	
Problems of book publishers in Great		sota. D. Bruner; S.....	288	of. E. Toohy; S, issue of October 20	
Britain; S.....	475	Subpoenaed clergyman. P. Strong; C.....		In double jeopardy. H. S. Eaton; C.....	80;
Brown, Herman; power in Texas. H. Stil-		See also Education; Ireland.....		corrected letter.....	316
well; S.....	398	Churchill, Winston S.....		Prisoners of conscience. L. Tatum; C.....	39
Broyles bill, Illinois; veto; EP.....	1	And Adenauer, on visit of latter to London.	543	Constitution, United States; fifth amendment:	
Bruner, Dick.....		D. Low; C.....	542	Bastion of freedom. L. B. Boudin; S.....	258
Church and state; question of parochial		Coming visit to Washington. A. Roth; S.....	417	Construction certificates of necessity and tax	
school in Minnesota; S.....	68	"Last great prize," peace talks with Stalin.	293	amortization; EP.....	339
Bugbee, Helen.....		A. Roth; S.....		Cope, R. K.....	
On "Why they cheat," by H. Stilwell;		Over France. A. W.; S.....		Racist caldron in South Africa; S.....	32
C..... 200; see also.....	133	See also Great Britain—Politics.....		Coppard, A. E., and others.....	
Bureau of internal revenue. See Internal		Cicero, Illinois, riot. See Negroes.....		On Collier's World War III; C.....	498
revenue bureau.....		Citizenship, United States, for former nazis	271	Copper and communism in Chile. C. Beals;	
Burkhart, J. Austin.....		and fascists; EP.....		S.....	302
Big business and the schools; S.....	400	Civil rights.....		Corporations; "democracy"; fight of R. R.	
Business, United States. See United States—		Broyles bill, Illinois; veto of; EP.....	1	Young against control of the Missouri	
Economics.....		California; lawyers lose practices for de-		Pacific; EP.....	511
		fense. H. Bloom; S, issue of December 29		See also United States—Finances.....	
		Denial of passport to C. Lamont; EP.....	338	Corruption in the government; causes and	
		Garner case in Los Angeles; supreme court	99	investigation; E.....	539
		sidestep. C. B. Collins; C.....		Counterattack articles on radio and television;	
		Civilian defense, office of, New York; loyalty	490	Sponsor praised for criticism of articles;	463
		oath for the press; EP.....		E.....	
		Civilization's cross. P. V. Richards; C.....	99	Countryman, Vern.....	
		Clarendon county segregation case. See		Freedom of speech; S..... 50; see also.....	29
		Negroes.....		Courts, United States. See Judges; United	
		Clark, General Mark W.; appointment as	337	States supreme court.....	
		ambassador to the vatican; EP.....		Crain, Mrs., and the Conference of American	
		Down the road to Rome. G. B. Oxnam;	368	small business organizations. F. McLaughlin;	
		S.....		C.....	59
		Clergyman, a subpoenaed. P. Strong; C.....	288	(comment on letter in issue of June 30)	
		Collectors of internal revenue. See Internal		Credit control. See United States—Eco-	
		revenue bureau.....		nomics.....	
		Colleges. See Education; also names of		Crime.....	
		colleges.....		Detection of; refinement in technique;	163
		Collier's.....		EP.....	
		Preview of war with Soviet Russia;	385;	Investigation; connection of law-breakers	
		EP..... 388; EP.....		with business and politics. H. H. Wilson;	
		see also 392; C 535; C 536; EP.....	557	S..... 45; see also C..... 100, 140,	160
		Postscript to World War III; letters to	498	Less corruption abroad. W. Levinger;	
		<i>The Nation</i>		C..... 100; see also.....	45
		World War III issue; Europe says no.	468	Crossword puzzles, by F. W. Lewis. See	
		A. Werth; S.....		back pages of <i>The Nation</i>	
		Collins, Charles B.....		Cullen, Hugh Roy; interest in Liberty radio	
		Garner civil rights case in Los Angeles;	99	network. P. Huserli; S.....	370
		supreme court sidestep; C.....		Cynics and feeble good men. H. H. Wilson;	438
		Colorado; Waring, liberal editor. R. L. Per-	90	S.....	
		kin; S.....		Czechoslovakia; Oatis trial; analysis and	
		Colorado river; Arizona-California dispute	3	summary. J. L. Fly; S.....	280
		over water; EP.....			
		Colorado, university of; loyalty cases of	62		
		Goodman and Hawkins, and others; EP.....			
		Columbia River basin, power; controversy	183		
		over, California and the northwest; EP.....			
		Commission on internal security and individual	386		
		rights; resignations from, acceptance; EP.....			
		Committee of writers for peace. W. Kraft and	26		
		I. Block; C..... 100; see also issue of May			
		Communism.....			
		And copper, in Chile. C. Beals; S.....	302		
		Infiltration of United nations secretariat,	489		
		according to the <i>Saturday Evening Post</i> ;			
		EP.....			
		Label for literature advocated by Montclair	201		
		S. A. R.; EP.....			
		Spread of, and economic aid for foreign	3		
		countries; EP.....			
		Swiss try a communist. E. Josephson; S.....	544		
		Communist countries; Battle bill for severance	186		
		of relations with. A. J. P. Taylor; S.....			
		Communist party.....			
		Bail for alleged members in Hawaii; attempt	202		
		to disqualify Judge Metzger; E.....			
		Barring from Ohio State university.....	394;		
		see also EP.....	339		
		California; defense of civil rights causes			
		loss of law practices. H. Bloom; S, issue	384		
		of December 29.....			
		Charges of membership; effect on earnings;			
		EP..... 222; see also EP..... 367; C.....			
		Conviction of leaders' attorneys; supreme	415		
		court to reconsider refusal to review case.			
		H. Fowler; S..... 396; correction.....			
		Evidence of membership in; reversal of	164		
		Remington conviction; E.....			
		Hollywood hearings on membership. H.	304		
		Bloom; S.....			

PAGE		PAGE		PAGE
Dog racing. See Oregon		F		
Don Juan in hell. J. W. Krutch; D.....	553	F. B. I. See Federal bureau of investigation		
Double-jeopardy claim in Brokaw case. E.		Fabiola. M. Farber; MP.....	177	
Toohy; S, issue of October 20		Fairmont state college, West Virginia; issue		
Douglas, Senator Paul H.; on deductions		of academic freedom; EP.....	250;	
from corporation taxable income; suggestion		see also C.....	363	
for limitation; EP.....	291	Falls Church, Virginia; school issue in;		
Versus Truman, in judiciary conflict. E.		EP.....	338; see also.....	344
Gertz; S.....	86	Families, low-income, report on; E.....	223	
Draft, military. See Universal military train-		Farber, Manny		
ing		Hitchcock, A., motion picture director;		
Drama, the. See C. H.; Hall, C., Krutch, J.		S.....	77	
W.; M. M., for reviews		Reviews of art:		
DuBois, Doctor W. E. B.; acquitted of charge		Ensor, William.....	382	
of violating foreign agents registration act;		Pousette-Dart, Richard.....	313	
EP.....	462	Rivers, Larry.....	313	
Dunne, Father George H.; A study in faith;		Weiss, Hugh.....	382	
S.....	236	Whitney museum show.....	555	
Dworan, Sid B.		Reviews of motion pictures:		
Longshoremen's strike; S, issue of Novem-		Bright victory.....	118	
ber 3		Detective story.....	457	
E		Fabiola.....	177	
East, middle. See Middle east		Force of arms.....	177, 218	
East, near. See Near east		Frogmen, the.....	37	
Eaton, Helen S.		He ran all the way.....	37	
Conscientious objector in double jeopardy;		People will talk.....	267	
C.....	80; corrected letter.....	Red badge of courage, the.....	409	
316		Saturday's hero.....	267	
Economic aid for foreign countries		Strangers on a train.....	77	
And the spread of communism; EP.....	2	Streetcar called desire.....	334	
Marshall plan benefits owners of industries,		Take care of my little girl.....	118	
not workers; EP.....	385	That's my boy.....	177	
Economic and social council. See United		Tony draws a horse.....	177	
nations		Well, the.....	118	
Education		Women without names.....	177	
Agenda, four-point, for education. T.		Farming		
Brameld; S.....	523; see also C.....	Farm bureau; breakaway of American		
Battle for free schools.....	344, 371, 400,	federation of labor; EP.....	121	
423, 446, 470, 495, 523; C.....	576	Labor. See Labor		
See also specific headings under Education		Landless, risings of the. L. Nelson; S,		
Big business and the schools. J. A. Burk-		issue of December 8.....	546	
hart; S.....	400	Fascism in Miami. S. Kennedy; S.....	546	
Church and state; inroads on the public		Fascists, former; United States citizenship		
schools, attempted, by organized religion.		for; EP.....	271	
J. Nathanson; S.....	423	Federal bureau of investigation; failure to		
Conformity inculcated in schools. J. Gard-		disclose questionable governmental activi-		
ner; C.....	460; see also.....	ties; EP.....	509	
371;		May investigate corrupt federal officials;		
C (with editorial comment).....	536	EP.....	559	
Decline in number of teachers; deterioration		Fellowship of reconciliation; prosecution of.		
of schools; EP.....	23	E. Toohy; S, issue of October 20.....	4	
Discrimination against minorities, in schools.		Field, Harold C.; leaves <i>The Nation</i> ; EP.....	130	
H. Bond and M. Puner; S.....	446	Fifth amendment. See Constitution, U.S.		
Examinations, cheating in. H. Stillwell;		Films. See Motion pictures		
S.....	133;	Flag, Confederate states, in vogue; EP.....	182	
see also C.....	200; EP.....	Fleming, D. F.		
462		On <i>Collier's</i> forecast of World War III;		
Fever spots in American education. M.		S.....	392;	
Mitchell; S.....	344;	see also 338; EP.....	385; C.....	536
see also EP.....	399; C.....	Florida		
412; C.....	535	Disenfranchising of Negroes; new way;		
Free schools; cost of, in money. F. C.		EP.....	509	
McLaughlin; S.....	471	Fascism in Miami. S. Kennedy; S.....	546	
Jim Crowism in schools. See Negroes		Ku klux klan activity; EP.....	81	
New Mexico. See New Mexico		Refusal to open college doors to all students;		
New York city; fight against censorship		EP.....	269	
of use of school buildings by "sub-		Shootings of two Negroes. See Negroes		
versive" organizations; EP.....	512	Fly, James Lawrence		
Pawtucket, Rhode Island, teachers win		Innocence of W. Oatis; C.....	459	
strike; EP.....	183	Oatis trial; analysis and summary; S.....	280	
Roman catholic church and schools; EP.....	289	Football scandal at William and Mary, and		
School grades and examinations; value of.		resignation of president Pomfret; EP.....	366	
G. Whaples; C.....	247; see also.....	Force of arms. M. Farber; MP.....	177, 218	
133		Fordrump, William J.; suspension from		
Screening of textbooks in Indiana; EP.....	511	faculty of Hunter college; EP.....	3	
Segregation of Negroes. See Negroes		Foreign agents registration act; Dr. DuBois		
Swan case, Los Angeles, EP.....	290;	acquitted of violation charge; EP.....	462	
see also EP.....	367	Foreign countries, economic aid for. See		
Teachers and the "thing." G. Watson;		Economic aid for foreign countries		
S.....	371;	Forsey, Eugene		
see also C.....	460;	On article on Quebec by H. Montcalm;		
536		C.....	576; see also.....	324
What's wrong with our schools? K. D.		Fowler, Harper		
Behne; S.....	495	Supreme court reconsiders case of com-		
See also Academic freedom		munist leaders' attorneys; S.....	396;	
Egypt		correction of name of author.....	415	
And Israel; issues between. L. Shultz;		France		
S.....	204	Beuve-Méry, H.; retention as editor of		
Issue with Great Britain over the control of		<i>Le Monde</i> . A. Werth; S.....	569	
the Suez Canal; issue behind the issue.		Days of destiny. A. Werth; S.....	348	
F. Kirchwey; S.....	618	Economics:		
Ehrlich, Harold B.		Why workers vote communist. A. Werth;		
On "Our racket" society," by R. S. Lynd;		S.....	232	
C.....	384; see also.....	Finance:		
150		Drastic action to meet emergency; EP.....	433	
Eisenhower, General Dwight D.; advancement		Foreign policy		
of Presidential candidacy; E.....	292	Rapprochement of France and Great		
On possibility of World War III. A. W.;		Britain. A. W.; S.....	293	
S.....	389	Labor:		
Elections; expenditures in, and corruption in		Catholic workers' demands worry the		
government; E.....	539	vatican; EP.....	270	
Results; victories for reform; EP.....	413;	Politics:		
see also.....	350	Pleven, insecurity of; EP.....	386	
Electric power. See Water power		Rejection of neutralism. A. Werth; S.....	5	
Emerson, Thomas L.		Why workers vote communist. A. Werth;		
Libel suit of <i>The Nation</i> against C. Green-		S.....	232	
berg and <i>The New Leader</i> ; C.....	19	State aid for catholic schools; EP.....	289	
Engel, Leonard				
Atom; constructive use of; S.....	526			
Chemists' convention; S.....	239			
England. See Great Britain				
Ensor, William. M. Farber; A.....	382			
Ethics in government; movement for im-				
provement. H. H. Wilson; S.....	438			
Examinations, school. See Education				

PAGE		PAGE		PAGE
Franco, Francisco. See Spain		G		
Freedom		Gambling		
Academic. See Academic freedom; Education		Illinois legislators and gambling; EP.....	181	
Bastion of: The fifth amendment. L. B.		Oregon dog racing. R. L. Neuberger;	181	
Boudin; S.....	258	S.....	189; EP.....	181
In peril. M. C. Smith; S.....	13	Gardner, John		
Of assembly. L. Engel; S.....	239	Conformity inculcated in schools; C.....	460;	
Of speech; decisions by United States		see also.....	371	
supreme court. N. Dembitz; S.....	29;	Garland, Joseph E.		
see also.....	50	Massachusetts prosecutions on sedition		
Of the press. See Newspapers		charges; S, issue of November 22		
Fritchman, Stephen H.; a subpoenaed clergy-		Garner civil rights case in Los Angeles;		
man. P. Strong; C.....	288	supreme court sidestep. C. B. Collins; C.....	99	
Frogmen, the. M. Farber; MP.....	37	Garrel		
Fry, Wayne C.		Cartoon:		
Battle for free schools; C.....	535;	Neo-nazism in Germany.....	127	
see also.....	344	Gas, natural; Texas law for taxation of gas		
Fuchs, Lawrence H.		pumped into pipe lines; E.....	5	
Disarmament: Facts versus propaganda;		Gayn, Mark		
S.....	500	Boom in the Ruhr; S.....	171	
Fulbright, J. W.		Germany; neo-nazism; S.....	125	
On investigation of crime; C.....	140;	Germany; rearmament; S.....	153	
see also.....	45	General motors corporation; economic tyranny.		
		T. K. Quinn; S.....	72	
		Georgia; electoral system; test of county		
		unit method of electing governors; Negro		
		disenfranchisement; EP.....	161	
		Germany		
		At the assembly meeting in Paris. J. Alvarez		
		del Vayo; S.....	436	
		Divided. J. P. Warburg and P. E. Mosely;		
		letters.....	180; see also book review.....	95
		Issue, the. F. Kirchwey; S.....	225	
		Jews; move for restitution; EP.....	365	
		Neo-nazism. M. Gayn; S.....	125	
		Former Nazis in high posts in West		
		Germany's foreign office; EP.....	269	
		Labor service units in uniform; EP.....	538	
		Peace treaty with; after Japan — Germany.		
		F. Kuh; S.....	225	
		Rearmament:		
		Debate in Germany. M. Gayn; S.....	152	
		Fight against, by H. Jahn, K. Boyle;		
		S.....	519	
		Plans for. Scrutiner; S.....	48	
		Valhalla rebuilt. Carolus; S.....	449	
		Unification:		
		Discussion between east and west sec-		
		tions; EP.....	269	
		Western:		
		Adenauer visit to London. A. Werth; S.....	517	
		Adenauer visit to London. D. Low; Ct.....	543	
		Ruhr; boom in. M. Gayn; S.....	170	
		Gertz, Elmer		
		Truman versus Douglas in judiciary con-		
		flict; S.....	86	
		Gigi, J. W. Krutch; D.....	530	
		Glad tidings. C. H.; D.....	361	
		Goodby to 1951. F. Kirchwey; S.....	559	
		Goodman, Irving. See Colorado, university of		
		Government, United States. See United States		
		Grades in school. See Education		
		Grange; breakaway of American federation		
		of labor; EP.....	121	
		Great Britain		
		And Egypt. See Egypt		
		And the United States. See Great Britain —		
		Foreign policy		
		Book publishing. See Books		
		Economics:		
		Austerity, greater, prescribed by new		
		tory government; EP.....	413	
		Crisis, coming. K. Hutchison; S.....	300	
		Point of no return. K. Hutchison; S.....	466	
		Wages and profits; traffic irregularity.		
		D. Low; Ct.....	73	
		Foreign policy:		
		And the United States; "One way out,"		
		pamphlet by Bevan and others; EP.....	41	
		Churchill's coming visit to Washington;		
		subjects to be discussed. A. Roth; S.....	540	
		Tension between the two countries. A.		
		Roth; S.....	493	

	FACE
Rapprochement of Great Britain and France. A. W.; S	293
Severance of relations with Soviet Russia; the Battle bill. A. J. P. Taylor; S	186
Iran, dispute with. See Iran	
Labor:	
Trade union congress meeting; proceedings; strength of Bevan; EP	201
Politics:	
Bevan pamphlet calling for changes; policy on Franco; E	82
Bevan strength shown at Trade union congress meeting; EP	201
Campaign. H. Smith; S	319
Conservative victory; return of Churchill. K. Hutchison; S	367
Elections; thoughts on. S. Spender; S	393
Labor party; Trade union congress; position of Bevan; EP	201
Labor party dissension at Scarborough; EP	289
Problems involved in change of government. K. Hutchison; S	466
Rearmament the undebated issue. K. Hutchison; S	322
Result of the election; effect in France. W. W.; S	293
Tory victory? K. Hutchison; S	252
Rearmament the undebated issue in the election campaign. K. Hutchison; S	322
Restrictions on travel by government. R. Wuliger; S	167
Greece	
Exiles, political. N. Katakalon; C	200
Papagos assumes power; EP	181
Papagos, emergence of. C. Poulos; S	253
Greenberg, Clement; libel suit against, by <i>The Nation</i> ; letters	19-20
Greyhound company and segregation. C. F. Urie; C	412
Guerin, Daniel	
Exclusion from the United States under the McCarran act; C	180
H	
Haggin, B. H.	
Articles on music:	
Acis and Galatea	458
Aida	554
Barbirolli, J.	18
Boccherini, L.	198
Hanslick, E.	199, 219
Haydn quartets, by A. Schneider	485
Meistersinger, die	410
Rigoletto	410
Royal festival hall, London	18
Toscanini, A.	458
Wagner as conductor	219
Reviews of musical plays:	
Music in the air	485
Top banana	485
Articles on the dance:	
Apollo	485
New York city ballet company	98, 410, 574
Till Eulenspiegel, and others	383
Reviews of recorded music	18, 38, 58, 79, 98, 119, 139, 158, 178, 287, 314, 335, 361, 383, 410, 458, 507, 531, 554
See also Book Review Section of the Index	
Hall, Chadwick	
Two on the aisle; D	78
Halley, Rudolph; victor at polls in New York; EP	413
Haman, Sidney	
Racial intolerance in Hardin county, Illinois; S, issue of November 10	
Hamid, M.	
A Moslem's views on India; C	247;
see also	200
Hammer, Jacob D.	
Gambling in Portland, Oregon; C	248;
see also	189
Hanslick, Eduard. B. H. Haggin; M.	199, 219
Hardin county, Illinois; intolerance in. S. Haman; S, issue of November 10	
Harper, Fowler	
Author of article, "The supreme court reconsiders" (page 396), not "Harper Fowler"; correction	415
Record of J. H. McGrath; S	441
Harvard university; academic freedom in; EP	3
Hassim, Hashim M.	
Ill-treatment on entering the United States; C	268
Hasty heart, the. J. W. Krutch; D	574
Hatred, race; spreading by Mosely. H. E. Bowen; S	277
Hawaiian islands	
Strike of pineapple workers; EP	249
Territorial employees' loyalty program; EP	21
Hawkins, David. See Colorado, university of	
Haydn quartets, by A. Schneider. B. H. Haggin; M	485
He ran all the way. M. Farber; MP	37
Hearst, William Randolph; death; E	143
Editorial on, from <i>The Nation</i> of May 5, 1898; issue of August 25, 1951	

Helsingör peace conference. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S	210
History, American, reinterpretation of; revaluation of industrialists. V. S. Yarros; C	384
Hitchcock, Alfred, motion-picture director. M. Farber; S	77
Hollywood, California. See Motion pictures	
Hoover, Herbert; silence on former governmental scandals. G. H. Horne; C	248
See also C	364
Hospital, sectarian. See Church and state	
Hunter college; suspension of Doctor Ford-rung from faculty; EP	3
Husserl, Paul	
Liberty radio network, and Cullen interest in; S	370
Hutchison, Keith	
Coming crisis in Great Britain; S	30
Conservative victory in Great Britain; return of Churchill; S	367
Economics, British; point of no return; S	466
Kuwait's income from oil; S	549
Rearmament the undebated issue in British election campaign; S	322
Tory victory in Britain? S	253
Hydro-electric power. See Water power	
I	
I. P. R. See Institute of Pacific relations	
I am a camera. J. W. Krutch; D	554
Illinois	
Broyles bill; veto of; EP	1
Hardin county, intolerance in. S. Haman; S, issue of November 10	
Legislators and gambling; EP	181
Immigrant labor. See Labor—Migrant	
Immigration	
Ill-treatment of immigrants. H. M. Hassim; C	268
McCarran omnibus bill; E	42
Working of; exclusion of D. Guerin; C	180
Income tax. See United States—Finances	
India	
Independence. F. Kirchwey; S	272
Minority rights in. M. I. Ansari; C	200
See also C	247
Press gag, proposed. J. Lyon; S	279
Indiana; screening of public-school textbooks; EP	51
Indians, American; right to choose own attorneys to be denied; EP	291
See also C, with editorial comment.	535
Indo-China	
Asia's "hot corner"	184
Importance of; E	184
Indonesia; youngest republic. D. Woodman; S	261
Industrialists, revaluation of, and reinterpretation of American history. V. S. Yarros; C	384
Inflation. See United States—Economics	
Institute of Pacific relations; defense of. K. P. Karunakran; C	459
Investigation of investigation proposed; EP	317
Internal revenue bureau; charges against collectors and other employees and officials; E	341
EP	509
International longshoremen's association; revolt against J. Ryan. A. Austin; S	47
International relations, Zagreb congress on. P. E. Mosely; S	391
Investigations by congress. See Congress	
Iran	
Anglo-Iranian oil company profits in 1950; EP	491
British bungling of oil negotiations; EP	317
British withdrawal of technical staff from Abadan; EP	291
Controversy with Great Britain; EP	182
Proposed solutions; return of Premier Mosaddegh; EP	463
Revolution, unrecognized. A. Roth; S	112
Suspension of talks with Great Britain; EP	182
Ireland; church and state in. W. B. Simon; C	60
(comment on article in issue of June 23)	
Israel	
And Egypt; issues between. L. Shultz; S	204
Election. J. L. Teller; S	83
Italy; Catholic workers' demands worry the vatican; EP	105
	270
J	
Jack, Homer A.	
Riots in Cicero, Illinois; S	64
Jaffe, Sam A.	
Marine corps reserves in Korean war; S	567
Jahn, Hans, fights German rearmament. K. Boyle; S	519
Japan	
And the United States; feelings in Japan. Tokyo correspondent; S	100

Democracy questioned. H. H. Smythe; S.....	168
Future of; Japan as Judah. K. Kano; S.....	213
Madness in, in 1941. D. T. Ray; C.....	535;
see also.....	392
Peace treaty. O. Lattimore; S.....	88; E.....
After Japan—Germany. F. Kuh; S.....	225; see also C.....
Beyond San Francisco. F. Kirchwey; S.....	203
Controversy over; EP.....	221
Weaknesses. F. Kirchwey; S.....	164
Remilitarization; EP.....	539
Jarrell, Randall.....	
A war; P.....	242
Jeopardy, double. See Double jeopardy	
Jews.....	
Attacks on, in Miami, Florida. S. Kennedy; S.....	546
German; move for restitution; EP.....	365
Jim Crowism. See Negroes	
Johnson, Bruce, and J. Lomenick.....	
Loyalty oath in Oklahoma; S.....	106
Jones, Brownie Lee.....	
Election frauds in Princess Anne county, Virginia; S.....	173
Jones, Harold D.....	
Academic freedom at Fairmont state college; West Virginia; C.....	363; see also EP.....
Josephson, Eric.....	
Switzerland, neutrality of; S.....	544
Journalism. See Newspapers	
Judges.....	
Coercion of; case of D. E. Metzger; E.....	202
Continuance of Metzger in office; EP.....	558
Federal; Truman versus Senator Douglas. E. Gertz; S.....	86
Justice department officials; questionable activities; EP.....	341; EP.....
509	
K	
Kano, Kizo.....	
Japan as Judah; S.....	213
Karunakran, K. P.....	
Defense of I. P. R.; C.....	459
Kashmir; hope for; E.....	415
Katakalon, Nicholas.....	
Greek political exiles; C.....	200
Kefauver, Estes.....	
On investigation of crime by his committee; C.....	140; see also.....
45; C.....	100
Kemp, Arthur.....	
In defense of H. Hoover; C.....	364;
see also C.....	248
Kennedy, Stetson.....	
Fascism in Miami; S.....	546
Shooting of two Florida Negroes by sheriff; S.....	444; see also EP.....
433	
Keyes, Donald F.....	
Film, Home town story, on labor-management relations; C.....	384
Keyes, Scott.....	
Pechan loyalty-oath bill, Pennsylvania; S.....	234
Kilpatrick, Doctor William Heard; honored on eightieth birthday; EP.....	462
Kirchwey, Freda.....	
Egypt; issue behind Suez canal; S.....	318
Germany, the issue; S.....	224
Goodby to 1951; S.....	359
India, independence; S.....	272
Japan; peace treaty; S.....	164; S.....
203	
Signs of possible agreement on truce in Korea; S.....	435
United States and Russia; American policy; S.....	122
Korea, war in.....	
Facts, new; Willoughby expose of MacArthur. I. F. Stone; S.....	514
Plans, "secret," for ending war; EP.....	337
Plea by a Korean. Sonamu; C.....	39
"Psychological warfare" against the Chinese; EP.....	491
Round won by United States. O. Lattimore; S.....	44
Talk against concessions; EP.....	141
Truce talks.....	
Confusion over; EP.....	489
Crisis surmounted; EP.....	102
Disagreements; EP.....	81
Line of truce, negotiations over; EP.....	337
Malik move for peace. D. Low; Ct.....	26
Near agreement on armistice line; EP.....	365
Negotiations; foothold on peace; E.....	4
Negotiations; United nations looks beyond Korea; E.....	25
Proposal. Scrutineer; S.....	6
Resumption; EP.....	289
Signs of possible agreement. F. Kirchwey; S.....	435
Marine corps reserves in the war. S. A. Jaffe; S.....	567
Kraft, W. and I. Block.....	
Committee of writers for peace; C.....	100;
see also issue of May 26.....	
Krutch, Joseph Wood.....	
Reviews of plays.....	
Barefoot in Athens.....	430
Don Juan in hell.....	553
Gigi.....	553

	PAGE		PAGE		PAGE
Hasty heart, the	574	Lewis, Frank W.; crossword puzzles. See		McCarthy, Senator Joseph R.; demand for	
I am a camera	554	back pages of <i>The Nation</i>		information from senate elections committee;	
Lace on her petticoat	217	Libel suit. See <i>Nation, The</i>		EP	537
Never say never	508	Liberty radio network, and Cullen interest		McCarthyism. Morley; Ct.	347
Paint your wagon	484	in P. Huserli; S	370	McCarthyism. W. Shelton; S	166
Remains to be seen	334	Record of; EP	270	At the United nations; E	63; EP
St. Joan	360	Lie, Trygve; set-back, in decision on employees		By any other name. W. Shelton; S	166
Sleep of prisoners, a	381	of the United nations; EP	181;	Setback for, in move to oust McCarthy	
To Dorothy, a son	508	see also	63	from senate; E	271
Twilight walk	286	Lie detectors; use in state department and		Stassen support. W. Shelton; S	321;
Ku klux klan; activity in Florida; EP	83;	elsewhere; EP	163	see also EP	317
In the open. J. Powell; S	254	Limitation of armaments. See Armaments		Surrender of radio, issue of September 29	
Kuh, Frederick		Lindell, A. L.		Truman "attack" on; E	142
After Japan — Germany; S	225;	Radio Wisconsin; S, issue of October 27		McCormick, Colonel Robert R.; opposed by	
see also C	364	Literature. See Books		Senator Morse. W. Shelton; S	275
Kuwait; income from oil. K. Hutchison; S	549	Lobby, China; proposed investigation of;		McGrath, Attorney general J. Howard. H. H.	
		EP	41	Smith; S	421
		Lomenick, Jean, and B. Johnson		Record of. F. Harper; S	441
L		Loyalty oath in Oklahoma; S	106	McKinney, Frank E. ("Midas"). I. Leibowitz; S	561
Labor		Longshoremen. See Labor — Strikes; Labor		McLaughlin, Frederick C.	
And management; film on, Home town		— Union		Cost of free schools, in money; S	470
story. D. F. Keyes; C	384	Los Angeles. See California		Mrs. Crain and the Conference of American	
Baseball; conditions aired; EP	103	Lovett, Robert A.; appointment as secretary		small business organizations; C	59
Education: New style. C. Winston; S,		of defense; EP	221	(comment on letter in issue of June 30)	
issue of November 17		Low, David		McWilliams, Carey	
Farm; investigation by American federation		Cartoons:		Adamic, Louis, American; S	230
of labor; EP	121	Adenauer's visit to London	543	Mill valley, California; no reds in; S	12
See also Labor — Migrant		Franco lead in the beauty contest	83	Medina, Judge Harold; action in communist	
France. See France		Malik move for peace in Korea	26	leaders' case to be reviewed by supreme	
Income, real, under American capitalism;		Propaganda; battle of wits	295	court. H. Fowler; S	396; correction
EP	538	Soviet invitation to peace	149	Meistersinger, die. B. H. Haggin; M	410
Italy. See Italy		Traffic irregularity; wages and profits	73	Menninger, Doctor Karl; disapproval of	
Migrant:		Loyalty		vacations and retirement; EP	163;
Exploitation of Mexicans under the law;		Activities, misguided; E	101; see also	see also letter by Dr. Menninger	336
EP	2	Charges of disloyalty, unfounded; dismissal		Mentality, slick, of America. A. H. Baller;	
Report of Truman commission; E	124	of H. G. Richey by university of Virginia		C	536; see also
Negro, see Negroes		for bringing them; EP	250	Metzger, Judge Delbert E.; attack on inde-	
Strikes:		Dismissal of J. S. Service from state de-		pendence; E	202
Berryton mills, Summerville, Georgia;		partment; EP	537	Continuance in office; EP	558
EP	1; see also	Oath demanded of press, by New York		Mexico, labor from. See Labor — Migrant	
Electrical engineers, Brooklyn. H. M.	80	Civilian defense office; EP	490	Miami, Florida; fascism in. S. Kennedy;	
Orrell; C	363; see also	Oklahoma; oath in. B. Johnson and J.		S	546
Farm labor union, California; EP	150	Lomenick; S	106	Michelin, Marcelle	
Longshoremen's. S. B. Dworin; S, issue	2	San Francisco state college, oath at. M. A.		Venezuela; suicide by oil; S	353
of November 3		De Ford; C	59	Middle east; peace or blackmail in. L. Shultz;	
Pineapple workers, in Hawaii; EP	249	(comment on article in issue of June 30)		S	204
Prudential life insurance company; C. R.		Pechan bill for oath, Pennsylvania. S.		Migrant labor. See Labor	
Allen, Jr.; S	548	Keyes; S	234	Military training, universal. See Universal	
Steel: probability of strike; EP	559	Program, Hawaiian islands; EP	21	military training.	
Teachers, in Pawtucket. See Education		Sedition charges in Massachusetts. J. E.		Mill valley, California; no reds in. C. Mc-	
Taft-Hartley act; harmful effect on labor.		Garland; S, issue of November 24		Williams; S	12
A. Austin; S	10; see also EP	Texas oath bill; attempt at extension; EP	291	Minneapolis; schools. M. Steinmann, Jr.;	
see also EP	1; C	Thought control on the waterfront. P.		C	412; see also
New Taft act. W. Shelton; S	419	Trimble; S	27	Minnesota; public or parochial high school	
Union:		Washington State's Ober law. J. E. Huot;		question. D. Bruner; S	68
American federation of labor break with		C	316	Republican primary, coming; EP	537
Farm bureau and Grange; EP	121	See also Colorado, university of; Newark		Miracle, the. See Motion pictures	
And revitalization of society. H. M.		college of engineering		Missouri Pacific; fight of R. R. Young against	
Orrell; C	363; see also	Luxemburg; steel and socialism. A. Werth;		control; EP	511
Anti-union conspiracy. J. M. Perlman;	10	S	92	Missouri valley floods; EP	81
C	80; see also	Lynd, Robert S.		Mitchell, Morris	
C. I. O. opposition to economic stabiliza-		"Racket" society; S	150;	Fever spots in American education; S	344;
tion at expense of workers alone;		see also C	247; C	see also C	412; C
EP	414	Lyons, Jean	279	Montcalm, Henry	
Longshoremen's; revolt against J. Ryan.		Press gag for India, proposed; S		Quebec politics; S	328; see also C
A. Austin; S	473			Montclair chapter, S. A. R. See Censorship	
Maritime workers, west-coast; subjected		M		— Magazine and book	
to thought control. P. Trimble; S	27	M. M.		Moon, Henry Lee	
Membership of voluntary agencies cen-		Point of no return; D	574	Role of the N. A. A. C. P. in the Trenton	
sored by Displaced persons commis-		MacArthur, General Douglas		case; C	248; see also
sion; EP	163	Controversy with the press; EP	490	Moon, Robert	
Packinghouse workers; education of. C.		Silence in Portland, Oregon. R. L. Neu-		Boys will be boys (the world situation);	
Winston; C, issue of November 17		berger; S	436	C	288
Taft act, new. W. Shelton; S	419	Willoughby expose. I. F. Stone; S	514	Moral Rearmament meeting; EP	22
United labor policy committee; death of.		Madison, Charles A.		Moratorium on granting of certificates of	
W. Shelton; S	212	Libel suit of <i>The Nation</i> against C. Green-		necessity; EP	339
Unity; set back for. W. Shelton; S	212	berg and the <i>New Leader</i> ; C	20	Morley	
Wages:		Magazines. See Censorship		Cartoons:	
And prices. S. Lens; S	228;	Mallan, John P.		McCarthyism	347
see also C	336	Reform in Boston; S	350; see also EP	"Preventive war"	395
Controls are no bargain. S. Lens; S	228	Management-labor relations, film on. D. F.		Morse, Senator Wayne; opposition to Colonel	
Labor party, British. See Great Britain —		Keyes; C	384	McCormick. W. Shelton; S	275
Politics		"Marginal war." J. Alvarez del Vayo; S	8	Moscow. See Union of soviet socialist republics	
Lace on her petticoat. J. W. Krutch; D	217	Marine corps reserves in Korean war. S. A.		Mosely, General George Van Horn; spreading	
Lamb, Edward		Jaffe; S	567	of race hatred by. H. E. Bowen; S	277
Television; educational promise of; S	297	Maritime workers. See Labor — Union		Mosely, Philip E.	
Lamont, Corliss; denial of passport to; EP	338	Mars, David		Divided Germany; C	180;
Landless; risings of the. L. Nelson; S, issue		Seeks material on B. Cardozo; C	460	see also	95
of December 8		Marshall, General George C.; retirement;		Zagreb congress on international relations;	
La Paume; cartoon, To encircle peace	185	EP	221	S	391
Lattimore, Owen		Marshall, Margaret		Moslem's views on India. M. Hamid; C	247;
Korean war; winning of a round by United		Censorship of motion pictures; case of		see also	200
States; S	44	"The miracle"; S	451	Mossadegh, Premier. See Iran	
Peace treaty with Japan; S	88	Marshall plan. See Economic aid for foreign		Motion pictures	
Lavery, Emmet; effect upon, of charges of		countries		Award to "Born yesterday" questioned;	
being a communist; EP	222;	Massachusetts; prosecutions on sedition		EP	61
see also EP	367	charges. J. E. Garland; S, issue of Novem-		Censorship; case of "The miracle." M.	
Lazarus, H. P.		ber 24		Marshall; S	451
Libel suit of <i>The Nation</i> against C. Green-		Matthews, Herbert L.		Film, Home town story, on labor-manage-	
berg and the <i>New Leader</i> ; C	20	Argentina; J. and E. Péron; S	375	ment relations. D. F. Keyes; C	384
Lee, Alfred McClung		Mazen, Benjamin		Hollywood, communism in; debate;	
The pall of orthodoxy; S	110	American federation of teachers and aca-		EP	222; see also EP
Leibowitz, Irving		ademic freedom; C, with editorial com-		EP	367; C
McKinney, Frank E. ("Midas"); S	561	ment	336; see also	Hollywood hearings on communism. H.	
Lens, Sid		McCarran act. See Immigration	371	Bloom; S	304
Wage controls; S	228; see also C			See also Farber, M., for reviews	
Levin, Harvey				Mundel, Luella R.; dismissal by Fairmont	
Merger in television; S	299			state college, West Virginia; issue of aca-	
Levinger, Wilhelm				ademic freedom involved; EP	250;
Less corruption abroad; C—100; see also	45			see also C	363

	PAGE		PAGE		PAGE
Munves, James		Journalism, "yellow" — 1898; editorial from <i>The Nation</i> of May 5, 1898, on W. R. Hearst; issue of August 25, 1951		Philadelphia; reform in. C. R. Allen, Jr., S. 351; see also C. (with reply by Allen).....	413
Murphy, Thomas F.; appointment to clean up the government; E.....	539	Loyalty oath for, by New York Civilian defense office; EP.....	490	Piedmont college; buying by G. W. Armstrong. H. E. Bowen; W.....	277
Music, recorded, and reviews of music. See Haggin, B. H.		MacArthur controversy with the press; EP.....	490	Pineapple workers' strike in Hawaii; EP.....	249
Music in the air. B. H. Haggin; D.....	485	Monopoly, trend toward; the pall of orthodoxy. A. McC. Lee; S.....	110	Pipe lines. See Gas, natural	
Muste, A. J.		Newsprint famine, world. A. Roth; S.....	256	Plays, reviews of. See C. H.; Hall, C.; Krutch, J. W.; M. M.	
Puerto Rican Smith act; case of R. M. Reynolds; C.....	535	Nimitz commission. See Commission on internal security and individual rights		Pleven, René. See France — Politics	
Mutual security act; soviet protest; EP.....	461	Nineteen hundred and fifty-one; goodbye to F. Kirchwey; S.....	559	Poems	
N		Nixon, Russ		A war. R. Jarrell.....	242
Nassau county boss, J. R. Sprague. J. Munves; S.....	128	Labor and wage controls; C.....	336;	Socrates. P. Tyler.....	476
Nathanson, Jerome		see also.....	228	Point of no return, M. M.; D.....	574
Battle for free schools; the foot in the door; S.....	423	Norman, E. Herbert; attempted "smear"; editorials from Canadian newspapers; issue of September 1		Pomfret, John E.; resignation of presidency of College of William and Mary, and football scandal; EP.....	366
Nation, <i>The</i>		North Africa. See Africa		Portland, Oregon. See Oregon	
Appeal from India for subscription; C.....	160	North Atlantic treaty organization; military aspects in the ascendancy; EP.....	249	Poulos, Constantine	
Field, Harold C., leaves staff; EP.....	4	Northwest; aluminum squeeze in. R. L. Neuberger; S.....	342	Emergence of Papagos; S.....	253
Libel suits against C. Greenberg and the <i>New Leader</i> ; letters.....	19-20	Dispute with California over Bonneville-Grand Coulee power lines; EP.....	183	Pousette-Dart, Richard. M. Farber; A.....	314
Praise for articles on free schools. F. L. Kunz; C.....	576	Norway; situation in. A. Werth; S.....	294	Powell, John	
Praise for liberalism, and for Lynd article. W. C. Randolph; C.....	247;	Nuns as teachers in public schools. See New Mexico		Ku klux klan in the open; S.....	254
see also.....	150			Power, water. See Water power	
National association for the advancement of colored people; role in the Trenton case. H. L. Moon; C.....	248; see also.....	O		Presidential election of 1952	
Nationalist China. See China, nationalist		Oaths, test. See Loyalty		Eisenhower candidacy; advancement of; E.....	292
Natural gas. See Gas, natural		Oatis, William; guilty or not guilty. C. Belfrage and J. L. Fly; C.....	459	Republican candidates, leading; EP.....	434
Nazism. See Germany		trial of; analysis and summary. J. L. Fly; S.....	280	Stassen weakness in coming Minnesota primary; EP.....	537
Nazis, former, United States citizenship for; EP.....	271	Ober law. See Washington State		Truman announcement, virtual, of candidacy; E.....	142
Near east; peace or blackmail in. L. Shultz; S.....	204	Objectors, conscientious. See Conscientious objectors		Warren announces his candidacy; EP.....	434
"Necessity, certificate of." See United States — Finances		Office of civilian defense, New York; loyalty oath for the press; EP.....	490	Press, the. See Newspapers	
Negroes		Ohio; election of 1950; Taft-Lausche "deal" implied; EP.....	489	"Preventive war." Morley; Ct.....	395
Attacks on, in St. Louis; EP.....	223	Ohio state university; barring of known communists and others.....	339	Prices. See United States — Economics	
Cicero, Illinois, race riots. H. A. Jack; S.....	64	Oil. See Iran; Kuwait; Venezuela		Priestley, J. B.	
Indictments, amazing; EP.....	250	Oklahoma; loyalty oath in. B. Johnson and J. Lomenick; S.....	106	No <i>Collier's</i> World War III; C.....	498
Disfranchisement;		Oregon; gambling in Portland; pari-mutuel betting on dog racing. R. L. Neuberger; S.....	189; see also EP.....	No longer a socialist; EP.....	557
In Florida; new way found; EP.....	509	Organizations, "subversive"; fight against ban on use of New York public school buildings; EP.....	512	Princess Anne county, Virginia; election frauds in. B. L. Jones; S.....	173
In Georgia, under county unit electoral system; EP.....	161	Orrell, Herbert M.		Propaganda; battle of wits, D. Low; Ct.....	295
In Florida; attacks on, in Miami, S. Kennedy; S.....	546	Labor unions and the revitalization of society; C.....	363; see also.....	Protestant piety and the right wing; comment on article in <i>Social Action</i> ; EP.....	23
Refusal to open college doors to all students; EP.....	269	Orthodoxy, pall of. A. McC. Lee; S.....	110	Prudential life insurance company; strike against. C. R. Allen, Jr.; S.....	548
Shooting of two Negroes by sheriff. S. Kennedy; S.....	433	Oxnam, G. Bromley		Publishers, book. See Books	
Intolerance in Hardin county, Illinois. S. Haman; S., issue of November 10		Down the road to Rome; S.....	368	Puerto Rico; Smith act, Puerto Rican; victim, R. M. Reynolds. A. J. Muste; C.....	535
Jim Crowism				Puner, Morton, and H. Bond	
Abolition in National theater, Washington; EP.....	435	P		Jim Crowism in schools; S.....	416
At Washington university, St. Louis; EP.....	462	Pacific area; defense pact for. W. M. Ball; S.....	66	Quakers in Moscow. G. Bailey; S.....	146
Congress of racial equality; letter asking for aid. C. F. Urie; C.....	412	Packaginghouse workers' union. C. Winston; C., issue of November 17		Quebec, politics in; controversies. H. Montcalm; S.....	328; see also C.....
In New Mexico schools; EP.....	221	Paint your wagon. J. W. Krutch; D.....	484	Quinn, T. K.	
In Philadelphia. H. M. Shapiro; C.....	536	Palar, L. N.		G. M.'s economic tyranny; S.....	72
In St. Louis; outbreak, EP.....	223	Indonesia at the Japanese peace treaty conference; C.....	64; see also.....	R	
In schools. H. Bond and M. Puner; S.....	446	Papagos, Alexandro. See Greece		R. F. C. See Reconstruction finance corporation	
In South Carolina; upheld by court in Clarendon county case; E.....	24	Paper, newsprint; world famine. A. Roth; S.....	256	Race hatred; spreading by Mosely. H. E. Bowen; S.....	277
Labor, union, in the packaginghouse workers' union. C. Winston; C., issue of November 17		Paper books. H. Swados; S.....	114	See also Negroes	
Race hatred; spreading by Mosely. H. E. Bowen; S.....	277	Paris conference on disarmament. See Armaments		Racial discrimination. See Discrimination	
Segregation. See Negroes — Jim Crowism		Paris meeting of the assembly. See United Nations		Racing, dog. See Oregon	
Trenton, New Jersey, case; verdicts. C. R. Allen, Jr.; S.....	52; see also C.....	Pawtucket, Rhode Island. See Education		Racist disturbances. See Union of South Africa	
See also Discrimination		Peace		"Racket" society. R. S. Lynd; S.....	150;
Nelson, Lowery		Circle of. La Paume; Ct.....	185	see also C.....	247; C.....
Landless, risings of the; S., issue of December 8		Committee of writers for peace. W. Kraft and I. Block; C.....	100;	Radio	
Neuberger, Richard L.		see also issue of May 26		Articles on, in <i>Counterattack</i> ; praise for Sponsor for criticism of articles; E.....	463
Aluminum squeeze in the northwest; S.....	342	Conference at Helsingör. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S.....	210	Liberty broadcasting company; record of; EP.....	270
Betting on dog racing in Portland, Oregon; S.....	189; see also EP.....	Fears of; EP.....	337	Liberty network, and Cullen interest in. P. Husserl; S.....	370
MacArthur silence in Portland, Oregon; S.....	436	Soviet invitation. D. Low; Ct.....	149	Surrender to McCarthyism, issue of September 29	
Never say never. J. W. Krutch; D.....	508	Talks with Stalin, "last great prize of Churchill." A. Roth; S.....	417	Wisconsin. A. L. Lindell; S., issue of October 27	
Nevins, Allan; on reinterpretation of American history and reevaluation of industrialists. V. S. Yarros; C.....	384	Through trade. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S.....	324	Randolph, William C.	
<i>New Leader</i> , the; libel suit against, by <i>The Nation</i> ; letters.....	19-20	Peace treaties. See names of countries		Praise for liberalism of <i>The Nation</i> and for Lynd article; C.....	247; see also.....
New Mexico		Pechan loyalty-oath bill, Pennsylvania. S. Keyes; S.....	234	<i>Reader's Digest</i> . See Censorship	
Jim Crowism in schools; EP.....	221	Pennsylvania; Pechan loyalty-oath bill. S. Keyes; S.....	234	Rearmament. See Armaments	
Nuns forbidden to wear religious garb in public schools; may teach there; EP.....	289	People will talk. M. Farber; MP.....	267	Reconstruction finance corporation; negotiations with Bolivia for tin; EP.....	339, 340
New York city		Perkin, Robert L.		Red badge of courage, the. M. Farber; MP.....	409
Halley victory in election; EP.....	413	H. Waring, liberal editor; S.....	90	Redlich, Norman	
Schools. See Academic freedom		Perlman, Jack M.		Income-tax limitation, proposed; S.....	326
New York city ballet. B. H. Haggin; S.....	98, 410, 574	Anti-union conspiracy; C.....	80; see also.....	Reform, dilemma of, in Boston. J. P. Mallan; in Philadelphia. C. R. Allen, Jr.; S.....	350; see also EP.....
Newark college of engineering; loyalty case of G. B. Thorp; EP.....	62	Perlmutter, Nathan		Refugees. See Arabs	
News, censorship of. See Censorship — News		Catholic-baiting; Cowboy style; S., issue of October 27		Relations, international, Zagreb congress on. P. E. Mosely; S.....	391
Newspapers		Perón, Juan and Evita. See Argentina		Religion, organized, and the schools. See Education	
Gag in India, proposed. J. Lyon; S.....	279	Petroleum. See Iran; Kuwait; Venezuela		Remains to be seen. J. W. Krutch; D.....	334

	PAGE		PAGE		PAGE
Reynolds, Ruth M.; victim of Puerto Rican Smith act. A. J. Muste; C	535	Simon, Walter B.		Take care of my little girl. M. Farber; MP	118
Rice, Elmer; opposition to censorship of radio; EP	434	Church and state in Ireland; C	60;	Tatum, Lyle	
Richards, Paul V.		(comment on article in issue of June 23)	381	Prisoners of conscience; C	39
Tribute by S. Alinsky to J. B. Thompson; C	99; see also C	Sleep of prisoners, a. J. W. Krutch; D	421	Taxation, federal. See United States — Finance	
Richey, H. G.; dismissal by university of Virginia for unfounded charges against colleagues; EP	200	Smith, Henry H.		Taylor, A. J. P.	
Right-wing organizations; comment on article in <i>Social Action</i> ; EP	23	McGrath, Attorney general J. H.; S	319	Battle bill for severance of relations with communist countries; S	186
Rights, civil. See Civil rights		Smith, Howard		Teachers. See Education	
Rigoletto, B. H. Haggin; M	410	Elections in Great Britain; S	207	Television	
Rivers, Larry. M. Farber; A	313	Smith, Senator Margaret Chase. D. Aikman; S	13	Articles on, in <i>Counterattack</i> ; praise for	
Roman catholic church		Freedom in peril; S	498	<i>Sponsor</i> for criticism of articles; E	464
Ambassador to; appointment of General Clark; EP	337	On <i>Collier's</i> World War III; C	168	Merger in. H. Levin; S	299
Appointment a Truman blunder; E	387	Smythe, Hugh H.		Promise, educational. E. Lamb; S	297
Down the road to Rome. G. B. Oxnam; S	368	Democracy in Japan; S	23	Teller, J. L.	
And schools; EP	289	<i>Social Action</i> ; comment on article on Protestant piety and the right wing; EP	163	Conditions in Spain; C	248
Antagonism to, of southern Baptists. W. Whitman; S	191; see also correction	Social service employees union; action against, by Displaced persons commission; EP	476	Election in Israel; S	101
Catholic-baiting; Cowboy style. N. Perlmutter; S	issue of October 27	Socrates. P. Tyler; P	39	Testimony, self-incriminatory; protection against, in the fifth amendment. L. B. Boudin; S	258
Catholics attack <i>Reader's Digest</i> for article on birth control; EP	201	Sonamu		Tests, school. See Education	
Dunne, Father G. H.: A study in faith. J. Stocker; S	236	Korean's plea; C	247	Texas	
Nuns forbidden to wear religious garb in New Mexico public schools; may teach there; EP	289	Sons of the American revolution, Montclair chapter. See Censorship — Magazine and book		Brown, H., power in the state. H. Stilwell; S	398
Worry over catholic workers in France and in Italy; EP	270	South, the		Law passed for taxation of natural gas pumped into pipe lines; E	5
See also Censorship — Magazine; Church and state		Baptists. W. Whitman; S	191;	Loyalty oath law; attempt at extension; EP	291
Roth, Andrew		see also correction	248	That's my boy. M. Farber; MP	177
Churchill's "last great prize," peace talks with Stalin; S	417	Resentment against things in general; vogue of Confederate flag; EP	182	Theater, the. See C. H., Hall, C.; Krutch, J. W., for reviews	
Churchill's coming visit to Washington; S	542	South Africa. See Union of South Africa		Thomas, Lowell	
Iran; unrecognized revolution; S	112	Soviet Russia. See Union of soviet socialist republics		On <i>Collier's</i> World War III; C	498
Tension between Great Britain and the United States; S	493	Soy beans; profiteering in; EP	163	Thompson, John B., tribute to, by S. Alinsky. P. V. Richards; C	99; see also C
World newsprint famine; S	256	Spain		Thorpe, George B. See Newark college of engineering	200
Royal festival hall, London. B. H. Haggin; M	18	Aid for; increase to be asked by Franco; aid at expense of moral and spiritual values; EP	63	Thought control. See Loyalty	
Ruhr, the. See Germany — Western		Bases for dollars. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S	81	Till Eulenspiegel, and others. B. H. Haggin; S	383
Russia, soviet. See Union of soviet socialist republics		Cabinet changes; EP	273	Tin, Bolivian; negotiations for, with the Reconstruction finance corporation; EP	399, 340
Ryan, Joe; revolt against. A. Austin; S	473	Conditions, report from the border. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S	248	Tin; market for; EP	511, 512
Ryskind, Morrie; punishment for testimony on communists in Hollywood. R. de Tolodano; C	384; see also EP	Conditions in, economic. J. L. Teller; C	385	To Dorothy, a son. J. W. Krutch; D	508
		Difficulties in way of effective use for military purposes; EP	83	Tokyo correspondent, a	
		Franco lead in the beauty contest. D. Low; Ct	70	Japan and the United States; S	108
		Loans for. A. H. Uhl; S	103	Tony draws a horse. M. Farber; MP	177
		Opposition to alliance with Franco; EP	21	Toohy, Elizabeth	
		Rapprochement moves; EP	390	Conscientious objectors, prosecution of; S, issue of October 20	485
		Speech, freedom of. See Freedom of speech		Top banana. B. H. Haggin; D	458
		Spender, Stephen		Toscanini, Arturo. B. H. Haggin; M	324
		Thoughts on the British elections; S	463	Trade as means of peace. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S	128
		<i>Sponsor</i> ; praise for articles on <i>Counterattack</i> ; E	128	Training, universal military. See Universal military training	
		Sprague, J. Russel. By J. Munves; S	317	Travel; British restrictions. R. Wuliger; S	167
		Springer, Harvey; Catholic-baiter. N. Perlmutter; S	537	Trenton, New Jersey; verdicts in cases of six Negroes. C. R. Allen, Jr.; S	52; see also C
		Stage, the. See C. H.; Hall, C.; Krutch, J. W.; M. M. for reviews		Trimble, Peter	
		Stalin, Joseph. See Union of soviet socialist republics		Thought control on the waterfront; S	27
		Stassen, Harold E.; support of McCarthyism. W. Shelton; S	321; see also EP	Trozier, M. M.	
		Weakness in coming Republican primary in Minnesota; EP		Indians, American; tribal attorney controversy; C, with editorial comment, 535; see also	291
		State and church. See Church and state; Education; Ireland		Truman, President Harry S.	
		State department; dismissal of J. S. Service; EP		Administration:	
		Use of lie detectors; EP		Broom needed; E	491
		Steel; strike; probability of; EP		Internal revenue bureau scandals; E	341
		Steinmann, Martin, Jr.		Announcement, virtual, of candidacy in 1952; E	142
		Minneapolis schools; C	412; see also	McCarthyism; Truman "attack" on; E	142
		Stilwell, Hart		Memo to, on "loyalty" activities; E	101; see also book review, page
		Brown, Herman, power in Texas; S	398	Versus Douglas, in judiciary conflict. E. Gertz; S	86
		Texas takes a trip; C	247	<i>Twentieth Century</i> . D. C. Williams; C	100
		Why they cheat; S	133; see also C	Twilight walk, J. W. Krutch; D	286
		Stocker, Joseph		Two on the aisle. C. Hall; D	78
		Father Dunne: A study in faith; S	236	Tyler, Parker	
		Stone, I. F.		Socrates; P	476
		New facts on Korea; expose of MacArthur by Willoughby; S	514		
		Strangers on a train. M. Farber; MP	77	U	
		Streetcar called desire. M. Farber; MP	334	U. S. S. R. See Union of soviet socialist republics	
		Strikes. See Labor		Uhl, Alexander H.	
		Strong, Peter		Loans for Spain; S	70
		A subpoenaed clergyman; S	288	Union of South Africa	
		Suez canal. See Egypt		Development, halting. B. Davidson; S	187
		Supreme court, United States. See United States supreme court		Racist calldron. R. K. Cope; S	32
		Swados, Harvey		Union of soviet socialist republics	
		Paper books; S	114, 134	And the United States:	
		Swan, Ione; corroboration of charges against Los Angeles school administration; EP	290; see also EP	Battle bill for severance of relations. A. J. P. Taylor; S	186
		Sweden; situation in. A. Werth; S	294	<i>Collier's</i> preview of war. See <i>Collier's</i>	
		Switzerland; neutrality of. E. Josephson; S	544	Policy of America. F. Kirchwey; S	122
		Syria; land reform; EP	142	Soviet protest against mutual security act	461
				Time to parley? E	340
				Invitation to peace. D. Low; Ct	149
				Living conditions. A. Werth; S	131
				Peace offensive. A. Werth; S	131
				Quakers in Moscow. G. Bailey; S	147
				Stalin, talks with "last great prize" of Churchill. A. Roth; S	417
				Unions, labor. See Labor	
				United labor policy committee. See Labor	

	PAGE
United Nations	
Administrative tribunal:	
Dismissal of six employees; E	63; 181
see also EP	
Alignments in, new. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S	492
Assembly, general:	
Meeting in Paris. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S	416
Meeting; Germany at. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S	437
Meeting; preview. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S	388
Economic and social council:	
Meeting in Geneva. J. Alvarez del Vayo; S	324
Employment practices; dismissal of six Administrative tribunal employees; E	63; see also EP 181
Peace moves; looking beyond Korea; E	25
Secretariat:	
Communist infiltration, according to <i>Saturday Evening Post</i> ; EP	489
United States	
And Great Britain. See Great Britain — Foreign policy	
And Soviet Russia. See Union of soviet socialist republics	
Defense, national:	
And inflation; E	103
Contracts for big corporations; E	103
Cost of armament; EP	121
Military aspects in the ascendancy; EP	249
Moratorium on certificates of necessity; EP	161
Perils in extension of scope and cost of armaments; E	512
Price controls and credit restrictions, and defense; EP	121
See also Discrimination	
Economics:	
Business, big; public's view of. R. Bendix; S	521
Capitalism, working of, under anti-trust laws; EP	538
Inflation and defense; E	104
Perils in extension of cost and scope of armaments; E	512
Price control. S. Lens; S	228
Price control and credit restrictions, and national defense; EP	121
Stabilization at expense of workers alone; C. I. O. opposition; EP	414
Wage and price controls; move for elimination after Korean cease-fire move; EP	21
Finances:	
"Certificates of necessity"; rush for; EP	41
Income-tax limitation, proposed. N. Redlich; S	326
Income tax; proposed increase on low- and middle-income groups; EP	141
Limitation of deductions from corporations' taxable income; suggestion for; EP	291
Moratorium on certificates of necessity for amortization benefits; EP	161
Tax amortization and granting of certificates of necessity; EP	339
Foreign policy:	
And Russia. F. Kirchwey; S	122
Emergencies, pressing; EP	509
Taft, R. A.; views as expressed in his book; EP	433
Government:	
Corruption in; causes and investigation; E	539
Ethics in; movement for improvement. H. H. Wilson; S	438
Possibility of investigation by F. B. I.; EP	558
See also Truman, President Harry S.	
"Racket" society. R. S. Lynd; S	150; see also C 247
United States supreme court	
Appointments of attorneys general as awards; E	184
Decisions on:	
Free speech. N. Dembitz; S	29
To reconsider refusal to review decision against communists' lawyers. H. Fowler; S	396; correction 415
Sidestep in Garner civil-rights case. C. B. Collins; C	99
Universal military training; Brokaw, A., conviction of law violation. E. Toohey; S, issue of October 20	
Universities. See Education; also names of universities	
University of Colorado. See Colorado, university of	
University of Virginia. See Virginia, university of	
Urie, Caroline F.	
How to fight segregation; letter asking for aid for Congress of racial equality; C	412

V

Vacation; disapproved by Doctor Menninger; EP	163; 336
see also letter by Doctor Menninger	
Vatican. See Roman catholic church	
Vayo, J. Alvarez del. See Alvarez del Vayo, J.	
Venezuela; oil, suicide by. M. Michelin; S	353
Virginia; election frauds in Princess Anne county. B. L. Jones; S	173
Virginia, university of; dismissal of H. G. Richey for unfounded charges against colleagues; EP	250
Visa policy; aberrations; case of Doctor Chain; EP	510
Vishinsky, Andrei; use of Florida Negro killings; EP	433

W

W. A. J.	
Chicago "reform"; S, issue of December 22	
Wages. See Labor	
Wagner, Richard, as conductor. B. H. Haggan; M	219
War	
"Marginal." J. Alvarez del Vayo; S	8
"Preventive." Morley; Ct	395
War, a. R. Jarrell; P	242
War, World, III. See World War III	
Warburg, James P.	
Divided Germany; C	180; see also book review 95; 152
Waring, Houstoun, liberal editor. R. L. Perkin; S	90
Warren, Governor Earl; announces his candidacy for presidential nomination on Republican ticket; EP	434
Washington, District of Columbia; case of use of public funds for sectarian hospital; EP	61
Segregation of Negroes in National theater abolished; EP	434
Washington State; Ober loyalty-oath law. J. E. Huot; C	316
Washington university; St. Louis; precaution against cheating; exclusion of Negroes; EP	462
Water power; controversy of California with the northwest over Columbia river basin power; EP	183
Watson, Goodwin	
Teachers and the "thing"; S	371; see also C (with editorial comment) 356; C 460
Weiss, Hugh, M. Farber; A	382
Well, the. M. Farber; MP	118
Wengler, Harold	
Libel suit of <i>The Nation</i> against C. Greenberg and the <i>New Leader</i> ; C	20
Werth, Alexander	
France:	
Beuve-Méry, H.; retention as editor of <i>Le Monde</i> ; S	569
Days of destiny; S	348
Neutralism rejected; S	5
Rapprochement of France and Great Britain; S	293
Why French workers vote communist; S	232
Germany:	
Adenauer visit to London; S	517
Luxemburg:	
Steel and socialism; S	90
Scandinavia:	
Situation in; S	294
Soviet Russia:	
Peace offensive; living conditions; S	131
World War III:	
<i>Collier's</i> issue; Europe says no; S	468; see also <i>Collier's</i>
Possibility of, according to Eisenhower; S	389
West coast waterfront; thought control on. P. Trimble; S	27
West Virginia; academic freedom in; dismissal of L. R. Mundel from Fairmont state college; EP	250
Whaples, George	
School grades and examinations, value of; C	247; see also 133
Whitman, Willson	
Baptist church in the south; S	191
Whitney museum show. M. Farber; A	555
William and Mary, college of; football scandal, and resignation of president Pomfret; EP	366
Williams, David C.	
<i>Twentieth century</i> ; C	100
Willoughby, Major general Charles A.; exposure of MacArthur. I. F. Stone; S	514
Wilson, H. H.	
Crime investigation; connection of law-breakers with business and politics; S	45; see also C 100, 140, 160
Cynics and feeble good men; S	438
Winston, Catherine	
Workers' education: New style; S, issue of November 17	

Wirin, A. L.; loses practice for defense of civil rights. H. Bloom; S, issue of December 29	
Wisconsin	
Radio. A. L. Lindell; S, issue of October 27	
Reluctance of citizens to sign Declaration of independence; E	101; 94
see also book review, page	
Women without names. M. Farber; MP	177
Woodman, Dorothy	
Indonesia; Youngest republic; S	261
World land tenure conference. L. Nelson; S, issue of December 8	
World situation (boys will be boys). R. Moon; C	288
World War III	
<i>Collier's</i> on. See <i>Collier's</i>	
Danger of: fable, Boys will be boys. R. Moon; C	288
Possibility of, according to Eisenhower. A. W.; S	389
Wuliger, R.	
Incident in Austria; arrests, by Americans, of Britons trying to enter Berlin; S	167

Y

Yarros, Victor S.	
History, American, reinterpretation of; reevaluation of industrialists; C	384
Young, Robert R.; fight against control of the Missouri Pacific; EP	511

Z

Zagreb congress on international relations. P. E. Mosely; S	391
---	-----

BOOK REVIEWS

Books are indexed under author and title and in some cases under subject.

The following explanatory letters are used in the index:

B	Book review
AN	Brief annotation
R	Reviewer

A

	PAGE
Adams, Mildred; R	17, 454
Addison, William	
Worthy Dr. Fuller; AN	246
Agate, James	
The later ego. Introduction and notes by J. Barzun; B	35
Alden, John Richard	
General Charles Lee: Traitor or patriot?; AN	58
Aleutians, Gilberts, and Marshalls, S. E. Morison; AN	360
Alexander, Robert J.	
The Peron era; AN	573
Algren, Nelson	
Chicago: The city on the make; AN	409
American diplomacy, 1900-1950. G. F. Kennan; B	282
American foreign policy. L. H. Gulick; AN	457
Anatomy of happiness, the. M. Gumpert; B	244
André Gide, A. J. Guérard; B	174
Andrews, Phillip	
The united nations; AN	381
Appleton, Le Roy H.	
Indian art of the Americas; B	454
Apuleius	
The golden ass. A new translation by R. Graves; AN	286
Artists, great; five books on; B	481
Asia and India; four books on; B	528
Atlantic City cantata. H. Chisholm; AN	312
Autobiography of an unknown India, the. N. C. Chaudhuri; B	528
Auden: An introductory essay. R. Hoggart; B	550
Autobiography of William Carlos Williams, the; AN	333

B

Banfield, Edward C.	
Government project; AN	57
Baroque and rococo in Latin America. P. Kelemen; B	75
Barrett, Edwin L., Jr.	
The Tenney committee. Legislative investigation of subversive activities in California; B	94; see also editorial 101
Bartlett, Phyllis	
Poems in progress; AN	286
Baumhoff, Richard G.	
The damned Missouri valley; AN	456

	PAGE		PAGE
Bayer, Herbert, book on. "The way beyond art." A. Dorner; B	572	Colp, Ralph, Jr.; R	56
Beaton, Cecil	246	Commonwealth in Asia, the. Sir I. Jennings, K. C.; B	528
Becker, Stephen		Communist problem in America, the. Edited by E. E. Palmer; B	570
The season of the stranger; B	14	Conformist, the. A. Moravia; B	303
Beckoning frontiers. M. S. Eccles; B	97	Concave gallery, a. K. M. Lynch; AN	177
Begin, Menachem		Conrad, Earl	
The revolt; B	401	The public school scandal; B	135
Berto, Giuseppe		Continuity of poetic language, the: Studies in English poetry from the 1540's to the 1940's. J. Miles; AN	37
The brigand. Translated by A. Davidson; B	482	Coon, Carleton C.; R	476
Best American short stories of 1951, the. Edited by M. Foley and J. F. Hartman; B	158	Cory, Donald Webster	
Biddle, Francis; R	94	The homosexual in America. A subjective approach; B	551
see also editorial	101	Cousins, Norman	
Birth of a hero. H. Gold; B	283	Talks with Nehru. A discussion between Jawaharlal Nehru and Norman Cousins; B	455
Bobrinsky, G. V.; R	115	Cowley, Malcolm	
Books of 1951: A selected list	486, 532	Exile's return. A literary odyssey of the 1920's; B	356
Bradford of Plymouth. B. Smith; AN	380	Cowper, William	
Bradley, Omar N.		The selected letters of, Edited with an introduction by M. Van Doren; AN	506
A soldier's story; AN	18	Cracks in the Kremlin wall. E. Crankshaw; B	137
Brehner, J. B.; R	479, 504	Crankshaw, Edward	
Brief anthology of poetry; AN	312	Cracks in the Kremlin wall; B	137
Brigand, the. G. Berto; Translated by A. Davidson; B	482	Creekmore, Hubert; R	331
Brinton, Crane; R	175	Crises in freedom. J. C. Miller; B	570
Brooks, Richard		Custine, Marquis de, journals of; B	264
The producer; B	505		
Brown, E. Cary, and A. G. Hart		D	
Financing defense; B	245	Dammed Missouri valley, the. R. G. Baumhoff; AN	456
Brown, Francis		Davenport, Russell W. (in collaboration with the editors of <i>Fortune</i>)	
Raymond of the <i>Times</i> ; AN	136	U. S. A., the permanent revolution; B	358
Brown, W. Norman; R	455, 528	Davidson, Marshall B.	
Buchler, Justus		Life in America; B	550
Review of The rise of scientific philosophy, by H. Reichenbach, in issue of June 30; reply by the author; letters	40, 99	Day before tomorrow, the. R. Waithman; AN	507
Bunin, Ivan		Defense without inflation. A. G. Hart; B	14
Memories and portraits. Translated by V. Traill and R. Chancellor; B	429	de la Mare, Walter	
Butler, Samuel, notebooks of. Selections edited by G. Keynes and B. Hill; B	311	Winged chariot, and other poems; B	483
Bynner, Witter		Denney, Reuel; R	34
Journey with genius (D. H. Lawrence); AN	216	Deutsch, Morton, and M. E. Collins	
C		Inter-racial housing; AN	18
Calhoun, John C., sectionalist. 1840-1850. C. M. Wiltse; AN	333	Devoe, Alan	
Canby, Henry Seidel		This fascinating animal world; AN	530
Turn west, turn east: Mark Twain and Henry James; B	505	Dickinson, Emily, biography of. G. Chester; AN	484
Capote, Truman		Dickinson, Emily, the riddle of. R. Patterson; AN	573
The grass harp; B	482	Dictionary of Americanisms, a. Edited by M. M. Matthews; B	570
Carcopino, Jérôme		Dividing stream, the. F. King; B	97
Cicero: The secrets of his correspondence; B	285	Dizzy. The life and personality of Benjamin Disraeli, earl of Beaconsfield. H. Pearson; B	194
Carl Sandburg's new American song bag; B	57	Dorner, Alexander	
Carr, Edward Hallett		The way beyond "art" — The work of Herbert Bayer; B	572
A history of soviet Russia. Volume I: The Bolshevik revolution; B	116	Doughty, Howard, Jr.; R	505
Carruth, Hayden; R	155, 550	Douglas, William O.	
Carson, Rachel L.		Strange lands and friendly people; B	476
The sea around us; B	96	Downer, Alan S.	
Cary, Joyce		Fifty years of American drama; AN	456
Mister Johnson; B	355	Dragon apparent, a. N. Lewis; AN	380
Catch, the. T. Weiss; AN	312	Dubitsky, Aron; R	116
Catcher in the rye, the. J. D. Salinger; B	176	Durante, Jimmy, biography of. G. Fowler; B	330
Celebrity, the. L. Z. Hobson; AN	360		
Ceram, C. W.		E	
Gods, graves, and scholars. Translated by E. B. Garside; AN	430	Eberhart, Richard	
Chalmers, Allan K.		Selected poems; AN	198
They shall be free; B	175	Eccles, Marriner S.	
Change of world, a. A. C. Rich; AN	76	Beckoning frontiers; B	97
Chase, Richard; R	36, 478	Edel, Leon; R	406
Chase, Stuart, in collaboration with M. T. Chase		Edman, Irwin; R	244
Roads to agreement; B	34	Education, three books on	135
Chaudhuri, Nirad		El Greco. J. F. Matthews; B	481
The autobiography of an unknown Indian; B	528	Ellis, Albert	
Chester, Graud		The folklore of sex; B	265
Embattled maiden; AN	484	Eluard, Paul	
Chesterfield, Lord, and his world. S. Shellabarger; AN	529	Selected writings of. Translated by L. Alexander; AN	312
Chicago: The city on the make. N. Algren; AN	409	Embattled maiden. G. Chester; AN	484
Chinese communism and the rise of Mao. B. I. Schwartz; B	243	England: Past, present, and future. D. Jerrold; B	156
Chisholm, Hugh		Engle, Paul	
Atlantic City cantata; AN	312	The word of love; AN	76
Churchill, Winston		Exile's return. A literary odyssey of the 1920's. M. Cowley; B	356
Closing the ring; B	479		
Cicero: The secrets of his correspondence. J. Carcopino; B	285	F	
Cilien, Red		F. Scott Fitzgerald. The man and his work. Edited by A. Kazan; B	356
The price; AN	409	Fabled shore, From the Pyrenees to Portugal by road. R. Macaulay; B	17
Civil liberties under attack. Edited by C. Wilcox; B	570	Face of innocence, the. W. Sansom; B	136
Closing the ring. W. S. Churchill; B	479	Faison, S. Lane, Jr.; R	117, 214, 481
Coffman, Stanley K.		Fall of the sparrow. J. Williams; AN	286
Imagism. A chapter for the history of modern poetry; B	176	Farren, Robert	
Collected poems. H. Read; AN	198	Selected poems; AN	76
Collected poems. W. B. Yeats; AN	76		
Collins, Mary Evans, and M. Deutsch		Faulkner, William	
Inter-racial housing; AN	18	Requiem for a nun; B	263
		Fiedler, Leslie A.; R	307
		Fifty billion dollars. J. Jones with E. Angly; B	506
		Fifty years of American drama. A. Downer; AN	456
		Financing defense. A. G. Hart and E. C. Brown; B	245
		First and last poems. M. Sloane; AN	198
		Fischer, John	
		Master plan U. S. A.; B	452
		Fitzgerald, F. Scott; three books on, and by; B	356
		Folk songs of Florida. Collected and edited by A. C. Morris; musical transcriptions by L. Deutsch; AN	138
		Folklore of sex, the. A. Ellis; B	26
		Foreign policy for Americans, a. R. A. Taft; editorial	433
		Forrestal diaries, the. Edited by W. Millis and E. S. Duffield; B	305
		Forster, E. M.	
		Two cheers for democracy; B	480
		Fox, Milton S.	
		Great masterpieces; B	481
		Renoir; B	481
		Fraenkel, Osmond K.; R	570
		Freeman, Larry	
		The melodies linger on. Fifty years of popular song; AN	138
		Fries, Horace S.; R	572
		Fuller, Thomas, biography of. W. Addison; AN	245
		G	
		Galbraith, J. K.; R	14
		Gaynor, William Jay, biography of. M. Smith; AN	360
		General and the president, the. R. H. Rovere and A. M. Schlesinger, Jr.; B	378
		General Charles Lee: Traitor or patriot? J. R. Alden; AN	58
		General who marched to hell, the. E. S. Miers; AN	18
		Germany and the future of Europe. Edited by H. J. Morgenthau; B	95
		see also letters,	180
		Gide, André; A. J. Guérard; B	174
		Gide, André	
		Journals. Volume IV: 1939-1949. Translated, with an introduction and notes, by J. O'Brien; B	36
		Goddard, Harold C.	
		The meaning of Shakespeare; AN	37
		see also letter	120
		Gods, graves, and scholars. C. W. Ceram. Translated by E. B. Garside; AN	430
		Gold, Herbert	
		Birth of a hero; B	283
		Golden ass, the. Apuleius. A new translation by R. Graves; AN	286
		Government project. E. C. Banfield; AN	57
		Grass harp, the. T. Capote; B	482
		Graves, Robert	
		A new translation of The golden ass by Apuleius; AN	286
		Great masterpieces. M. S. Fox; B	481
		Greco, El. J. F. Matthews; B	481
		Grendon, Felix; R	156
		Guérard, Albert J.	
		André Gide; B	174
		Gulick, Luther Halsey	
		American foreign policy. AN	457
		Gumpert, Martin	
		The anatomy of happiness; B	244
		H	
		Haggin, B. H.; R	199, 219, 242, 266, 431
		Hamilton, Holman	
		Zachary Taylor; Soldier in the White house; AN	408
		Handlin, Oscar	
		The uprooted; B	504
		Handlin, Oscar; R	358, 408, 527
		Hanslick, Eduard	
		Vienna's golden years of music; B	199, 219
		Harrod, R. F.	
		The life of John Maynard Keynes; B	284
		Hart, Albert G.	
		Defense without inflation; B	14
		Hart, Albert G. and E. C. Brown	
		Financing defense; B	245
		Hayek, F. A.	
		John Stuart Mill and Harriet Taylor: Their correspondence and subsequent marriage; B	240
		Hearst, James	
		Man and his field; AN	198
		Heffner, Richard D.; R	552
		Herbert, A. P.	
		Independent member; B	76
		Hermit philosopher of Liendo, the. I. K. Stephens; AN	408
		Hero of our time, a. V. Pratolino; B	527
		Herz, John H.	
		Political realism and political idealism; B	1

PAGE		PAGE		PAGE		
Hesse, Hermann		Kelemen, Pál		Mary Wollstonecraft. R. M. Wardle; AN	313	
Siddhartha. Translated by H. Rosner; AN	430	Baroque and rococo in Latin America; B	75	Master plan U. S. A. By J. Fischer; B	452	
History of medicine, a. Volume I: Primitive and archaic medicine. H. E. Sigerist; B	56	Kelly, Fred C.		Masterpieces of Italian painting. J. W. Thompson; B	481	
History of modern painting: From Picasso to surrealism. M. Raynal, and others. Translated by D. Cooper; B	117	The Wright brothers; AN	177	Matthews, John F.		
History of soviet Russia, A. Volume I: The Bolshevik revolution. E. H. Carr; B	116	Kennan, George F.		El Greco; B	481	
History of Syria. Including Lebanon and Palestine. P. K. Hitti; B	194	American diplomacy, 1900-1950; B	282	McDonald, James G.		
Hitler's interpreter. P. Schmidt; AN	573	Keynes, John Maynard, biography. R. F. Harrod; B	284	My mission in Israel; B	401	
Hitti, Philip K.		Kibsh, Peter; R	503	McKay, Donald C.		
History of Syria. Including Lebanon and Palestine; B	194	Kilpatrick, William Heard; trail blazer in education. S. Tenenbaum; AN	573	The United States and France; B	96	
Hobson, Laura Z.		Kimche, John		Mead, Margaret		
The celebrity; AN	360	Seven fallen pillars. The middle east, 1915-1950; B	194	Soviet attitudes towards authority; B	306	
Hoggart, Richard		King, Francis		Meaning of Shakespeare, the. H. C. Goddard; AN	120	
Auden: An introductory essay; B	550	The dividing stream; B	97	Mellor, Andrew		
Holborn, Hajo		Klein, A. M.		India since partition; B	528	
The political collapse of Europe; B	74	The second scroll; B	379	Melodies linger on. Fifty years of popular song. L. Freeman; AN	138	
Holy sinner, the. T. Mann. Translated by H. T. Lowe-Porter; B	307	Korg, Jacob; R	176	Melville log, the: A documentary life of Herman Melville. J. Leyda; B	478	
Homans, George C.		Kraft, Joseph; R	15, 380	Memories and portraits. I. Bunin. Translated by V. Traill and R. Chancellor; B	429	
The human group; AN	57	Kraus, Henry		Merle, Robert		
Homosexual in America, the. A subjective approach. D. W. Cory; B	551	In the city was a garden; AN	286	Weekend at Dunkirk. Translated by K. Rebillon-Lambley; AN	430	
House of liars. E. Morante. Translated by A. Foulke; B	357	Krutch, Joseph Wood; R	35, 155, 194, 406	Mexico in sculpture, 1521-1821. E. W. Weismann; B	454	
How good is your school? W. A. Yauch; B	135			Michener, James A.		
Howe, Irving; R	263, 309, 330			The voice of Asia; B	528	
Hughes, H. Stuart; R	74, 282			Miers, Earl Schenck		
Hulburd, David				The general who marched to hell; AN	18	
This happened in Pasadena; B	135			Miles, Josephine		
Human group, the. G. C. Homans; AN	57			The continuity of poetic language; Studies in English poetry from the 1540's to the 1940's; AN	37	
Humphries, Rolfe; R	198, 285, 483			Mill, John Stuart, and Harriet Taylor: Their correspondence and subsequent marriage. F. A. Hayek; B	240	
Hurewitz, J. C.; R	194			Millay, Edna St. Vincent, memoir of. The indigo bunting. V. Sheean; AN	360	
Hutchison, Keith; R	284, 550			Miller, John C.		
				Crises in freedom; B	570	
I				Miller, Perry; R	356	
Idea and practice of world government, the. G. J. Mangone; B	175			Mills, C. Wright		
Imagism. A chapter for the history of modern poetry. S. K. Coffman, Jr.; B	176			White collar; B	309	
Immediate sun. R. Thomas; AN	312			Mills of the Kavanaughs, the. R. Lowell; AN	76	
Immigrant's return. A. Pelligrini; B	435			Miracle at Kitty Hawk. The letters of W. and O. Wright. Edited by F. C. Kelly; AN	36	
In defense of the national interest. A critical examination of American foreign policy. H. J. Morgenthau; B	196; correction 218; see also letters			Mister Johnson; J. Cary; B	355	
In the city was a garden. H. Kraus; AN	286			Montgomery, Edmund, biography. I. K. Stephens; AN	408	
Incredible New York. L. Morris; AN	553			Moore, Barrington, Jr.; R	137	
Independent member. A. P. Herbert; B	76			Morante, Elsa		
India and Asia; four books on; B	528			House of liars. Translated by A. Foulke; B	357	
India, Pakistan, Ceylon. Edited by W. N. Brown; R	115			Moravia, Alberto		
India since partition. A. Mellor; B	528			The conformist; B	401	
Indian art of the Americas. L. H. Appleton; B	454			Morgenthau, Hans J.		
Indigo bunting, the, a memoir of Edna St. Vincent Millay. V. Sheean; AN	260			In defense of the national interest. A critical examination of American foreign policy; B	196; correction 218; see also letters	411
Inter-racial housing. M. Deutsch and M. E. Collins; AN	18			Morison, Samuel Eliot		
Irish poets of the nineteenth century. Edited by G. Taylor; AN	198			Aleutians, Gilberts, and Marshalls, AN	360	
Island in time, the. E. Pawel; B	14			Morris, Lloyd		
				Incredible New York; AN	553	
J				Mosely, Philip E.; R	96; see also letters	180
James, Henry				Motley, Willard		
The portable Henry James. Edited, and with an introduction by M. D. Zabel; B	406			We fished all night; B	572	
James, Henry, and Mark Twain: Turn west, turn east. H. S. Canby; B	505			Muddy waters. A. Maass; AN	456	
Jarrell, Randall; R	570			Music right and left. V. Thomson; B	242	
Jarves, James Jackson, biography of. F. Stegmuller; B	55			My mission in Israel. J. G. McDonald; B	403	
Jennings, Sir Ivor, K. C.						
The commonwealth in Asia; S	528			N		
Jerrold, Douglas				Nabokov, Nicholas		
England: Past, present, and future; B	156			Old friends and new music; B	431	
John C. Calhoun, sectionalist. 1840-1850. C. M. Wiltse; AN	333			Negotiating with the Russians. Edited by R. Dennett and J. E. Johnson; B	571	
John Stuart Mill and Harriet Taylor: Their correspondence and subsequent marriage. F. A. Hayek; B	240			Nehru, talks with. A discussion between Jawaharlal Nehru and Norman Cousins; B	455	
Johnson, Gerald W.				Niles, Abbe; R	57	
This American people; B	408			Noyes, Charles E.; R	97, 245	
Jones, Ernest; R	55, 136, 176, 216, 311, 401					
Jones, Jesse, with E. Angly				O		
Fifty billion dollars; B	506			Old friends and new music. N. Nabokov; B	431	
Jones, Thomas				On being Negro in America. J. S. Redding; B	427	
Lloyd George; AN	286			Operational code of the politburo, the. N. Leites; B	197	
Journals of André Gide, the. Volume IV: 1939-1949. Translated, with an introduction and notes, by J. O'Brien; B	36			Our Mr. Wrenn. S. Lewis; AN	553	
Journey for our time. The journals of the Marquis de Custine, Edited and translated by P. P. Kohler. Introduction by General W. B. Smith; B	264			Ovesey, Lionel; R	265	
Journey with genius. W. Bynner; AN	216			Oxford companion to the theater, the. Edited by P. Hartnol; AN	57	
K				P		
Keene, Frances; R	54, 357, 453, 482, 527			Padover, Saul K.; R	332	
Keith, Agnes Newton				Painters, great; five books on; B	481	
White man returns; AN	217			Paper books. H. Swados	114, 134	
				Paterson (book four). W. C. Williams; B	155	
				Paterson, Rebecca		
				The riddle of Emily Dickinson; AN	573	
				Pavilion, the. S. Young; AN	246	

	PAGE		PAGE		PAGE
Pawel, Ernst		The lobbyists. Art and business of influencing lawmakers; B	330	Toscanini, Arturo, biography of. H. Taubman; B	266
The island in time; B	14	Schwartz, Benjamin I.		Toy soldier, the. D. C. Reaser; AN	198
Peardon, Thomas P.; R	76	Chinese communism and the rise of Mao; B	243	Travers, Robert	
Pearson, Hesketh		Schwartz, Harry		20th meridian; B	197
Dizzy. The life and personality of Benjamin Disraeli, earl of Beaconsfield; B	194	Russia's soviet economy; B	214	Truman, Harry S., and General MacArthur, book on. By R. H. Rovere and A. M. Schlesinger, Jr.; B	378
Pelligrini, Angelo		Sea around us, the. R. L. Carson; B	96	Turn west, turn east: Mark Twain and Henry James. H. S. Canby	505
Immigrant's return; B	453	Season of the stranger, the. S. Becker; B	14	Twain, Mark, and Henry James: Turn west, turn east. H. S. Canby; B	505
Perón era, the. R. J. Alexander; AN	573	Second scroll, the. A. M. Klein; B	379	20th meridian. R. Travers; B	197
Peyre, Henri; R	174	Selected letters of William Cowper, the. Edited with an introduction by M. Van Doren; AN	506	Twilight of the absolute, the. A. Malraux; B	214
Philosophy of democratic government. Y. R. Simon; B	332	Selected poems. R. Eberhart; AN	198	Two cheers for democracy. E. M. Forster; B	480
Photobiography. C. Beaton; AN	246	Selected poems. R. Farren; AN	76	Two lives of James Jackson Jarves, the. F. Steegmuller; B	55
Pillar of fire, the. K. Stern; B	16	Selected writings of Paul Eluard. Translated by L. Alexander; AN	312	U	
Pilley, John		Seven fallen pillars. The middle east, 1915-1950. J. Kimche; B	194	U. S. A., the permanent revolution, by the editors of <i>Fortune</i> in collaboration with R. W. Davenport; B	358
Letter on review (in issue of June 30) of "The rise of scientific philosophy," by H. Reichenbach	99	Sex and the law. M. Ploscowe; AN	507	United nations, the. S. S. Fenichell and P. Andrews; AN	381
Pilley, John; R	135	Shakespeare, the meaning of. H. C. Goddard; AN	120	United nations and power politics, the. J. MacLaurin; B	503
Ploscowe, Morris		Sheean, Vincent		United States and France, the. D. C. McKay; B	97
Sex and the law; AN	507	The indigo bunting, a memoir of Edna St. Vincent Millay; AN	360	Uprooted, the. O. Handlin; B	504
Poems in progress. P. Bartlett; AN	286	Shellabarger, Samuel		Ussher, Arland	
Poems of St. John of the cross. Translated by R. Campbell, with a preface by M. C. D'Arcy. S. J.; AN	312	Lord Chesterfield and his world; AN	529	The magic people; AN	408
Poetry (books of)		Shelton, Willard; R	305, 452, 506	V	
Verse chronicle	76, 198, 312, 483	Sherman, General William T.; book on march to the sea. E. S. Miers; AN	18	Verse chronicle. See Poetry	
Political collapse of Europe, the. H. Holborn; B	74	Siddhartha. H. Hesse. Translated by H. Rosner; AN	430	Vienna's golden years of music. E. Hanslick; B	199, 219
Political realism and political idealism. J. H. Herz; B	15	Sigerist, Henry E.		Voice of Asia, the. J. A. Michener; B	528
Portable Henry James, the. Edited, and with an introduction by M. D. Zabel; B	406	A history of medicine. Volume I: Primitive and archaic medicine; B	56	W	
Portfolio editions of the library of great painters. M. Schapiro; B	481	Simon, Yves R.		Waithman, Robert	
Pratolino, Vasco		Philosophy of democratic government; B	332	The day before tomorrow; AN	507
A hero of our time; B	527	Sloane, Michael		Waiting for God. S. Weil. Translated by S. Craufurd. Introduction by L. A. Fiedler; B	359
Price, the. R. Cilien; AN	409	First and last poems; AN	198	Walker, Richard L.; R	243
Producer, the. R. Brooks; B	505	Smith, Bradford		Walsh, Warren B.; R	197, 264
Public school scandal, the. E. Conrad; B	135	Bradford of Plymouth; AN	380	Watch, the. C. Levi; B	54
R		Smith, Mortimer		Way beyond "art," the. The work of H. Bayer. A. Dörner; B	572
Raymond of the <i>Times</i> . F. Brown; AN	138	William Jay Gaynor, mayor of New York; AN	360	We fished all night. W. Motley; B	572
Raynal, Maurice, and others		Soldier's story, a. O. N. Bradley; AN	18	Weekend at Dunkirk. R. Merle. Translated by K. Rebillon-Lambley; AS	430
History of modern painting: From Picasso to surrealism. Translated by D. Cooper; B	117	Soria, Martin S.; R	75	Weil, Simone	
Read, Herbert		Soule, George; R	214	Waiting for God. Translated by E. Craufurd. Introduction by L. A. Fiedler; B	359
Collected poems; AN	198	Soviet attitudes towards authority. M. Mead; B	306	Weismann, Elizabeth Wilder	
Reaser, Donald C.		Soviet documents on foreign policy. Volume I, 1917-1924. Selected and edited by J. Degras; B	380	Mexico in sculpture, 1521-1821; B	454
The toy soldier; AN	198	Soviet Russian literature, 1917-50. G. Struve; B	331	Weiss, T.	
Redding, J. Saunders		Spielberger, Charles; R	96, 359	Catch, the; AN	312
On being Negro in America; B	427	Squires, Radcliffe		Werner, M. R.; R	426
Reichenbach, Hans		Where the compass spins; AN	312	What's the world coming to? Science looks at the future. A. M. Low; B	406
The rise of scientific philosophy; reply to review of his book in issue of June 30; letter	99	Steegmuller, Francis		Where the compass spins. R. Squires; AN	312
Renoir. M. S. Fox; B	481	The two lives of James Jackson Jarves; B	55	White collar. C. W. Mills; B	309
Requiem for a nun. W. Faulkner; B	263	Stephens, I. K.		White man returns. A. N. Keith; AN	217
Reunion and reaction. The compromise of 1877 and the end of reconstruction. C. V. Woodward; B	552	The hermit philosopher of Liendo; AN	408	William Heard Kilpatrick; trail blazer in education. S. Tenenbaum; AN	573
Revolt, the. M. Begin; B	401	Stern, Karl		William Jay Gaynor, mayor of New York. M. Smith; AN	360
Rich, Adrienne Cecile		The pillar of fire; B	16	Williams, Jay	
A change of world; AN	76	Stories of F. Scott Fitzgerald, the. A selection of twenty-eight stories. With an introduction by M. Cowley; B	356	Fall of the sparrow; AN	286
Riddle of Emily Dickinson, the. R. Patterson; AN	573	Strange lands and friendly people. W. O. Douglas; B	476	Williams, William Carlos	
Rilke, Rainer Maria		Soviet Russian literature, 1917-50; B	331	Autobiography; AN	333
Letters to Benvenuto; AN	313	Styron, William		Paterson (book four); B	155
Rise of scientific philosophy, the. H. Reichenbach; reply by the author to review in issue of June 30; letter	99	Lie down in darkness; B	453	Wilson, H. H.; R	330
Roads to agreement. S. Chase, in collaboration with M. T. Chase; B	34	Swados, Harvey		Wiltse, Charles M.	
Rockets, missiles, and space travel. W. Ley; B	155	Paper books	114, 134	John C. Calhoun, sectionalism. 1840-1850; AN	333
Roosevelt, Theodore		Swados, Harvey; R	14, 97, 158, 197, 283, 379, 453, 505, 512, 16, 401	Winged chariot, and other poems. W. de la Mare; B	483
Letters of. Volumes III and IV. The square deal, 1901-1905. Selected and edited by E. E. Morison; B	426	Syrkin, Marie; R		Wollstonecraft, Mary, biography of. R. M. Wardle; AN	313
Rovere, Richard H., and A. M. Schlesinger, Jr.		T		Woodward, C. Vann	
The general and the president; B	378	Taft, Robert A.		Reunion and reaction. The compromise of 1877 and the end of reconstruction; B	552
Russia's soviet economy. H. Schwartz; B	214	A foreign policy for Americans; editorial on	433	Woodward, W. E.	
S		Talks with Nehru. A discussion between Jawaharlal Nehru and N. Cousins; B	455	Years of madness; AN	573
St. John of the cross		Taubman, Howard		Word of love, the. P. Engle; AN	76
Poems of. Translated by R. Campbell, with a preface by M. C. D'Arcy, S. J.; AN	312	The maestro. The life of Arturo Toscanini; B	266	Worthen, Eleanor Goddard	
Salinger, J. D.		Taylor, A. J. P.; R	196; (correction 218; see also letters 411);	Letter on review of "The meaning of Shakespeare, by H. C. Goddard (page 37)"	120
The catcher in the rye; B	176	Taylor, Zachary, biography. H. Hamilton; AN	408	Worthy Dr. Fuller. W. Addison; AN	246
Samuel Butler's notebooks. Selections edited by G. Keynes and B. Hill; B	311	Tenenbaum, Samuel		Wright brothers, the. F. C. Kelly; AN	177
Sandburg, Carl		William Heard Kilpatrick; trail blazer in education; AN	573	Wright, Wilbur and Orville	
New American song bag; B	57	Tenney committee, the. Legislative investigation of subversive activities in California. E. L. Barrett, Jr.; B	94; see also editorial	Letters of; Miracle at Kitty Hawk. Edited by F. C. Kelly; AN	36
Sansom, William		They shall be free. A. K. Chalmers; B	101	Y	
The face of innocence; B	136	This American people. G. W. Johnson; B	408	Yauch, Wilbur A.	
Sapirstein, Milton R.; R	551	This fascinating animal world. A. Devoe; AN	530	How good is your school? B	135
Schapiro, J. Salwyn; R	96	This happened in Pasadena. D. Hulburd; R	135	Years of madness. W. E. Woodward; AN	573
Schapiro, Meyer		Thomas, Rosemary		Yeats, William Butler	
Van Gogh; B	481	Immediate sun; AN	312	Collected poems; AN	76
Schlesinger, Arthur M., Jr., and R. H. Rovere		Thompson, James W.		Young, Stark	
The general and the president; B	378	Masterpieces of Italian painting; B	481	The pavilion; AN	246
Schmidt, Paul		Thomson, Virgil		Z	
Hitler's interpreter; AN	573	Music right and left; B	242	Zabel, Morton Dauwen; R	48
Schnozzola, the story of Jimmy Durante. G. Fowler; B	330			Zachary Taylor; Soldier in the White house. H. Hamilton; AN	408
Schools, three books on	135				
Schriftgiesser, Karl					

THE NATION ASSOCIATES, Inc.

20 VESEY STREET, NEW YORK 7

The "Marginal War"—J. Alvarez del Vayo

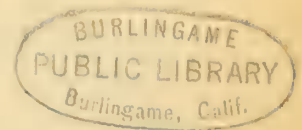
THE *Nation*

July 7, 1951

Rabbit Out of the Russian Hat

Can the Cease-fire Misfire?

BY SCRUTINEER



✱

We Can Forfeit Freedom

BY SENATOR MARGARET CHASE SMITH

✱

No Reds in Mill Valley - - Carey McWilliams

Footnote to Taft-Hartley - - - - Aleine Austin

How to Combat Inflation - - - J. K. Galbraith

From Jerusalem to Rome - - - - Marie Syrkin

MONEY-SAVING MAGAZINE COMBINATIONS

For Your Convenience

THE *Nation* with

☐ Harper's Magazine..\$9.50

You Save \$2.50

☐ Consumer Reports.\$10.75

You Save \$1.25

These club combinations are for one year and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses. Remittance must accompany all combination orders.

THE *Nation* by itself:

☐ One Year \$7 ☐ Two Years \$12

☐ Three Years \$17

SERVICEMEN'S RATE \$5 A YEAR

Canadian and Foreign Postage \$1 a year extra

The NATION

20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

- ☐ I want to subscribe to *The Nation* for _____ years.
☐ Remittance enclosed. ☐ Bill me.
- ☐ I enclose my remittance for the following *Nation* combinations as listed below.

NAME _____

STREET _____

CITY _____

ZONE _____

STATE _____

7/7/51

SPECIAL NOTICE TO NATION READERS:

To Subscribers:

We are asking subscribers who wish to change their address at least three weeks' notice in advance of the old as well as the new.

If you will renew *The Nation* on receipt of the expiration, your cooperation will much appreciated to simplify our records and save us time and expense from further renewal. At the same time you will continue to receive *The Nation*.

To Newsstand Readers:

Since *The Nation* is distributed on key newsstands only, you may have difficulty in obtaining your copy. Therefore, the only certain way of getting *The Nation* regularly is to enter a subscription. By doing so you will not only be sure of receiving your copy promptly every week but save considerable money.

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 173

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • JULY 7, 1951

NUMBER 1

The Shape of Things

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF ALEINE AUSTIN'S article, Footnote to Taft-Hartley, in this issue is underscored by a recent riot at the Summerville, Georgia, plant of the Berryton Mills. The C. I. O. Textile Workers' Union had been certified by the National Labor Relations Board in February, 1949, as the collective-bargaining representatives for the company's 300 employees. The union was again certified as the collective-bargaining representative in November, 1950. Although an agreement had not been signed after more than two years of negotiation, the workers still did not strike. Not until the company began firing union leaders did the rank and file's accumulated grievances result in a walk-out. The company immediately moved to crush the strike and the union. Within three weeks ninety-one strikers were arrested for violation of an injunction against picketing which the company had obtained. In the meantime the company hired scab labor, and the usual trouble ensued. A group of strikers now face a charge of "murder while committing a riotous act." They are accused of overturning a car carrying strikebreakers, causing the death of a non-striker who attempted to leap from the capsizing car. Thanks to Taft-Hartley, the South's "textile belt" is rapidly returning to the primitive savagery that characterized the region's industrial relations before the New Deal. The violence will continue until the protections which the Wagner Act gave to labor is fully restored.

★

THE ARREST IN ARGENTINA OF RICARDO Balbin, presidential hope of the Radical Party, and of two high-ranking Army officers, and the replacement of Foreign Minister Paz by the ambassador to Washington, Jeronimo Remorino, are symptoms of the mounting political crisis in Buenos Aires. This is the second time Señor Balbin has been arrested in the past fifteen months, ten of which he has spent in jail. When released after his first arrest, he made a propaganda tour through the country, and drew large and enthusiastic crowds. The economic situation in Argentina is getting worse, and the repressions reflect a new uneasiness among the ruling clique. Perón has apparently come to the conclusion that

if the next presidential elections are fairly clean he is likely to be defeated. He is said to be thinking of advancing the date of the elections, holding them in November or December instead of next year, in order to prevent the opposition from mobilizing its full strength. He may also decree a "reform" of the electoral law, following the pattern in Italy and France. It is the change in labor's mood which has made Perón think his reelection endangered. Six of the largest unions—railway, maritime, printing, building, metal-working, baking—now oppose him, although their leaders still give lip-service to the regime. Part of the army, his chief stronghold, has also turned against him, and the navy and air force are said to be disloyal to him. Perón, however, still has the weapon of repression. Next week we shall publish a document from Buenos Aires presenting impressive evidence of the Perón terror.

★

IN VETOING THE BROYLES BILL, A STRINGENT "anti-subversive" measure recently passed by the Illinois legislature, Governor Adlai Stevenson has taken a firm stand against the demagogues who have been practicing political blackmail in so many state legislatures. In a fine veto message, Governor Stevenson summed up his objection to the Broyles bill and similar repressive measures in this manner:

Basically, the effect of this legislation . . . will be less the detection of subversives and more the intimidation of honest citizens. But we cannot suppress thought and expression and preserve the freedoms guaranteed by the Bill of Rights. That is our dilemma. In time of danger we seek to protect ourselves from sedition, but in doing so we imperil the very freedoms we seek to protect, just as we did in the evil atmosphere of the Alien and Sedition Laws of John Adams's Administration and just as Britain did during the Napoleonic era. . . . We must fight traitors with laws. We already have the laws. We must fight falsehood and evil ideas with truth and better ideas. We have them in plenty. But we must not confuse the two. Laws infringing our rights and intimidating unoffending persons without enlarging our security will neither catch subversives nor win converts to our better ideas. And in the long run evil ideas can be counteracted and conquered not by laws but only by better ideas.

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things	1
Foothold on Peace	4
The Consumers Win a Battle	5

ARTICLES

Neutralism Rejected <i>by Alexander Werth</i>	5
Rabbit Out of the Russian Hat <i>by Scrutineer</i>	6
The "Marginal War" <i>by J. Alvarez del Vayo</i>	8
Footnote to Taft-Hartley <i>by Aleine Austin</i>	10
No Reds in Mill Valley <i>by Carey McWilliams</i>	12
We Can Forfeit Freedom <i>by Margaret Chase Smith</i>	13

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

How to Combat Inflation <i>by J. K. Galbraith</i>	14
Two First Novels <i>by Harvey Swados</i>	14
The Great Divide <i>by Joseph Kraft</i>	15
From Jerusalem to Rome <i>by Marie Syrkin</i>	16
Palimpsest of History <i>by Mildred Adams</i>	17
Books in Brief	18
Music <i>by B. H. Haggin</i>	18

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 19

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 420

by Frank W. Lewis opposite 20

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Associate Editor: Carey McWilliams

<i>Foreign Editor</i>	<i>Literary Editor</i>
J. Alvarez del Vayo	Margaret Marshall

Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison

<i>Drama:</i> Joseph Wood Krutch	<i>Music:</i> B. H. Haggin
----------------------------------	----------------------------

Assistant Editor: Charles R. Allen, Jr.

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside

Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting

Staff Contributors

Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: Mary Simon

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1951, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$7; Two years \$12; Three years \$17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: *The Nation* is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

On June 28 three Republicans joined sixteen Democrats in the Illinois Senate to uphold the Governor's veto. A sharp reversal for the witch-hunters and demagogues, the vote to uphold the veto illustrates what courageous leadership can accomplish against what seem to be heavy odds. In this instance high praise should go to the Chicago *Sun-Times*, the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, and the Lindsay *Press* for the manner in which they opposed the Broyles bill and upheld the Governor's veto.

★

ON MAY 26 THE NATIONAL FARM LABOR Union (A. F. of L.) called a strike in the melon fields of California's Imperial Valley. The union relies heavily on Article 32 of the international labor agreement between Mexico and the United States, which provides for the immediate removal of Mexican nationals from the scene of a labor dispute. But Secretary of Labor Tobin, who is empowered to enforce the agreement, has refused to recognize the strike as a labor dispute and has passed the buck to the state employment service, only to have that service toss it right back to him. Mr. Tobin finally issued a removal order which applies, however, only to Mexican nationals working on farms that have been struck by the N. F. L. U. And it is almost impossible to prove that a particular farm has been struck, since farm owners procure their workers from a common labor pool. Not only can farmers transfer workers from one farm to another to prove that everything is in apple-pie order, but it is hard to distinguish between Mexican nationals working under contracts negotiated under the international labor agreement and the Mexican "wetbacks" now being widely used as strike-breakers.

★

IN THE MEANTIME GREAT PRESSURE IS BEING brought to bear by Southwestern cotton and produce growers to obtain a new labor agreement with Mexico to replace the one now in force, which expires on July 15. Gladwin Hill's thorough exposé in the New York *Times* of the wholesale violation of the laws concerning the use of "wetback" labor—as well as the findings of the President's Commission on Migratory Labor—make it difficult for the grower interests to justify the further importation of Mexican nationals. But these interests have great power and can crack the whip over a large group of Senators and Representatives from the deep South and the Southwest. By the time this paragraph appears in print the strike will doubtless be suspended, since Imperial Valley's melon crop will by then have been harvested by Mexicans, both "wetbacks" and legally admitted nationals. But the importance of the issue will remain. Of what use is an international labor agreement, designed to guard against labor exploitation, if it is not to be enforced?

SINCE THE FRENCH AND ITALIAN ELECTIONS a new emphasis may be noted in the propaganda against Point Four and similar programs. On the financial pages of such papers as the *Wall Street Journal* and the *World-Telegram*, the theme is now being developed that adverse economic conditions do not contribute to the spread of communism. Support for this view is found in the fact that the Communists polled a heavy vote in France and Italy despite the substantial economic improvement brought about, largely, by American aid. At the same time, so the argument runs, communism is a negligible influence in such poor countries as Ireland, Austria, and Turkey. The inference is that since spending money to raise living standards does not undercut communism, appropriations for economic aid can be safely tapered off. It may, in truth, be doubted that by itself "a good raise will cure a Communist"; on the other hand, it should not be assumed that people of Greece, Italy, and France have been given the equivalent of "a good raise," if that means a substantial improvement in living standards. Before abandoning the notion that economic aid can help to check the spread of communism, it might be well for us to identify the social groups that have benefited most and least from American aid and then correlate the political behavior of these groups with the size of the benefits they have received.

★

THE OTHER DAY A YALE PROFESSOR, Theodore M. Greene, told a Senate subcommittee he was disturbed by the fact that instructors avoid teaching about communism because they fear it might cost them their jobs. The next day Harvard got its inning. The *Crimson*, which can hardly be said to see eye to eye with the Communist Party despite its suspicious title, published its third annual report on academic freedom. The report is a first-rate document. A staff of five editors spent several months correlating news accounts, letters, and interviews bearing on thirty-five incidents in which a question of academic freedom was involved. As the report points out, those who cite instances of Communist perfidy—and they are not hard to find—to justify infringements of academic freedom, usually look in the wrong direction. "Of all the cases reported in this issue," says the report, "only one involves an actual card-carrying Communist. . . . The rest involve assorted radicals, former Communists, people who someone thought were Communists, members of 'subversive organizations,' teachers who opposed administration policies, and the like. . . . The threat [of communism] does not lie in lectures and speeches by radical teachers. If a teacher's political opinions have vitiated his value as a teacher, then he may be fired or not fired on the basis of his competence. But he should not be fired simply because his opinions are unusual or his associations unpopular."

July 7, 1951

By and large the report fully supports the argument made by Dr. Greene and will doubtless be cited in Cambridge as further evidence that what Yale argues, Harvard proves.

★

THE LATEST PHASE OF THE ENDLESS FEUD between California and Arizona over the water of the Colorado River may reach a stalemate this year, when Arizona's request for authorization for the Central Arizona Project is stymied by California's demand for a Supreme Court ruling on how much water belongs to each state. The settlement of this continuing dispute is again being hindered by the activities of the high-pressure lobbies maintained by both states. The most vociferous of the California lobbies is the Colorado River Association; though this organization is described as a "non-profit, non-dues-paying, and non-fees-paying" organization of private citizens, it managed last year to find \$97,000 for lobbying, and in the last three years it has spent approximately \$250,000 for that purpose. By and large the Colorado River Association speaks for the large industrial users of Colorado River water in Southern California. Certain industries, of course, consume enormous amounts of water. Between 1939 and 1949 the water demands of a selected group of industries in Los Angeles increased 37 per cent. Experts estimate that 65,000 gallons of water are required to produce a ton of steel, 770 gallons to refine a barrel of oil, and 357 gallons to brew 15 gallons of beer. Los Angeles homeowners would doubtless be amazed to learn the extent to which domestic water rates subsidize the lower rates paid by industrial users. For years now city consumers have been paying a large part of the water and power bill for Southern California industry.

★

AN IMPORTANT PRECEDENT IS IN THE making in the case of Dr. William J. Fordrungen, who was recently suspended from the faculty of Hunter College in New York for taking "a sensational and unwholesome approach" in the teaching of sex hygiene. The suspension was recommended by a committee of faculty members composed of a Catholic, a Jew, and a Protestant. Dr. Fordrungen contends that he is being persecuted for his Roman Catholic beliefs and for attempting to overcome "the teaching of communism in morals." He has also implied that his accusers are Jewish and that anti-Semitism is the basic charge. A study of the case, however, fails to show that Dr. Fordrungen was charged with anti-Semitism or that his personal beliefs are involved in any manner. In fact, the importance of the case turns on the point that the charges are strictly limited to Dr. Fordrungen's classroom behavior and his competence as an instructor. The faculty report is quite specific on this point. It accuses Dr. Fordrungen of loudness of voice in the classroom, of an ever-angry disposi-

tion in class, of the habit of interrupting students, and of teaching, directly or indirectly, Roman Catholicism in the name of teaching morality. When asked if he attempted to present both sides of controversial issues, such as birth control, Dr. Fordrunk replied: "No, there are not two sides to murder." The evidence also shows that Dr. Fordrunk referred to Columbia and Harvard universities as "hotbeds of communism" and frequently inveighed against General Marshall, Dean Acheson, and the State Department—subjects rather remotely related to sex hygiene and education. Dr. Fordrunk will be tried in the fall by a committee of three board members who will report back to the Board of Higher Education. Here, for once, is a case in which the charges against an instructor have been directly related to classroom behavior and professional competence rather than to his beliefs or associations or extra-curricular activities.

★

IT IS WITH GENUINE REGRET THAT WE record the departure from the *Nation* staff of Harold C. Field, who has served as executive editor since June, 1948. Mr. Field will spend the summer in Europe and will contribute articles and comments from the countries he visits.

Footbold on Peace

PEACE is more than the absence of war. In Korea the world is so conscious of the political and economic hurdles standing between cease-fire and peace that commentators, official or otherwise, have allowed themselves little satisfaction over the probable early end of the fighting. But a good deal of satisfaction is justified, if only because once the killing stops it is most unlikely that either side will start it up again. Merely to shift the unresolved conflicts from the battlefield to the conference room is a substantial gain. It is also fair to look upon Russia's initiative and the quick response of the Chinese and North Korean commanders to General Ridgway's truce proposal as implicit acknowledgment that the aggression of June, 1950, has been defeated. Verbal admission of this patent truce may never be made, but the act is convincing enough.

Whether the same result could have been achieved when the Thirty-eighth Parallel was first reached by the U. N. forces last fall will never be known, for a proper try was not made, despite the earnest plea of the Indian delegate. Military conditions were apparently unfavorable to peace then as they were last week, but it is at least possible that Communist leaders, not yet fully realizing the force that could be marshaled against them, would have rejected a cease-fire. In any case the chance was passed up by the U. N. command and lost utterly when General MacArthur made his reckless drive to the Yalu. That the occasion was this time seized by both

Russia and the United States is proof that neither power sees any gain in further fighting. From the American point of view, as we have said many times, only an early truce could justify the policy of limited war. Besides providing the essential preliminaries, the events of the past week have gone far to clinch the Administration's case against General MacArthur.

Whatever bickering there may be over the conditions set by General Ridgway, nobody doubts that the proposed truce talks will be held. Meanwhile an unofficial truce is likely to be in effect, since soldiers are understandably reluctant to die when a war's end is in sight. Even the armistice itself may be relatively easy to arrange. The real trouble will come later when the major political and territorial issues are up for discussion. A few questions are enough to suggest how critical and how tough those issues may be. Will the U. N. resolution of last winter embodying the five principles be accepted as the basis for peace negotiations? What powers will be included? Peking will be there, obviously, since it must be a party to the settlement. Will the United States insist on admitting the Chinese Nationalist government as well? To do so would presumably end the negotiations before they began; not only would Moscow and Peking pull out, but Britain and several other of our active allies which have recognized Communist China would be put in an impossible position. On the other hand, to exclude the Formosa regime from a conference dealing with the whole Far Eastern problem would play straight into the hands of MacArthur, McCarthy, and the China lobby and cancel most of the Administration's recent gains.

Will both North and South Korea be represented or neither? Without doubt the government of Syngman Rhee will expect to be included, since it was the victim of the original attack and South Koreans have done a good bit of the fighting. But the North Koreans have a right there too, especially if Peking is represented. The presence of the two Korean regimes will insure bitter conflict; it will also hamper any effort the other powers may make to plan the unification of the country.

Difficult as they may be to answer, these are rather minor questions. More serious are those that involve China's role in Asia—its seat in the U. N., the disposition of Formosa, what to do about the aggressor resolution and Peking's subsequent refusal to deal with the U. N. If Mao Tse-tung's government stands pat on these matters and the United States refuses to retreat from the extreme position taken by Secretary Acheson before the Russell committee, a deadlock is assured in advance. Then what? It may well be that, like Palestine since the Arab invasions, Korea will have to survive for a long time in a state of armistice rather than peace. For peace is more than the absence of war; it is the settlement of conflict, and this is going to be a hard slow job.

The Consumers Win a Battle

FOR the first time since the middle 1930's Texas advocates of taxation of natural resources have won a clear-cut decision over the oil and gas lobbies. With the moral support of labor and the organized assistance of the Texas Farm Bureau and the County Judges and Commissioners Association, a handful of freshman members of the Texas legislature have finally forced the adoption of a measure taxing natural gas pumped into pipe lines at a rate which is expected to yield a yearly revenue of \$12,000,000.

The tax bill was written by Representative Jim Sewell of Blooming Grove, a thirty-seven-year-old navy veteran blinded in action who has just received his law degree, with honors, from the University of Texas. Sewell allied himself with a group working for increased appropriations for rural roads and against the diversion of such funds to primary highway construction. Although the legislative session dragged well beyond the normal 120-day period, the coalition rented an ancient fourteen-room house and announced that it would fight all summer if necessary. The powerful oil and gas lobby capitulated when it realized that the "Sewell taxers" meant business.

In 1939 and again in 1941 attempts had been made by Governor W. Lee (Pappy) O'Daniel to write a ceiling on oil taxation into the constitution and to enact a general sales tax. When these efforts failed, the oil and gas lobby adopted the strategy of imposing selective sales taxes on cigarettes, beer, automobiles, insurance policies, and other consumer goods whenever new state funds for welfare, schools, or roads were needed. In the session just ended, the Shivers administration proposed an increase of from four to five cents a gallon in the gasoline tax and other selective sales taxes. Not only were these measures defeated, but corporate franchise taxes, largely paid by out-of-state oil, gas, and sulphur corporations, were sharply increased.

As a result of the new tax on natural gas the big interstate pipe lines will doubtless try to increase gas rates to Eastern and Midwestern gas utilities. The Federal Power Commission will then have to decide whether a tax of a half-cent per thousand cubic foot on gas which the pipe-line companies buy in Texas for an average of 5.1 cents per thousand and sell in the East for nearly 30 cents wholesale, warrants a price increase to out-of-state consumers.

It is not surprising that the question of taxing natural gas should have become such a dominant political issue in Texas. Since non-industrial consumers—and there are enough home fuel consumers in the United States to take the entire Texas supply—are willing to pay much more for natural gas than are industrial users, exports have steadily increased. Last year interstate pipe-line firms took slightly more than half of the pipe-line gas

produced in Texas. Natural gas is now going from Texas fields to more than thirty states and Mexico, and is available to more than 34,000,000 consumers from San Francisco to New York.

The tremendous increase in the industrial output of Texas between 1939 and 1947 has naturally underscored popular concern about the depletion of oil and gas reserves. The big pipe-line companies have always contended that since Texas has three-fourths of the reserves of this fine fuel, it should generously share the benefits with the rest of the country. But Texas natural gas is now being used in regions which have enough coal reserves to last for two thousand years, while the gas supplies—the state's only fuel resource—may be exhausted in twenty to fifty years. Aware that they may well be buying coal gas imported through these same pipe lines twenty years hence, Texans not unreasonably want to tax the profits of the gas companies while there are profits to tax. The fight over the control and management of this basic resource may well change the traditional pattern of Texas politics. Although the interstate pipeline companies will doubtless try to pass the new tax on to their out-of-state customers, Texas consumers have won an important battle.

Neutrality Rejected

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Paris, June 26

AN INTERESTING and neglected aspect of the recent French elections is the collapse of the Neutralists. With Claude Bourdet at their head, they ran half a dozen candidates in the Paris area, none of whom were elected. Bourdet himself got only 8,000 votes instead of the 25,000 he needed to win. Yet his meetings had been a great success, and even the Ministry of the Interior had predicted an easy victory for him. On the surface, the reasons for his failure were inadequate funds, no press except his weekly paper, and the appeal by his competitors not to waste votes on "splinter parties" and "freak candidates." Nor was the choice of the word "Neutralist" a happy one.

But there were more profound reasons for the Neutralists' failure, one being the conservatism of French voters, who usually prefer to vote for the same party as last time or else for another large party. Another was an insufficient realization among the masses that before long there will be a crying need for a nucleus of a new left opposition to which Socialists, M. R. P.'s, and perhaps even Communists can adhere as the internal and international situation becomes more menacing. In the present circumstances the electorate, so far as it gave Bourdet any thought at all, viewed him not as a unifying but as a dividing factor. The Socialists and M. R. P.'s detected in some of his assertions a re-

semblance to Communist arguments; the Communists were hostile because he was essentially an anti-Communist. At any rate, Bourdet's defeat at the polls in spite of his great intellectual authority is one of the curious episodes of the election.

His own view is that the bulk of the French people—except the workers, who get their answers from the Communists—still live too well and are too lulled by a

conformist press to realize the full gravity of the situation. For the time being, consequently, the same old men and the same old ideas will do. The failure of the Neutralists was the occasion of course for great rejoicing in the rightist press, and the Paris *Herald Tribune* congratulated the French electorate on having "rejected them." Actually it seems to have ignored rather than rejected them.

Rabbit Out of the Russian Hat

BY SCRUTINEER

Washington, June 28

OUR State Department got off to a limping start after Jacob Malik, Soviet delegate to the United Nations, put forth his proposals for a cease-fire and withdrawal of the belligerents from the Thirty-eighth Parallel.

As in Hitler's bad old days, Malik had to choose a Saturday afternoon to pull that startling rabbit out of his hat. He also succeeded in pulling some United States senior officials off the golf links. They sped to the State Department. With Assistant Secretary of State Dean Rusk presiding, they sat there four hours. For all the action they produced, it might have been a reunion of the Washington chapter of the yoga scouts. They spoke to Dean Acheson by telephone. There was some wonder that Acheson, on his Sandy Spring farm, did not think it worth while to drive forty-five minutes to his office and personally take charge at this crucial moment.

What emerged from that late Saturday huddle of our diplomatic talent was top secret. But not for long.

Almost immediately after Dean Rusk, H. Freeman Matthews, George Perkins, George McGhee, John Hickerson, and other State Department big brass ended their deliberations, the department rushed off a message to our Far Eastern command in Tokyo. The cable contained the Administration's up-to-the-minute thoughts on Malik's proposals.

It was written and dispatched for the confidential guidance of General Matthew Ridgway and his advisers. But a zealous United States information officer in Tokyo, misunderstanding Washington's intention, released the private directive to newspaper correspondents in Japan, making matters a little worse by labeling it a State Department handout.

The memorandum oozed American suspicion of the Russian armistice suggestion. It tended to dismiss Malik's

proposals as probably just another bolshevik propaganda trick—before we had put the litmus paper anywhere near the Soviet solution. It hinted, not subtly, that there might well be nothing more to Malik's gesture than a decoy to lure us below the Thirty-eighth Parallel before the Communists unleashed a smashing attack, hoping to catch us off base.

Whatever effect the State Department memo may have had in Moscow and Peking, it certainly succeeded in upsetting our allies. Desperately anxious to clutch the first real prospect of peace, our British, French, Dutch and other U. N. associates saw in the Tokyo leak an ugly token of what seemed to be American reluctance to end the Korean hostilities.

Now nobody could sensibly expect Acheson, upon hearing of the Malik broadcast, to forget his dignity, jump up and down with glee, pick up the telephone, and call off the war. Plain sense demanded a cautious approach. If we accepted too precipitately we risked appearing to be playing from weakness and boosting the Communist price for peace. Further, Malik's brief truce proposals, a shirt-tail to his vehement attack on the United States, required clarification. We had to know more about them.

But to foreign diplomats in Washington and to level-headed newsmen the State Department's initial attitude suggested a grudging approach to peace. Almost the entire emphasis at the department, as in its published Tokyo directive, was on suspicion of Soviet motives. Between naive concurrence and blustering skepticism, we veered strongly to the latter. If we meant to give the Russian overture serious consideration, we hardly conveyed that impression.

One Allied diplomat at a party a couple of days later said he thought the United States attitude was well-balanced. Then he spelled in acid letters what he meant. He related a conversation said to have occurred between Andrei Gromyko and a New York Times correspondent at Lake Success.

SCRUTINEER is the pen name of a writer who has long specialized in foreign affairs.

"Did you see my story in the *Times* this morning?" the reporter asked Gromyko.

"Yes."

"What'd you think of it?"

Gromyko, the story runs, paused and then remarked, "I thought it an extremely well-balanced report: half true, half false."

Similarly, added the narrator, there is balance in the United States attitude toward Russia's proposals: half realistic, half psychotic.

Acheson and his Assistant Secretaries of State, at least at the outset, seemed far more mindful—though probably less so than appeared on the surface—of the China lobby and their other foes than of the suddenly emerging chance of ending the bloodshed in Korea.

From a few Senators and Representatives came the prompt demand to continue the fighting until we had unified all Korea. We had been right in refusing to let Communist China shoot its way into the United Nations. But that ethic works both ways. What moral title would we possess to shoot Koreans into unification? Yet that is what Syngman Rhee, like his buddies in Congress, immediately insisted upon.

THREE days later the political climate in Washington began to change. Three days may seem a short time to allow our position to mature, but many more days, perhaps weeks, will pass while we put Malik's proposal to the test. During that period the slaughter in Korea goes on.

On June 26, speaking before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Dean Acheson injected a note of sanity into these developments. He definitively scotched the notion of making unification of the whole of Korea a condition for a cease-fire. He reaffirmed the reasonable principle, which we have been far too coy in underscoring, that withdrawal of the Communists behind the Thirty-eighth Parallel, with guaranties against renewed aggression, would be "a successful conclusion of the conflict." At the same time it became known that Acheson had ordered the American ambassador in Moscow and our delegate at the United Nations to seek the fullest light upon Malik's pronouncement.

Did Communist China agree to Malik's proposals? Did the Soviet government favor letting the commanders in the field open the armistice talks? Just how did Peking feel about that? Exactly which are the "belligerents" who, according to Malik, ought to arrange the cease-fire? Above all, however, we wished to learn whether the Russians and their Chinese allies meant business. Were they ready at once to pursue Malik's generalities and translate them into practice?

Already there are signs of at least one possible hitch, which one must hope will be straightened out. The U. N. forces in Korea, according to Pentagon experts, now

hold excellent defensive positions, topographically perhaps the best to which they can aspire. On the western side of the peninsula we are well south of the Thirty-eighth Parallel, but to the center and in the east we are from twenty to thirty miles north of the



Jacob Malik

Parallel in country whose contours are greatly to our advantage. There is consequently a strong tendency among our military chiefs in Washington, Tokyo, and Korea to insist that the eventual armistice line be drawn somewhat north of the line Russia proposed. Shall we let the chance of peace smash on those North Korean rocks?

British and French specialists say that the asset of our present position is not worth that price. They stress that our situation on the ground is steadily improving. That is because the troop-rotation scheme allows us to keep an appreciable number of men on the spot after their replacements arrive and because we are concentrating more and more fire-power against the enemy. These specialists say we could agree to a demilitarized zone along the Thirty-eighth Parallel without incurring undue risk.

More serious is the enlargement of the Chinese Communist air force from about 200 to some 1,000 jets in the past few weeks. This news, divulged by Secretary of the Air Force Finletter after his return from Tokyo the other day, is disturbing. But to assess this accretion of enemy strength as a cause for prolonging the war would be to take a topsy-turvy view of the situation.

It's also doubtful whether we will assign much of a role, if any, to Secretary General Trygve Lie at this stage. There is nothing sinister about this, nor any derogation of the United Nations. To proceed through intermediaries and through cumbersome machinery would simply entail needless delay. The direct approach accords with our allies' wishes.

As I said, there are distinct indications that the Administration, after stumbling at the start, is now intent upon testing the Soviet, Red Chinese, and North Korean will to silence the guns. I understand that there is even a readiness in Washington to include Soviet as well as Chinese Communist and North Korean representatives in the group which, with U. N. nations, would supervise the demilitarized zone if a truce is effected.

It's still too early to emit lusty whoops. However, with thumbs tightly held, it can be said that the early American reluctance seems to be yielding to a strong

desire on the part of the Administration to come to terms.

The first round of talks was inconclusive, but it left the gate wide open for a cease-fire in Korea. Nothing short of some wholly unforeseen twist or blundering diplomacy should prevent a swift suspension of hostilities.

The State Department allowed the American public to be grossly misled on Tuesday. The previous night the Associated Press and United Press circulated in this country and abroad a false story to the effect that Gromyko wanted to have the U. N. commander conduct truce parleys only with the North Korean commander, leaving the Chinese Communists outside—presumably as “the laughing third party.” This A. P.-U. P. yarn suggested another Red trap. We were to sign a truce with the North Koreans while the Chinese Communists would be free to attack us.

After radio and press had screamed this phony version of the Gromyko-Kirk talk for about eighteen hours, the State Department issued an authentic account of it. The official announcement made clear that Gromyko had offered the reasonable suggestion, which we also favor, that the U. N. commander in the field and military

representatives of the North Koreans *and* of the “Chinese volunteer units” should negotiate the armistice.

The most hopeful of Gromyko’s remarks to Kirk was his proposal that political and territorial matters be omitted from the truce talks, arrangements for settling those major issues to be decided later by the parties in Korea.

If Communist China agrees to limit the next stage to strictly military questions, that will mark a noteworthy departure from its previous attitude. Premier Chou En-lai said in substance last February that China could in no circumstances accept the American suggestion for a cease-fire in advance of negotiations. The implication was that the future of Formosa and China’s U. N. membership would have to be discussed along with a cease-fire.

A distinction ought to be made between the physical act of ending hostilities and concluding an armistice. The latter entails agreement on a demilitarized zone in Korea. It includes arrangements for supervising and safeguarding that zone. It includes assurances against renewal of the fighting. Consequently there may be a longish time-lag between a cease-fire and the armistice.

The “Marginal War”

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

IN STRIKING a balance for the first half of 1951, the most encouraging fact is that the extension of the Korean war so frequently predicted failed to materialize. From January 1 until a few weeks ago I kept a record of the alarming predictions made by well-known commentators in the press and on the radio, such as that an attack on Yugoslavia was imminent, that a Soviet coup in the Middle East or in Germany was “practically certain,” that there would be “general war in the spring.” It is enlightening now to go through my file. But while it has turned out that the extension of the war existed only in the mind of certain columnists, the cold war has in truth entered on a different phase. The French call this new phase “la guerre des marges”—marginal or peripheral war.

The responsible leaders of neither bloc would go lightly into a general war, but a “marginal war” may appear to offer a solution for certain economic and political problems. Under this head are classed the continuing disputes between East and West in far-flung areas of the world, in which each side is conscious of the dangers involved and takes good care not to go beyond the point where the clash of interests would unleash a third world war. The war in Korea has brought the

antagonists to the brink of the abyss, but neither has taken the final plunge into disaster.

The Russians, for their part, might have made any turning back impossible if at the moment when the United Nations forces were in dire straits in Korea they had used their submarines and air power to drive MacArthur’s soldiers into the sea. They refrained. They even refused to give their Chinese allies material aid in an amount that would have been considered equivalent to direct intervention. The Americans, in turn, could have hurled their whole air force against Manchuria and probably have destroyed the Chinese army. They too refrained. Whenever progress became particularly dangerous, the adversaries paused, like Alpinists about to assail a tricky rock face, to test the strength of the ropes which keep them from falling to their death.

Korea is an extreme example of this kind of war, for the fighting there has been real and continuous and in consequence the opportunities for political maneuvering have been slight. Iran offers a more inviting field of action. In Iran as in other sensitive spots in the Middle East, the Russians have needed only to wait—without making any openly hostile move—until mounting nationalism played into their hands. Although under the

Iranian-Russian treaty of 1921 the Russians could occupy the northern half of Iran if the British sent troops into the southern half, Moscow did not even threaten to take such action. Politically, it had more to gain by letting Iranian nationalism spend itself against the "colonial power," and by exploiting the hatred of the West that would be created in the whole Moslem world. Economically, it had only to let the inevitable course of events deprive the West of one of its principal sources of oil. Even if not a gallon of this oil went to Russia, the Soviet victory, in both the political and the economic sphere, would be considerable.

The British have also shown commendable restraint, and though they have sent a cruiser to Abadan, seem determined to avoid any step that might lead to hostilities—in spite of jingoist demands, like that of the *Daily Telegraph* last Thursday, for military intervention even if it should bring Russia into Iran.

THE "marginal war" has been going on in Germany for some time. But in all their agitation for German unity and their opposition to West German rearmament the Russians have been careful not to get themselves into the situation created by their blockade of Berlin. The Western powers have backed and filled about their plans for a German army. At the Brussels conference held in December, 1950, with Acheson, Bevin, and Schuman attending, it was decided that the remilitarization of Germany so long envisioned should be temporarily shelved. In Bonn, the Allied High Commissioners—John J. McCloy, François-Poncet, and Sir Ivone Kirkpatrick—reflected the fear of their governments to push the matter too vigorously lest they provoke a reaction from Moscow, in the form, for example, of an ultimatum to Paris and London based on Russia's existing treaties with France and England—a possibility that always remains open.

In the last week or so, since the conference in the Palais Rose was broken off, the remilitarization of Germany is again on the carpet. Encouraged by the failure of the Big Four deputies to reach an agreement, Bonn has become more exigent. It now demands a minimum army of twelve divisions (300,000 men) and equal authority with the other nations of Western Europe. Washington, according to the *Paris Monde*, is already thinking of twenty-five divisions. The French, in compliance with American suggestions, seem inclined to accept German divisions of 10,000 men instead of the 6,000 they had previously set as the limit.

In the economic sphere the "marginal war" is being fought over the raw materials which are vital for rearmament programs. Senator Kem of Missouri thinks indirect aid to the countries of the "enemy" bloc could be prevented by passage of his bill cutting off all American financial support from countries which export to the

Soviet area any of the long list of commodities compiled by the E. C. A. President Truman, in agreement with the National Security Council, realizes that the weapon Senator Kem would provide is two-edged; it could be turned against the United States and its European allies, not to mention its effect on Asia. For its rubber and tin Southeast Asia obtains from the Communist bloc automobiles, locomotives, zinc, manganese, and copper. Last year Western Europe received ten million tons of coal from Poland.

Moreover, the latest statistics on international trade show that the Western world is beginning to experience a shortage of raw materials. In 1950 the world's industrial production was 60 per cent higher than in 1937-38, while the production of raw materials had risen only 34 per cent. The struggle for raw materials is intensifying every year; the Western allies are even quarreling over them among themselves, as the resignation of Aneurin Bevan dramatically demonstrated. This issue plays an important part in the "marginal war."

In certain ways the countries of the Soviet group are better situated than the West to carry on wars over side issues. While the West has the advantage in production, industrial techniques, and wealth, the Soviet governments can pursue their ends without regard to what anybody thinks—they have no Congress or pressure groups to worry about—and can employ a strategy of alternately advancing and retreating without so much risk of burning their fingers. They have greater freedom of action, too, in the field of psychological warfare.

Some time ago in these pages I challenged Arnold Toynbee's theory that the cold war might go on for thirty years. It came to an end in June, 1950, in Korea. Like the cold war, the "marginal war" cannot continue indefinitely without Asia, the Middle East, and Europe—regardless of the wishes of the leaders of the two blocs—bursting into flame.

Through an accidental omission, my article, *Voice of Humanity*, in the issue of June 23 gave a wrong impression of the contribution of the United States to the U. N. International Children's Emergency Fund. I reported that the United States had "furnished the money required to start the work, \$15,000,000 in 1947, and recently gave another \$5,000,000." The total amount so far given by the United States is actually \$75,000,000, including the \$20,000,000 mentioned. Later on, in another article on the constructive activities of the United Nations, I hope to discuss in greater detail the excellent work of the UNICEF.

[After this week Mr. del Vayo will be on vacation for a month. Early in August he will leave for Europe to cover the various activities of the United Nations there, including the General Assembly, which meets next October in Paris.]

Footnote to Taft-Hartley

BY ALEINE AUSTIN

FOUR years ago, when the Taft-Hartley act became law, labor leaders predicted that it would "destroy labor unions, degrade living standards, and cripple basic rights." Until the recent appearance of a preliminary report by the majority of the Senate Subcommittee on Labor-Management Relations, headed by Senator James E. Murray, little substantial confirmation of this prediction had been made public. The report, however, presents some extremely provocative information on the effect of Taft-Hartley and exposes the "concerted opposition to union organization and collective bargaining" in the Southern textile industry.

One of the cases investigated by the subcommittee was an attempt to organize the American Thread Company's mill in Tallapoosa, Georgia, which employed 500 of the town's 2,000 residents. Dissatisfied with conditions, several employees of the company wrote the Textile Workers' Union (C. I. O.) for assistance in forming a union. Mrs. Edna Martin was assigned the job and visited the town twice a week for the purpose.

The repercussions were immediate. Mill supervisors and anti-union employees threatened union sympathizers with loss of their jobs, getting into trouble, being run out of town. Excuses were found for discharging the two leading union advocates. Wherever union sympathizers congregated, they were spied upon by the company watchman, who had conveniently been deputized as a part-time city policeman. According to the testimony of a worker from nearby Cedartown, the personnel manager of the Tallapoosa mill asked him to point out the C. I. O. organizers in Cedartown, so that they could be "put out" of Tallapoosa if they came there.

Mrs. Martin, the organizer, now rented a room in Tallapoosa, planning to remain there several weeks. On the first night four men armed with shotguns and five women burst into her room. With curses and threats the mob bound and gagged her, took her for a harrowing ride through rough back roads, and finally left her in a deserted lane, warning, "Don't ever come back to Tallapoosa or you will be shot on sight."

The union thereupon filed charges against the company with the National Labor Relations Board, on the ground that the kidnapping of Mrs. Martin was an "unfair labor practice" traceable to the employer. The Taft-Hartley act, like its predecessor the Wagner act, declares that it shall be an unfair labor practice for an employer

to interfere with, restrain, or coerce employees in the exercise of their right to form, join, or assist labor organizations. If the board finds an employer guilty of an unfair labor practice, it orders him to post a notice in his factory stating that he will stop interfering with his workers' right to engage in union activities.

Under the Wagner act, the board, in all likelihood, would have found the employer guilty in this case, for the Wagner act defined the term "employer" as including "any person acting in the interest of an employer, directly or indirectly." But the Taft-Hartley act had redefined the term "employer" to include "any person acting as an agent of an employer, directly or indirectly." Applying this definition, the board ruled that the American Thread Company was in no way responsible for the kidnapping, since the abductors had not been proved to be agents of the company. In other words, while professing to protect the workers' right to organize, the Taft-Hartley act permits kidnapping and other forms of coercion and interference as long as there is no legal proof that the acts are committed by agents of the employer. Commenting on this section of the law, the subcommittee's majority report states:

... this requirement that the technical relationship of agency must be established before the acts of subordinates can be imputed to an employer is highly unrealistic in the law of labor-management relations. It disregards the incalculable economic pressure which an employer can exert upon his employees without provable words and acts. . . . the employer's approval of anti-labor acts can be manifested in so many and in such subtle ways that his influence on the conduct of his employees can be exerted without leaving admissible evidence. . . . The narrowly amended definition of "employer," therefore, is an invitation to the recalcitrant anti-labor employer to evade the intent of Congress.

The section points up one of the basic differences between the Wagner act and the Taft-Hartley act. The Wagner act was designed to guarantee workers the right to form unions and bargain collectively. Recognizing the dependence of unorganized workers on their employers, it sought to equalize the contest between them by restricting the latter from interfering with, restraining, or coercing employees in their right to engage in union activities. One of the ostensible purposes of the Taft-Hartley act also is to guarantee workers the right to form unions, but its sponsors refused to recognize the obvious domination exercised by employers over their workers. On the pretense of protecting the rights of

ALEINE AUSTIN is the author of *"The Labor Story,"* a history of the trade-union movement in America.

employers, the Taft-Hartley act watered down the restrictions on them to such an extent that it restored their incontestable supremacy over their employees.

The employer's supremacy is further reinforced by the act's "free speech" clause, which permits him to express any "views, argument, or opinion" as long as "such expression contains no threat of reprisal or force or promise of benefit." Under the Wagner act also the employer had the right to express his views, arguments, and opinions, but the question whether his remarks amounted to anti-union interference was judged not solely by their content, as required by this provision of the Taft-Hartley act, but in the light of all the facts and circumstances surrounding their delivery. The effect of ignoring the atmosphere in which an employer expresses his views is seen in the board's ruling on a speech made by the superintendent of the American Thread Company's Tallapoosa mill at a meeting of the employees. The superintendent said:

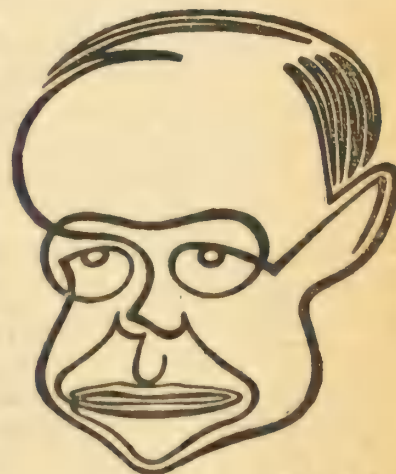
We have a nice little mill here, but someone or something is fixing to come in and tear up your playhouse. This outside influence is just a bunch of pot-bellied Yankees with big cigars in their mouths, and the dues they collect will just go up North, and you should want to keep your money in Tallapoosa. If they come in, you will share the same rest rooms with Negroes and work side by side with them. It comes right out of Russia and is pure communism and nothing else.

This speech was made in the midst of kidnapping, espionage, and discharges by an employer upon whom the residents of Tallapoosa depended for their jobs, but the board ruled that "although anti-union [it was] not violative of the act"; the words themselves contained "no threat of reprisal or force or promise of benefit."

ANOTHER revealing case, showing how the Taft-Hartley act can break an existing union, involved a strike of the C. I. O. Textile Workers' Union against the American Enka Corporation in Morristown, Tennessee. Six weeks after the strike began, the company obtained an injunction limiting the number of pickets to six and prohibiting the strikers from congregating in groups of more than two within one-quarter mile of the plant. This accomplished, it was able to start an effective back-to-work movement, with the sheriff escorting an automobile convoy of strike-breakers from the area into the plant. Disturbances followed, although there were relatively few considering the provocation. Immediately, however, 60 state highway patrolmen were assigned to the strike, and were soon joined by 391 members of the National Guard. According to the subcommittee report, "The situation in this strike was further aggravated by brutal, unlawful, and completely inexcusable behavior on the part of National Guard men, state highway patrolmen, and sheriff's deputies."

If the employees still had any doubt that American Enka was trying to break their union, they were soon convinced. The company announced that it had received a telegram from the United Textile Workers' Union (A. F. of L.) requesting recognition as the workers' bargaining representative in the plant. This, the company claimed, precluded any further bargaining with the C. I. O. union on the terms of a contract, since a Taft-Hartley ruling prohibited bargaining and conclusion of an agreement where a question of representation existed.

How, then, was the question of representation to be settled? By an NLRB election, of course. And who was to vote in this election? One would assume that all the workers would vote—those who replaced the strikers and those who still remained on strike. That, at least, is how it worked under the Wagner act. But the Taft-Hartley act provides: "Employees on strike who are not entitled to reinstatement shall not be eligible to vote." Since economic strikers are not entitled to reinstatement, this clause disqualified a majority of the Enka strikers from voting. A more perfect way to destroy a union would be difficult to find. In fact, the report says:



John Reed
Senator Taft

The effect of that doctrine on the American Enka Case is obviously that since the back-to-work movement had replaced the strikers, the old union would be ousted, and the competing union, which had had no valid interest in the plant prior to the dispute, would emerge victorious from any election. Under such circumstances as these the doctrine would convert the ultimate exercise of economic strength by the union, the strike, into a suicidal weapon.

This case emphasizes still another important feature of the Taft-Hartley act—its sanction for the revival of injunctions in labor disputes. It will be noticed that the company gained its first advantage over the union when it obtained an injunction from the court limiting the number of pickets to six. "Up to this time," the report comments, "the strike was strictly a dispute between American Enka and the Textile Workers' Union. . . . When the company secured its injunctions, this picture was immediately transformed, and the law-enforcement authorities necessarily became partisans on the side of the company." While this particular injunction was not granted under the auspices of the Taft-Hartley act, its issuance, nevertheless, is attributable to the influence of

the act, which empowers the NLRB to obtain injunctions prohibiting unions from engaging in mass picketing or secondary boycotts, and empowers the Attorney General to obtain injunctions ordering unions to end strikes called during a national emergency. With the use of injunctions thus sanctioned by federal law, the state courts are again freely intervening in labor disputes.

These cases highlight only a few of the salient features of the Taft-Hartley act, but they make it clear

that labor's fears were not unfounded. Indeed, the subcommittee's report concluded that "the Labor-Management Relations Act and its administration are not effective to insure and properly implement the right of self-organization. In spite of its provisions, and by ingenious adherence to some of them, employers may commit the most serious unfair labor practices, and no agency of the federal government can effectively prevent, restrain, or punish them."

No Reds in Mill Valley

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

ON THE morning of April 12 the weekly *Mill Valley Record* (circulation 2,636) of Marin County, California, appeared in a new red dress. A scarlet scare head directed readers to the back page, where a flamboyant announcement invited community participation in the *Record's* "red movement." At one side of the page a large cleated foot, squarely and strategically applied, hoisted a "Communist" high into the air. In the accompanying text the *Record* outlined a plan to cleanse Mill Valley of the "local Commies" who had earned for it the name of "a little Kremlin." A collection would be taken to provide one-way transportation to Russia for all "those who feel that the Soviet government should be a model for our own." Lacking takers, the *Record* would turn the fund over to the city for a war memorial.

Similar movements have been started in a number of communities. But most of the "send-'em-back-where-they-came-from" campaigns have been spawned in isolated areas so barren of social charm—"godforsaken" is the word—that local vigilantism, of word or deed, is more or less endemic and can be charitably explained as a symptom of boredom. Mill Valley (population 8,000) is one of the most beautiful suburbs in America. A haven for commuters nine miles north of San Francisco, it has attracted many intellectuals; and as might be expected, the presence of the intellectuals has given rise to the local phrase, "Mill Valley is full of reds."

Community reaction to the *Record's* proposal, which was said to have been inspired by a Hearst columnist, was at first apathetic: in a week less than ten dollars was collected. The prevailing view, in fact, seemed to be that if the editor wanted to make a fool of himself, that was his privilege. Clearly something had to be done to arouse Mill Valley's civilized commuters to the perils of tolerance and neighborliness. In a desperate effort to save its proposal from the ridicule of silence, the *Record* induced the acting mayor to proclaim a city-wide

observance of "Red Movement Week"—which the mayor had previously refused to do. At the next meeting of the town council, however, fifty residents were on hand to condemn the idea. A local minister read a letter signed by a group of well-known persons which pointed out that the campaign would tend to encourage hysteria, that it implied impotence on the part of the duly constituted authorities, and that it aped totalitarian methods. Not a single communication was read in favor of the proposal, and no one spoke up in its defense. Nevertheless, the council, by a vote of three to one, upheld the issuance of the proclamation, with Councilman George Strawbridge entering a vigorous dissent.

ON THE face of it democracy had suffered a mild setback in Mill Valley. But public opinion is formed there as elsewhere more by the impact of events and the collision of social forces than by abstract debate. Once the council had acted, the letter columns of the *Record* were filled with protests. Arthur K. Smart objected on the ground that we must extend tolerance even to authoritarians, who "certainly would not treat us with equal tolerance." Another resident thought the proposal was about as silly as flag-pole sitting and far more dangerous, since it implied that those who refused to send in their contributions were "disloyal." Dr. R. B. Hartman wrote that if the community wanted to raise money for a war memorial it should not do so in a way that was likely to arouse misunderstanding and suspicion. Bruce E. Sloan protested against "the sickly fear" that the proposal reflected. Clarence M. Wolcott thought that the American tradition was "outraged by these smart-aleck, publicity-wise actions," and Glenn T. Shattuck confessed that he took a pretty dim view of "tolerant intolerance." "A shoddy banner," said Phyllis Hogan. "A sad commentary on the responsibilities of modern newspaper editing," chided Mrs. Frank Holsinger. While Dr. Harry A. Overstreet—probably

making notes for a revised edition of "The Mature Mind"—entered an appropriately mature objection but carefully upheld the editor's right to advance this or any other proposal without the risk of a boycott. The Communist Party, of course, sent in a labored protest. Only three or four letters of commendation were received.

Obviously disturbed, the *Record* was finally driven to publish a defense. The editor furiously berated "the intellectuals" of America for "debating on the steps of the scaffold." In his view we "would do better to worry less about the loss of our liberties and turn our attention to the lot of our fellow-man, lest he turn on us and destroy us . . . we must end this wearying debate between the liberals and the conservatives and bridge the gap which the Communists are doing their best to widen." The editorial closed with unintentional irony: "There is a dangerous amount of disunity here today!" A week or so later, however, the editor was saying that if readers of the *Record* would only reread his original proposal they would see that "the sole purpose" had been to raise money for a war memorial. And wasn't it perfectly clear that the proposal had served at least one laudable end by having warned the community of the danger of communism? The community must have regarded the explanation as rather feeble, for the contributions did not increase.

The incident is disturbing for a number of reasons, one being that it reveals a tendency to castigate "intellectuals," a disposition to put reason aside. Where was all this last said? It can hardly be denied that there is disagreement if not disunity in America today, but what are the causes? Disagreement over policy? Lack of clarity as to aims and purposes? In any case it is hard to see how this "wearying debate" between liberals and conservatives, which has been going on for some decades now, can be summarily concluded.

Happily the American people have the faculty of forming fairly sensible judgments after they have taken a close second look at situations which have momentarily confused them. The extremists are always the first to speak and thus enjoy an initial advantage, but the final verdict is seldom reached until the delayed reaction of more moderate elements has been registered. An active participant in Mill Valley's opposition to "Red Movement Week" tentatively scores the results as follows: the movement was a failure because the independent elements refused to be driven to either extreme; the local newspaper probably achieved its immediate purpose of increasing circulation but failed to improve its reputation as a reliable means of communication; the middle-of-the-road elements demonstrated that they might win on other issues, including some now being lost by default in many communities, if they would only speak out with similar timeliness and candor. Mill Valley provides a relevant commentary on the current American jitters.

We Can Forfeit Freedom

BY MARGARET CHASE SMITH

ONE of the basic causes of the trouble in the world today is that people talk too much and think too little. Don't misunderstand me. I'm not advocating that we become mutes, with our voices stilled, because of fear of criticism of what we might say. That is moral cowardice. And moral cowardice that keeps us from speaking our minds is as dangerous to this country as irresponsible talk. I urge you to think well and deeply before you talk—but once you have made up your mind, don't hesitate to speak your mind. As long as you speak your mind, dictators and demagogues will never take control of this country.

There will always be demagogues—and there must always be people with enough moral courage to stand up and speak out against demagogues, and expose and defeat them, before they get so many unthinking people swallowing their untruthful propaganda that our country is surrendered to them.

The importance of individual thinking to the preservation of our democracy and our freedom cannot be over-emphasized. But when we use the word "think," what do we mean? To "think" is to exercise the faculty of judgment, conception, or inference—to put our common sense into action. When the German people defaulted their thinking to Hitler, they surrendered their freedom. When the Russian people defaulted their thinking to Lenin and Stalin, they surrendered their freedom.

Too few people in this country realize how many people in this country are defaulting their thinking to demagogues and that we are closer to surrendering our freedom than most of us are willing to admit. When we accept the statements of demagogues because we are too lazy to think about them, and test them, we can blame no one but ourselves for subsequent events.

It is the articulate majority that rules a democracy. But the articulate majority does not always represent the real majority. Quite often the minority by "thinking out loud" makes itself the practical, effective majority.

The most precious thing that democracy gives to us is freedom. You and I cannot escape the fact that the ultimate responsibility for freedom is personal. Our freedoms today are in danger not so much because people are consciously trying to take them away from us as because we forget to use them. Freedom unexercised may become freedom forfeited. The preservation of freedom is in the hands of the people themselves—not of the government.

MARGARET CHASE SMITH is United States Senator from Maine. This column consists of excerpts from a speech she delivered at the Hood College Convocation, on April 21.

BOOKS and the ARTS

How to Combat Inflation

DEFENSE WITHOUT INFLATION.

By Albert G. Hart. With Recommendations of the Committee on Economic Stabilization. The Twentieth Century Fund. \$2.

IN THE discussion of inflation in recent months and of means to control it too many of the participants have been inclined to claim exclusive virtue for the particular line of action they prefer and to ignore or even decry other lines of attack. Many who have urged strong monetary and tax measures have argued against direct controls; not a few have asserted that inflation can be prevented only by increased production; without doubt there are many who have come to identify the control of inflation with the control of prices.

In this admirable book Professor Hart—he is professor of economics at Columbia—not only rejects but, by example, rebukes such parochialism. He believes that inflation can be prevented and that it must be prevented if the country is to arm with reasonable efficiency and if meanwhile the elementary decencies of economic and social life are to be preserved. But he also believes that the whole armory of anti-inflation weapons must be used. Crude proposals to expand production at whatever investment outlay apart, there is none of the conventional remedies in which the author does not see merit and none which he supposes to be sufficient in itself.

Reflecting a majority view of economists, he accords a major role to tax policy, and among taxes he would rely first of all on the personal income tax. He does give a good deal of attention to excises, especially as a device for discouraging consumption of goods that are closely competitive with military needs. He is also strongly attracted by the British purchase tax, with its differentially high rates on the more elaborate and expensive types of goods of any particular kind. Such a tax guides production toward lower-priced and simpler lines of goods, where the efficiency in labor and material use is

likely to be greatest. If military requirements permit the continued manufacture of only a limited number of automobiles, the maximum of transportation will be obtained by concentrating on lower-priced models.

The reader will also get from Professor Hart a lucid discussion of the subtleties of monetary policy, and if he is a confessed layman, he can be assured that it is a very well-balanced one. The author accords an important place to so-called selective credit controls—those on consumer credit and housing finance—and he believes that both bank-reserve policy and general public-debt management can be more stringent than in the past. On the other hand he does not advocate any very substantial increase in interest rates, and he gives little comfort to those who want to believe that inflation can be prevented by monetary sleight-of-hand.

Professor Hart believes that direct controls are necessary, a conclusion which follows from his diagnosis of the inflation problem. In the classical view of inflation an excess of demand pulls up prices; accordingly taxation and the control of credit, if they are sufficient to counter this pull, should be sufficient to check inflation. However, Professor Hart also stresses the "cost-shoving" of wage and raw-materials movements when the economy is in an inflationary phase, and these, he believes, can be restrained only by direct controls.

The scope of the author's discussion and recommendations being what they are, any review of this book gives an exceptionally poor view of the ground covered. This may not be too serious, for anyone who really wants a full look at the problem of inflation will read the whole book. It is by a wide margin the best current document on the subject.

The book also includes a statement on inflation policy by four distinguished economists—Professors Clark of Columbia, Schultz of Chicago, Smithies of Harvard, and Wallace of Princeton—who form the Twentieth Century Fund's Committee on Economic Stabilization. In the main the recommendations parallel those of Professor Hart, although

the committee is more reserved on the matter of direct controls, and one of its members, Professor Schultz, dissents generally from their use.

J. K. GALBRAITH

Two First Novels

THE SEASON OF THE STRANGER.

By Stephen Becker. Harper and Brothers. \$3.

THE ISLAND IN TIME. By Ernst Pawel. Doubleday and Company. \$3.

THESE two noteworthy first novels, by young writers of strikingly different backgrounds, are both concerned with the efforts of Americans of good will to understand and come to terms with foreign cultures. Mr. Becker is a twenty-five-year-old American who went to China to teach and to observe the coming of communism to the Orient. Mr. Pawel is a thirty-year-old European who came to this country as a youth and returned to Europe as a sergeant during the war. Both are serious writers, worthy of attention not only because of their potentialities but for what they have already accomplished.

Mr. Becker's hero is a young American, Andrew Girard, of gentle disposition and kindly temperament, living to the best of his ability as a Chinese among his Chinese students. Girard's sweetheart, Li-ling, is the daughter of a wealthy and utterly corrupt industrialist who disowns his daughter for giving herself to a Westerner but who attempts to bargain with Girard as the Communist armies draw closer to the university town. The father, a standardized villain, represents all that is decadent and evil in the old regime, while the bright young students who cluster around Girard symbolize the new spirit stirring in China; they are balanced by Girard's servant, Wang-li, who got along under the old regime and is ready to adapt himself to the new.

Mr. Becker has not attempted to probe beyond the surface motivations of his leading figures. Instead, he has concentrated upon a portrait of China in flux, as it looked to a sensitive and compassionate young American; the roman-

tic attractiveness of as yet unconsolidated Chinese communism is apparent throughout. Writing a grave, contemplative, and sweet—if mannered—prose, Mr. Becker succeeds strikingly in conveying the look and the atmosphere of a segment of China as it awaited the advancing Red Army. His good people look forward with hope and eagerness to the coming of their "liberators"; their response to the realities of Communist rule lies beyond the scope of this book, for Mr. Becker's story ends with Girard's betrayal by his sweetheart's father even as the Communists are entering the city.

"The Season of the Stranger" is not a profoundly realized work, but it is dotted with memorable scenes that demonstrate quite sharply Mr. Becker's genuine literary gift.

Mr. Pawel's young American is Sidney Rubin, New York boy, college professor, and UNRRA official, drinking his heart out at a displaced-persons camp in southern Italy. Rubin, the solitary drinker who despises his wards for their inability to assimilate democratic concepts even though he goes off to Palestine with them at the break-up of the camp, is the only not quite believable figure in a gallery of brilliant portraits.

The camp, "The Island in Time," is seen through the loveless eyes of Rene Lishinsky, sophisticated and cynical German-Jewish journalist, who observes Sidney Rubin as well as his fellow camp inmates and his mistress with a cold dispassion that conceals the terrible fear of love and comradeship of the eternal wanderer. Factions are formed, terrorists scheme to blow up a British consulate, Rene's mistress leaves him for the Palestinian Zionist organizer, but in the end Rene—who did not want to belong, who wanted to be a Jew, an outcast—watches his fellow DP's joyously marching off to Israel and goes off by himself down an Italian road, suitcase in hand, because "there is no room in Palestine for Jews."

Mr. Pawel's entire conception parallels very closely that of Alex Comfort's recent novel "On This Side Nothing," but whereas Dr. Comfort was attempting from the outside a poetic and allegorical interpretation of a rootless Jew who could no longer feel at one even with other Jews, Mr. Pawel's novel is bitingly realistic, and far more impres-

sive not merely in its rendition of the ugliness of camp life but also in its philosophic depth, maturity, and handling of individual characters.

We are informed that although this is Mr. Pawel's third novel, it is the first that has succeeded in finding a publisher. It is impossible to escape the conclusion that like a true artist Mr. Pawel has been working in silence, perfecting his craft. Even if it were not the case that he is writing in a language which is not his mother tongue it would be hard to overpraise this exciting novel, which has the cold fire and the passionate disillusion which we find in the writings of Albert Camus. "The Island in Time" is a distinguished novel and an auspicious beginning of a literary career.

HARVEY SWADOS

The Great Divide

POLITICAL REALISM AND POLITICAL IDEALISM. By John H. Herz. University of Chicago Press. \$3.75.

IN THE recent past many signs have pointed to the inadequacy of the traditional right-left characterization of political life. The trusty arc of opinion shadings has been converted into a circle. To "democracy" the redundant adjective "popular" has been appended, with results reminiscent of Voltaire's remark about the Holy Roman Empire. With different results liberals have affixed the question-begging term "real" to their title. In many parts of the world revolutionary shoes are filled by reactionary ghosts; in the United States the Middle West talks like Wall Street. If death and taxes still remain, one hoary veteran is not so solid: the South has gone Republican. Everywhere whirl is king, and not to be shaken from his throne by cries against confusing propaganda. However exaggerated by rival claims, the confusion is real. Even the objective analyst will fail to comprehend political forces by simply sorting out right from left.

Under these circumstances a new system of classification is required. To the synthesis of such a standard John Herz of Howard University has recently devoted some effort. "The following pages," he writes in his introduction, "do not purport to represent another political theory or to add another history of political thought to those which al-

ready exist. They represent rather an attempt to describe and analyze some basic types of political thinking which to the author seem to recur again and again throughout history quite independent of, and indeed without any relation to, specific periods or details of particular systems and ideologies." In the typology which Mr. Herz constructs to distribute these basic types the crucial distinction divides Political Realism and Political Idealism. Unlike Karl Mannheim's similar distinction between Ideology and Utopia, where the two types of thought cloak special interests, Mr. Herz's distinction, in keeping with later fashions, derives from a "crudely psychological base." Man, he holds, is stricken with two conflicting urges. The first, and most basic, is the desire to prolong his life, which, given the fact that Cain may kill his brother, begets the suspicion that other men are potential enemies. The instinct for survival thus comes to mean a drive for preponderant strength. The second urge, opposed to this drive, is "a basic feeling of pity or compassion that is provoked by the observance of the suffering of another human being." In their separate ways these two sentiments produce "the rise of the basically opposed political and social ideas and action of men." On the one hand, Political Realism "character-

BOOKS AND PERIODICALS	from the
Just Arrived!	U S R
	MIKHAIL BUBENOV
White Birch	Prize Winner Novel
In English — 578 pp. — \$1.50	
Latest Soviet Records, Sheet Music, Handicrafts	
1951 SUBSCRIPTIONS OPEN FOR ALL SOVIET NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS	
Ask for Complete Catalogue P-51	
FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.	
65 W. 56 Street, N. Y. 19	Murray Hill 8-2680

Buy Your Books through THE Nation

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C.O.D. No C.O.D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to

Miss Le Pach

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
20 Vesey Street New York 7, N. Y.

izes that type of political thought which recognizes and takes into consideration the implications for political life of those security and power factors which are inherent in human society." Political Idealism, on the other hand, is characteristic of that type of political thinking which does not recognize the problems arising from the security and power dilemma of kill or perish. It rather tends to concentrate on the realization of a theoretically established harmony between groups and individuals. And it assumes that once harmony is established, once the great divide is crossed, all competitive instincts and devices will wither away.

In the past great movements have been inspired by the idealist vision of harmony. Theories of democracy, aristocracy, nationalism, internationalism, free trade, and economic collectivism have all been launched under its auspices. But the great divide has never been crossed. Every one of the inspired movements has run aground on the shoals of competitive security; the wreck of broken hopes later manned by those Political Realists who, dead to hope, were at least alive to peril. Thus it has happened that each of the world's great ages has returned to hate and death. And in this way the clash "of idealist thought and action with the realist obstacles to their realization constitutes one of the fundamental factors underlying the process of history."

At this point Mr. Herz suddenly breaks off. Having established that the theoretical basis of political opposition is a difference in focus of attention, in the thing worried about, he fails either to refine this insight or to extend it into definite political history. Instead, he stops describing and begins recommending. His aim is to level off the two-phase cycle described above, and to allow coincidental rather than successive scope for the play of both idealism and realism. As might be expected, what he suggests is a fusion. Plucking liberalism out of the idealist bag he adds a touch of realism and emerges with a "realistic liberalism" that seems familiarly close to the homiletic dictum of "moderation in all things." As Mr. Herz has it, realistic liberalism would aim to further liberal ideas, somewhat loosely defined as "individualism and freedom." It would take care not to overlook security

problems; in the United States, for example, it would not push the fight for civil rights to the extreme of impeding a war effort. In addition the realistic liberal would seek the further development of those social conditions and constitutional provisions which mitigate "power concentration." Finally he would cock a wary eye at the "opposite danger" to insure that the forces which, in their minority, temporarily represented liberalism should not, when full-grown, threaten liberty.

This, of course, is sanity itself, and to it there is no objection. But unaccompanied by detailed proposals for specific application, the statement of the general principle of moderation constitutes nothing more than an admonition to be "good." In stooping to deliver this recommendation, Mr. Herz dilutes his original plan of analyzing "some basic types of political theory." However suggestive his first chapters may be, the task of formulating a meaningful political classification still wants doing.

JOSEPH KRAFT

From Jerusalem to Rome

THE PILLAR OF FIRE. By Karl Stern. Harcourt, Brace and Company. \$3.50.

T*HE PILLAR OF FIRE* tries to explain why a German Jew who had escaped from Hitler and is now a practicing psychiatrist in Montreal became a Roman Catholic. Formal religious conversions among Jews have been comparatively infrequent, as all missionaries since St. Paul have discovered. When they occur they are usually viewed skeptically, often by the converts themselves: Heine is a notable example. Suspicion inevitably attaches itself to any step which improves the social as well as the spiritual status of an individual. The Hitler era has resulted in a richer crop of converts than is generally known, since many crypto-Jews in Europe who escaped extermination by pretending to be Christians subsequently made the change official. Such conversions are self-explanatory, and if there is cause for wonder it is that they were not more numerous.

The case of Karl Stern falls into a different category. He convinces the reader that he is a true convert and not a turncoat, that he saw the light. But

Stern is not content with a personal illumination. Being neither an early Nazarene nor a medieval mystic but a modern Jew, a scientist by training, he is not wholly at ease out of Zion. As a former Zionist he is tormentingly conscious of what he calls the "traitor complex"—particularly acute in a Jew who abandons a beleaguered people as well as a faith. A Jew, unlike other converts, is a deserter as well as an apostate, mourned by the religious as a lost soul and despised by the irreligious Jew as a national traitor.

Stern knows all this, and he writes a very moving *apologia pro vita sua*, but the mystery remains. Granted the existence of a genuine religious impulse, the infidel still cannot understand why Protestants like Heywood Brown or Jews like Henri Bergson or Franz Werfel must change to believe. Of course there is no lack of rational explanations for the supra-rational. Stern as a psychoanalyst is well aware that his childhood experiences were such as to condition him against Judaism. The middle-class German-Jewish household in which he was brought up was so emancipated from Jewish tradition that even the grandfather, the traditional bulwark of orthodoxy, mocked ritual observances. Attempts to provide religious instruction were half-hearted and unattractive. The small Jewish community in the Bavarian town of his birth had no synagogue; services were held in a prayer hall rented from a brewery, and the sound of psalms became inextricably interwoven with the smell of beer. Later Stern's religious instructor was a "hateful cantor" whose memory remained no more appetizing than that of the brewery.

The home offered no compensation for these aesthetic and emotional lacks. The parental faith consisted of what the author describes as an "amiable mixture of political liberalism, Goethe's 'Noble be man, helpful and good,' and Lessing's conciliatory Deism." Festive moments were provided by Christian holidays such as Christmas, when the family gathered around a Christmas tree while the mother sang "Silent Night." The boy was sent to a Catholic kindergarten conducted by amiable nuns whom the author obviously remembers more ten-

derly than the hateful cantor. Except for the Catholic kindergarten, this represents a modern Jewish pattern by no means uncommon in pre-Hitler Bavaria or in post-Hitler United States. Such a childhood may be the prelude to a mechanical continuation of a tenuous attachment, to assimilation without benefit of apocalypse, or even to an intensified Jewish national consciousness. Stern's brother became a member of a labor commune in Palestine. But Stern had a vocation. He rebelled against "the colorless goodness, the peculiar anemia deprived of the red blood of Jewish tradition." To the disgust of his grandfather and the alarm of his mother, who thought he had gone mad, he tried orthodoxy: he put on prayer shawl and phylacteries, and insisted on kosher food. The phase did not last long. The combination of family ridicule and the difficulty of observing a complicated ritual proved too taxing.

When the growth of Nazism made Zionism a vital issue for German Jewish youth, Stern became involved in the activities of Zionist youth groups but "saw once more that a national solution of the Jewish problem was no solution at all if it was not at the same time a religious one." Why not then Mizrahi, the religious Zionists? The answer is not to be found in the deficiencies of the orthodox groups but rather in the fact that the writer had long ago been won elsewhere—perhaps in the Catholic kindergarten. For when Stern, while continuing his work as a Rockefeller fellow at the German Institute of Psychiatry at Munich, finally found in Amos and Isaiah the spiritual sustenance he had long sought, the discovery of the Messianic vision of Judaism only led him to the conviction that Jesus was the Messiah.

It is here that the reader parts company with him. When as a refugee in London Stern declares that only a belief "in Jesus Christ, the Son of the Living God," made the martyrdom of millions of innocent Jewish sufferers intelligible, because the "suffering of Christ includes all human suffering," the reviewer is no longer on arguable territory, and Stern's attempts to clarify are hardly relevant. No matter how persuasively and movingly he points out the inadequacies of science or socialist materialism, the conclusion—the

final leap—remains inexplicable and solitary.

Yet Stern wants desperately to be understood, particularly by the brother in Israel living in a cooperative community not far from Lake Genezareth. In a special chapter addressed to his brother, Stern writes: "You see the paradox. You live apparently on the basis of an a-religious philosophy, a life which corresponds to what my religion teaches me. I, on the other hand, live in a setting which makes life in accordance with the precepts of a Judaeo-Christian morality a questionable and problematic task." He assures the friends of his Zionist youth: "Should I ever forget thee, Jerusalem. . . . Oh, how I should like to be able to see them once more, my friends of those days, and tell them the story of a journey which seems to have taken me infinitely far away from them but in reality has led me right into their midst."

The "friends" struggling in Israel will not accept this declaration. If they are charitable they will offer a diagnosis of unconscious escapism rather than conscious betrayal. Rabbis in the United States will deliver innumerable sermons on the need for a sound Jewish education providing décor of ritual as well as sincerity of observance. Catholics have already expressed their approval by bestowing the Christopher Award on "The Pillar of Fire." Many an ax will be ground, but whatever the judgment, the book must be accepted as a profound and moving document. It may not reveal the divine but it casts light on the mortal suffering of the modern Jew and the despairing perplexity of modern man.

MARIE SYRKIN

Palimpsest of History

FABLED SHORE. From the Pyrenees to Portugal by Road. By Rose Macaulay. Farrar, Straus and Young. \$4.

IT IS a long, long time since anyone has had the courage to write or to publish a travel book about Spain. So tense and so pervasive has been the interest in its social and political affairs that people have almost forgotten the visual qualities of the country itself. This year, when non-political tourists are timidly putting Spain back on their

travel schedules, Farrar and Straus have been moved to publish Rose Macaulay's account of her motor trip down the Mediterranean coast and around the famous Gibraltar corner.

For anyone who has traveled even a part of that coast, by whatever conveyance, this is a book of extraordinary charm. Miss Macaulay went alone down the difficult small roads, stopping to swim in beguiling blue bays, savoring the delight of sharp headlands and hidden villages. When inns did not appear at spots where guidebooks placed them she blew up something called a *lilo* (sleeping bag? air mattress?) and slept beside her car, unguarded and unmolested. Her rich and varied prose serves her well in painting the beauty of the country, the wealth of its past, the varied detail of her experience in it.

What many have forgotten, in the anguish of the civil war and the exhaustion that followed, is what the author calls gratefully back to mind: "History in Spain lies like a palimpsest. . . . Ghosts from a hundred pasts rise from the same grave, fighting one another still; dig a little deeper, dig below the Moor to the Goth, below the Goth to the Roman, Greek, Phoenician, and in the end you get back to the Spanish, who were there before history began, and will be there after history, defeated and routed at last by this strange land, dissolves in impenetrable mists."

Wisely, Miss Macaulay omits political comment. One reads the signs of too little food and too few schools. Yet even these are not new curses. Travelers in other days will find familiar her accounts of the ragged children that swarmed about her footsteps. Apparently nothing that has occurred since 1928 has changed the Spanish child's belief that "foreigners are big game, to be stalked with immense excitement and unwearied pertinacity."

Just which summer the author made the trip she does not say. The book is dated 1949, and apparently it was published in Britain before it reached the United States. It is the sort of leisurely account which everyone fortunate enough to make this kind of a trip would like to have written. The next best thing is to go hand in hand with Miss Macaulay from one's library chair.

MILDRED ADAMS

Books in Brief

A SOLDIER'S STORY. By Omar N. Bradley. Holt. \$5. It should be said at once that this is an extraordinarily interesting book—perhaps the best of the military memoirs to come out of the last war. It is dedicated to “those soldiers who must often have wondered why they were going where they did. Perhaps this will help answer their questions.” It does precisely this by its skilful reporting of the constantly shifting scene at Bradley's headquarters; the planning, the personalities, the decisions and the reasons for the decisions, and the results. Much of the sense of participation that the book gives comes from the generous use of direct quotations—a particularly useful device in pointing up the candid character sketches in which the book excels.

THE GENERAL WHO MARCHED TO HELL. By Earl Schenck Miers. Knopf. \$4.50. The story of Sherman's march to the sea told in a pastiche of quotations from contemporary letters, journals, and records, bound together with a connecting narrative. A pleasantly readable book, florid in style and somewhat meager as a picture of General Sherman, but with quotations that compensate by their fine sense of immediacy.

INTER-RACIAL HOUSING. By Morton Deutsch and Mary Evans Collins. Minnesota. \$3. A study of racial attitudes in low-cost housing projects in which Negroes and whites are separated and in those in which they live together as neighbors. The authors' conclusions, given in the depressing lingo of the psychologist, are all for non-segregation.

Music

B. H.
HAGGIN


WRITING that the Festival has brought to London “something that hasn't been felt there for some time: a feeling of joyousness in the streets, of celebration and overt pride in the beauty of the city,” Robert E. Garis goes on to say that its concert hall, the Royal Festival Hall, though quite ugly outside, is inside “the most civilized of auditoriums; and the sound, after a year of Albert Hall, almost bowled me over.” It doesn't, he explains, have the combination of clarity and warmth that the best halls give, “but the sound is by no means dry, and is very clear and exciting, with an enormous dynamic range which gives entirely new kinds of beauty and power to some pieces. A lot of nonsense has been written about it: the American critic Cecil Smith wrote a blast against the acoustics for an afternoon Beaverbrook tabloid; he elaborated the hall's great fault, a certain lack of richness and glow of sound, into a jazzy piece of total condemnation. I hope he realized that his piece would be used as political propaganda by the Beaverbrook paper. The Tories are considerably saddened even by the Festival's succès d'estime, and will be more than saddened by its probable financial success: therefore the concert hall was worth attacking as a Labor inefficiency; and Beecham of course thundered that it was the worst building ever constructed in England and announced his boycott of the whole affair.” I would suspect that Beecham's objection to the hall arose from the fact that originally it was to have been opened by Toscanini conducting Beethoven's Ninth.

Also, having wondered whether there has been a real change in Barbirolli to account for his present eminence in England, I am interested in Mr. Garis's report of a performance of Verdi's Requiem, which makes it clear that Barbirolli is what he was, only more so. “At the scheduled time in comes the concertmaster, greeted with some applause; then about a minute later, deep hush all the while, appear the soloists, mountains of applause. Then a deepest

hush for at least a minute and a half, probably more—and Barbirolli. The chorus rises as one man and bows to the maestro, who strolls, duck-like, through his orchestra, bowing right and left to all the first-desk men, mounts the podium, embraces the lucky audience with his knighted arms, many, many times, whirls suddenly, throws an arm out to the cymbalist, and ‘God Save the King’ is under way. An exhibition of pampered self-delight before which Stokowski might pale, yet a palpable joy to these unbelievable English.” And there was the same sensationalism, says Mr. Garis, in the musical content of a performance “with long significant pauses between numbers, much plastic modelling of the sound, much evidence of the greatest care in securing effects, the demonstration par excellence of a great soul at work in his chosen field. A completely lax and inconsistent performance, without any impulse carrying from one note to the next, each phrase milked while you wait and the cow caressed, then simply the next cow.”

The outstanding event in recording, as far as I am concerned, is the Columbia recording of Berlioz's “La Damnation de Faust,” which has some of his most excitingly beautiful and imaginative—and of course completely original—music, and which one is glad to have even not perfectly sung and reproduced. The Mephistopheles, Paul Cabanel, is excellent; the Marguerite, Mona Laurena, is fair; the Faust, Georges Jouatte, sings with strain and has to have his music altered a couple of times; the Emile Passani Chorus and orchestra are adequate; and except for a Rakoczy March that is unexciting to ears accustomed to its performances by American virtuoso orchestras, the performance conducted by Jean Fournet is good. The LP recording is a dubbing from the 78 rpm recording of a few years back; and the sound it produces is good, but without all the spaciousness and live brilliance of the best LP recording of today, or even of the original 78.

The best LP recording of today is to be heard in Urania's completely uncut “Tristan und Isolde.” One hears also the fine Leipzig Gewandhaus Orchestra conducted by Franz Konwitschny in a slow-moving but never sagging per-


 * from “Bach-Gesellsch.”
 † from “Urtext” ed.
 Pocket-Sized, Low-Priced Editions
 BACH* Well Temp. Clavier, 2 vols., each98
 BEETHOVEN† Violin Sonatas, 2 vols., each98
 & MANY OTHERS—WRITE FOR FREE CATALOG
 Order From Your Dealer, or Direct From
LEA POCKET SCORES Dept. W, Box 138
 New York 32, N. Y.

30% to 50% DISCOUNT
ON ALL LP RECORDS
 Up to 75% on 78 rpm Records
 Write for details to
ELAINE MUSIC SHOP
 9 EAST 44th STREET NEW YORK CITY 17
 bet. Fifth & Madison M Urray Hill 2-6154

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

The Nation Suit

Slug It Out in Print . . .

Dear Sirs: Generally speaking, I am in accord with the views expressed by Mr. del Vayo in his *Nation* column. In fact, Mr. del Vayo seems to me to be one of the very few persons who is still capable of writing intelligently about foreign policy. By the same token I am strongly opposed to the views, and particularly the attitude, of Mr. Greenberg. Nevertheless, I believe that *The Nation* was wrong in refusing to publish the Greenberg letter and in suing the *New Leader* for publishing it.

I am not expressing any opinion on the legal issues. Nor am I considering the problem of an individual citizen who has been gravely injured by irresponsible smears and has no way to vindicate himself except through a law suit.

The Nation is a publication engaged in the business of discussing public affairs. The letter was written by a former regular contributor and dealt, in general, with important public issues. Under those circumstances it seems to me that *The Nation* should have met the attack in the arena of public discussion rather than by bringing suit. Resort to the courts cut off further argument and, in effect, brought a breakdown in the rational exchange of ideas. I do not think *The Nation* should have been so quick to abandon the basic principle of full discussion to which its long and honorable existence has been devoted.

As a matter of fact, had *The Nation* kept the controversy on the level of public discussion, a valuable purpose might have been served. The Greenberg letter is a perfect illustration of the irrational approach to problems of foreign policy so common in this country today. *The Nation* could have made a searching reply that would have furnished an important object lesson for *Nation* readers.

I realize that the Greenberg letter must be considered in a broad context, and that it represents an increasing tendency to oppose the expression of certain views by appeal to prejudice rather than to reason. This tendency, spearheaded by the Committee on Un-American Activities, constitutes a dan-

gerous threat to the free expression of ideas. Under some circumstances the danger should be combated by libel actions, but not, I believe, in this case. The facilities for discussion are available to *The Nation* in its own columns, and I think it would have done much better to slug the question out there. The democratic process implies not only that the participants will be reasonably tolerant but that they will be reasonably thick-skinned. THOMAS I. EMERSON

New Haven, Conn.

. . . or in Court

Dear Sirs: An editorial in the *New Leader* of June 11, 1951, asserted that the time-honored liberal method of settling disputes is through political debate, presumably in the pages of journals rather than in the courtroom.

I would agree that in this country a libel suit is generally resorted to only in "extreme situations." However, during certain periods of American and English history a court trial has constituted the most perfect form of political debate. After all, the courtroom is an arena where the opponents argue, present evidence, cross-examine, and refute—all the elements of political debate—and a decision is made on the evidence submitted. In fact, were it not for the so-called "oligarchical character of the legal system," our courts, with their serious character and ability to gather the relevant evidence, would be a better place for political debate than the press, which often presents the public with a distorted picture of events because it has to report them piecemeal.

In a completely democratic society denunciations of citizens might well be made formally in the courtroom, as they were in ancient Athens. In a healthy liberal democracy the courtroom should be a public place where important and interesting disputes between citizens would be fairly conducted in full view of the citizenry.

Practically speaking, going to court puts the burden of proof in this particular kind of dispute right where it belongs, with the accuser. The accusation that Mr. del Vayo is a Communist is a serious one and should be tested in the most imposing arena we have, namely, in court. Outside of court how

formance; a Tristan, Ludwig Suthaus, who sings loudly most of the time but whose robust voice is still agreeably fresh; a good Kurwenal, Karl Wolfram; an excellent Marke, Gottlob Fricke; a Brangäne, Erna Westenberger, whose voice still has enough quality to make its tremolo bearable. Only one thing wrong, but it is enough: the Isolde, Margarete Bäumer, whose voice by now has no quality and is all tremolo. Why after her "Fidelio" performance she is used here again is beyond understanding.

And as if these weren't enough she turns up again ■ the Princess in Urania's "Der Rosenkavalier." But there is less of her; and the Octavian is Tiana Lemnitz, whose high notes are a little tremulously shrill but whose lower ones are sumptuously beautiful; the Sophie, Ursula Richter, has an exquisite high soprano; the Ochs, Kurt Böhme, does the finest singing I have heard in this part since the days of Bohnen and Mayr; the lesser roles, except the Italian Singer, are sung well enough; the excellent Saxonian State Orchestra plays; and Rudolf Kempe conducts an effective performance which is well reproduced. The listener is confused by a libretto which makes the customary cuts, some of which are restored in the performance. The work itself, I might add, is one that—listening again—I again find vastly overrated. The Presentation of the Rose duet I find lovely; the rest—the Princess's philosophical soliloquies, the third-act trio, the waltzes, the mere hubbub—I consider unworthy of the esteem they enjoy.

CONTRIBUTORS

J. K. GALBRAITH is on the staff of the Graduate School of Public Administration of Harvard University.

HARVEY SWADOS has published short stories in the little magazines.

JOSEPH KRAFT, an editorial writer on the *Washington Post*, is writing a book about Alexis de Tocqueville.

MARIE SYRKIN is the author of "Blessed Is the Match. The Story of Jewish Resistance."

MILDRED ADAMS has long been a student of Spain and its culture.

RESORTS

WINDY HILL ON ORANGE LAKE

A pleasantly informal vacation in friendly atmosphere. Books, Records, Ping-pong, a two-mile lake for boating, fishing, swimming. Food of excellent quality in generous quantity. Rate: \$50 weekly, \$7.50 daily.

65 Miles From N. Y. C.

JANE C. ARENZ, R. D. No. 1, Walden, N. Y.
Phone: Newburgh 115 M 2

OAKWOOD

marvelous
food

53 MILES

Informal, charming colonial estate. Pvt. lake. Sports. Golf nearby. T.V. Excell. American Jewish cuisine. Instruct. in folk & social dancing. Accom. 111 adults.
New Windsor, N. Y. NEWBURGH 4477

50 MILES TO FOREST HOUSE

Near enough for easy travel, far enough for an unforgettable vacation. Forest House achieves new levels of gay relaxation in inspiring surroundings. Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality. Two grand lakes. All sports.

FOREST HOUSE

Lake Mahopac, N. Y. • Tel. MAhopac 8-3449

SUMMER RENTAL

WALKILL, NEW YORK. Bungalows in small colony. Beautiful surroundings, large acreage. Private river, swimming, fishing. New Fridigaires. Very reasonable. Call SU 7-3170 1-5 P.M.

PUBLISHING SERVICE

AUTHORS! Sales Department available for your short stories, articles, books and plays. Free booklet, write today! Mead Agency, 419 Fourth Avenue, N. Y. 16 (OR 9-1150).

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING analysis. Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel. WA 4-1575. Cooperating with doctors, psychologists, schools, firms, industries. Lessons by appointment, evenings. Marital, educational, vocational, psychological problems. Fee, \$5.00.

PERSONALS

exit loneliness

Somewhere there is someone you would like to know.

Somewhere there is someone who would like to know you.

We can help you find a richer, happier life through discreet, dignified 'social introductions.'

Write for booklet, or phone

MAY RICHARDSON
Dept. TN, 111 West 72 Street
New York City EN 2-2033



Butcher... Baker... ? Candlestick Maker

Where will they spend their vacations this year?

Why not tell them about your resort in the pages of

THE Nation

RESORT CLASSIFIED DISPLAY

\$7.42 per inch, one insertion

Generous discounts for multiple insertions.

Write or phone today for further information.

ADVERTISING DEPARTMENT

The NATION

20 VESEY STREET, NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

BArcley 7-1066

can Mr. del Vayo prove to the people that he is not a Communist? Under the informal conditions of debate in the pages of magazines an erroneous impression might easily be left in the minds of many persons. It should not be up to the accused to disprove such a charge; it should be up to the accuser to prove it.

The courtroom, far from precluding political debate, intensifies and purifies it, and offers the possibility of an authentic and valid conclusion. Those who are interested in denouncing others should welcome the chance to make their point in the most public way possible—in court. **AARON BELL**

Geneva, N. Y.

But Publicize Result

Dear Sirs: . . . I think you are right to take the libel suit very militantly to your readers and to others who care about the liberal attitude. After all, the case breaks new ground, and its progress will be followed, I am sure, with enormous interest. . . . Perhaps, when the suit comes to trial, you would consider publishing weekly supplements containing verbatim transcripts of the testimony. Then all of us can really know how it is going.

New York

HAROLD WENGLER

J. S. Mill's Verdict

Dear Sirs: I think I can best state my reasons for protesting against *The Nation's* refusal to print Mr. Greenberg's letter by employing the terms of the three classic suppositions of John Stuart Mill.

First of all, if Mr. Greenberg's opinion is false, then *The Nation's* own true opinion, by being tested in free and open debate, can become only more vitally true. Second, if Mr. Greenberg's opinion is true, then *The Nation*, even though it denies the truth of the opinion, has no moral right to suppress it, since suppression assumes the absolute infallibility of *The Nation* to decide the question not only for itself but for its readers, to whom it owes an impartial presentation of evidence. Finally, if Mr. Greenberg's opinion is partly true and partly false, then it is the duty of *The Nation* to present and discuss the opposing opinions in order that the truth may be determined.

I am not concerned with the possibly libelous nature of Mr. Greenberg's letter but with *The Nation's* failure to

publish his letter and to give its reasons for deciding that his opinion is false. As Mill puts it: "There is the greatest possible difference between presuming an opinion to be true because, with every opportunity for contesting it, it had not been refuted, and assuming its truth for the purpose of not permitting its refutation. Complete liberty of contradicting and disproving our opinion is the very condition which justifies us in assuming its truth; and on no other terms can a being with human faculties have any rational assurance of being right."

Right now I am in a very bleak state of mind—which has not been mitigated by my inability to follow the logic of your editorial in the issue of June 2. It still seems to me that I had every reason to expect that *The Nation* would publish and discuss Mr. Greenberg's letter. And I am thoroughly convinced that such action on the part of *The Nation*—no matter what the truth or falsity of Mr. Greenberg's letter—by proving its belief in freedom of opinion could have only redounded to its praise.

Philadelphia

H. P. LAZARUS

May You Prevail!

Dear Sirs: I've read your statement on Greenberg and the *New Leader* and am heartily in accord with your position. I am very much opposed to the so-called liberal who feels the need to prove his liberalism not merely by taking a completely anti-Communist position but also by vilifying those liberals who continue to adhere to the positive principles of democracy rather than the negative doctrines of anti-communism. There is too much fear and hate in our midst, and the only sufferers from this hysteria are those who refuse to be stampeded.

It is one thing to oppose communism and to be on the alert against possible Russian aggression. But those who insist that everyone must join in their hysterical opposition to whatever the Communists say and do or be damned are following a course certain to undermine the very foundations of our democracy. I am, therefore, very grateful to you for making your stand clear and for defending those who have neither the power nor the opportunity to defend their liberalism publicly.

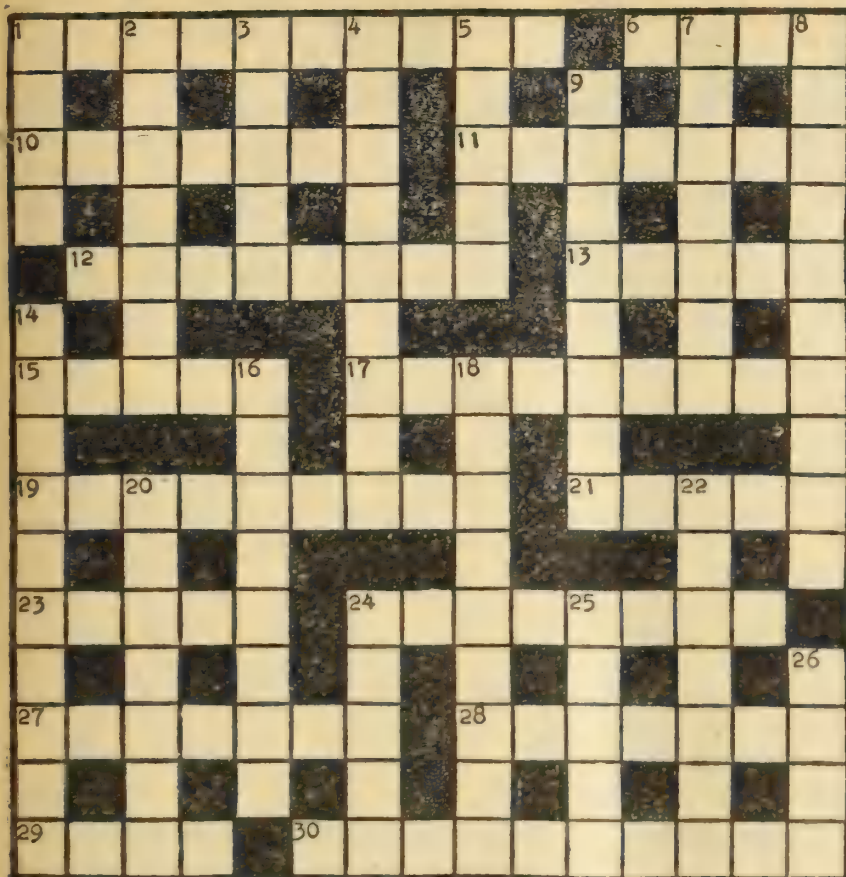
I wish it were possible for me to help you in this fight. More power to you, and may you prevail!

New York

CHARLES A. MADISON

Crossword Puzzle No. 420

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 and 13. Excessive hydrophilia? (5, 2, 3, 5)
- 6 The news gatherer is bully! (4)
- 10 Glimmer. (7)
- 11 The sort of thing one doesn't understand is mainly relative. (7)
- 12 Want to get petted like this sort of sect does? (8)
- 13 See 1.
- 15 Steal a barrel of it! (5)
- 17 A. W. L., and Congressmen, too! (9)
- 19 Bunthorne said such a love wouldn't suit him. (9)
- 21 A good row never contains it. (5)
- 23 Roots of the trunk. (5)
- 24 Where to find Foss' house, incidentally. (2, 3, 3)
- 27 Letters which were once lent are forever being changed. (7)
- 28 Do some lawyers do it crossly? (7)
- 29 Otherwise, Robert E.'s house needs alterations! (4)
- 30 Two living --- living in afterthought. (10)

DOWN

- 1 and 26. Grey makes 5 related to these, but the SPCA won't approve if you do. (8)
- 2 Impersonation of flight? (4-3)
- 3 The things that came for Bromfield. (5)

- 4 Billy, or just where he steps out? (5, 4)
- 5 See 1 down. (5)
- 7 A petrel should be far from stormy. (7)
- 8 Implying Mendelssohn's musical source? (6, 4) ?
- 11 Non-union poet? (8)
- 14 Not a public seer. (7, 3)
- 16 Festoons rearranged again. (8)
- 18 Jacob and Orlando. (9)
- 20 Eden and Mary weren't the 19 kind. (7)
- 22 A lesser form of triumph accorded an ancient Roman commander. (7)
- 24 Those who make hay need one to bundle up. (5)
- 25 The only animal in the land. (5)
- 26 See 1 down.

.....

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 419

ACROSS:—1 CONSTELLATION; 10 ERATO; 11 EPICUREAN; 12 SHORTAGES; 13 ETHER; 14 GAINSBOROUGH; 19 LIBERTY BONDS; 22 EVENT; 24 COMMODORE; 25 OUTLANDER; 26 REIMS; 27 ADVERTISE-MENT.

DOWN:—2 ORATOR; 3 SHORT HAIR; 4 EMERGENCY; 5 LAIRS; 6 TRUCE; 7 OVERHAUL; 8 TENSE; 9 ANARCHY; 15 BOOKMARKS; 16 RADIOGRAM; 17 BLUE BOY; 18 OBJECTED; 20 NOTION; 21 VERSE; 23 TRACE; 24 CADET.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

RESORTS

Year 'round Adult Activities **Hathaway Lodge**

Formerly the palatial 592-acre Macy estate. Luxurious rooms, many with open fireplaces. Swimming pool, clay tennis courts, handball, badminton. Horseback riding, hiking—magnificent mountain trails. Recordings, library, informal dancing. Delicious American-Jewish food. Easy transportation. Attractive Rates. For reservations or booklet N:

HATHAWAY LODGE
Haines Falls, N. Y. ■ Phone Tannersville 299

"An Artist in the Kitchen" **pody's LOCUST GROVE** Hopewell Junction, N. Y. Accommodations for 20

Beautiful colonial home — 100-acre farm. 55 miles from N. Y. 15-mile mountain views. Acres of lawn, century-old shade trees, private lake, sports, counselor. Complete care-free summer including gourmet meals, informal fun, art classes if you like. Low rates.

SUMMIT LODGE

ROSCOE, NEW YORK • Elevation 2,500 feet

- Famous for our Viennese Home Cooking
- The Continental Cafe on The Green
- Spacious, shady lawns
- Swimming and boating
- Sports
- Library, recordings

Rates \$43 up, semi-private bath \$50
Rooms hot, cold running water
ROSCOE 2-3412
N. Y. Tel: IN 2-5351 or WA 4-1575—5-10 P.M.

MERRIEWOODE A CAMP FOR ADULTS

HIGHLAND LAKE — STODDARD, N. H.

Where Interesting People Meet for the Perfect Vacation. Enjoy beautiful 10-mile lake. All Land and Water Sports. Interesting hiking objectives thru woodland trails. Arts and Crafts, Square and Folk Dancing Instruction. 8 hours by train from New York.

OLIVE "HATTIE" BARON, Director
Write Dept. N for literature. Tel: Hancock 98—Ring 13

the dream resort you've been looking for
and looking for and looking for!

THE NEW **Glenmere** PRIVATE GOLF COURSE

Chester, N. Y. in the beautiful Ramapos
Phones: Chester 2151 — N. Y. REctor 2-5047

A Forest-Farm-Lake-Mountain Paradise
274 Acres • 2 Lakes • A Trout Stream
Evening FORUM, July-August. SPEAKERS
WORLD FELLOWSHIP
CONWAY, NEW HAMPSHIRE
Good FOOD, Room, Bath, \$1 to \$7 daily
Friendly, Informal HOME ATMOSPHERE, Music
Boating, Swimming, Games, Excursions
Welcoming ALL Races, Faiths, Convictions
Free FOLDER, Photos, Rates, Transportation

50 MI. FROM NEW YORK
MAMANASCO Lake Lodge
RIDGEFIELD, CONN.
Phone 6-7000
A beautiful country estate converted into a delightful retreat for vacations and weekends. All outdoor activities. Mile-long lake. Tennis. Golf nearby. Informal, congenial atmosphere. Television, recordings. Excellent cuisine and accommodations. Moderate rates.

Stonegate LODGE
ON LONE LAKE, N. Y.
Informal Resort Estate in the Adirondacks
Limited to 90 • 14-mile Lake • Pollen-Free
Tennis • Fishing • Golf • Motor Boating
Folk-Sa. Dances • Concert Trio • Dance Band
Bachelor Club Rate \$60-\$85
N. Y. Office: 811 West 57th St. Circle 6-6386
• 10% from July 10—Louie A. Roth, Dir. •

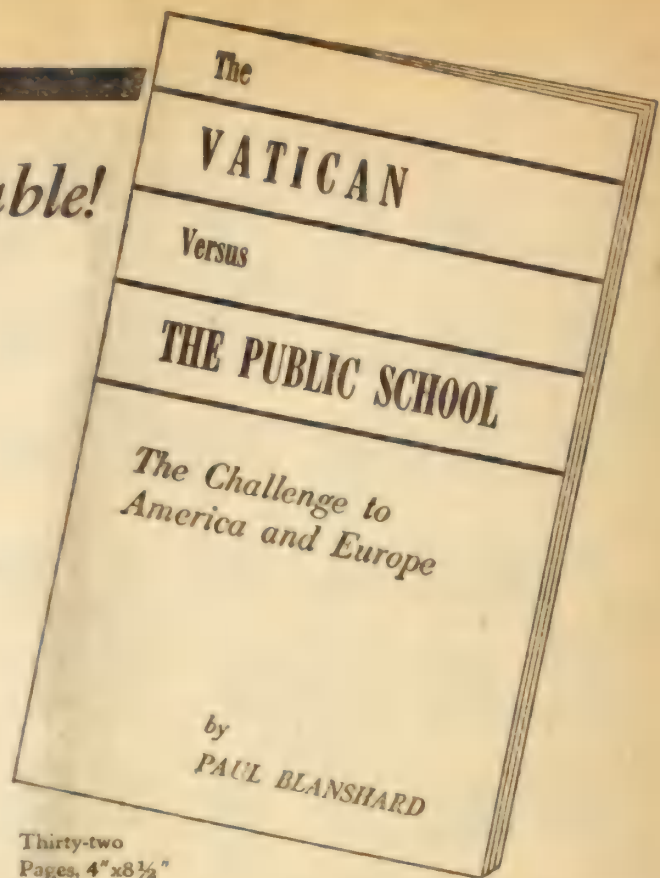
LEAD A DOUBLE LIFE—Walk to Tanglewood for the concerts—or fish for bass in our two lakes. Write MUSIC INN, Lenox, Mass.

This Booklet Now Available!

AS A RESULT of many requests from readers, *The Nation* has decided to reprint, in booklet form, the series of four articles by *Paul Blanshard* which appeared in recent issues, dealing with the struggle between the Vatican and public education in France, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Italy.

In addition to these articles, the booklet contains a 3000-word introduction and conclusion showing how the European struggle bears upon the efforts of the church to control education in America. Mr. Blanshard believes that "the action of the Roman Catholic church in opposing public education in the United States is an expression of world-wide policy, and that the Vatican has now everywhere become the foremost enemy of the public school."

We are issuing this timely booklet in large quantities in the hope that it may find its way into the hands of as many readers as possible.



Thirty-two
Pages, 4"x8½"

About the Author

Best known for his exposure of Tammany while serving as head of New York City's Department of Investigation and Accounts under Mayor LaGuardia, Paul Blanshard has had a varied career of public service. He has studied theology, is a member of the New York Bar, and was a State Department official during World War II. He is the author of "Democracy and Empire in the Caribbean" and "American Freedom and Catholic Power." The latter book became a best-seller despite a press conspiracy of silence against it, and was honored by the Religious Book Roundtable of the American Library Association as one of the fifty best religious books of 1949. His latest book, "Communism, Democracy and Catholic Power," will be published this spring.

SINGLE COPY 25¢

POSTPAID

BULK RATES:

10 copies \$2.25; 25 copies \$5; 50 copies \$9; 100 copies \$15; 500 copies \$60; 1,000 copies or more \$100 per thousand.

Use attached coupon, and mail your order, with remittance, to

THE *Nation*

20 VESEY STREET

NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

Use This Convenient Order Form

THE NATION

20 VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

Please mail me, postpaid _____ copies of Paul Blanshard's booklet "The Vatican versus The Public School."
I enclose my remittance of \$_____.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ Zone _____ State _____

7/7/51

Human Rights Are Now—An *Editorial*

THE *Nation*

BURLINGAME
PUBLIC LIBRARY
Burlingame, Calif.

July 14, 1951

South Africa: Racist Caldron

BY R. K. COPE

✱

Free Speech vs. Free-for-All

An Opening Argument

BY NANETTE DEMBITZ

✱

The U. N. Looks Beyond Korea

AN EDITORIAL

✱

Thought Control on the Waterfront

BY PETER TRIMBLE

Important features

soon to appear in ^{THE}*Nation*

New Alignment in the Pacific

Two articles of exceptional interest will deal with the new alignment of forces now emerging in the Pacific: "A Defense Pact for the Pacific," by *W. Macmahon Ball*, in the July 21 issue; "When Japan Has a Treaty," by *Owen Lattimore*, the following week. *W. Macmahon Ball*, a professor at the University of Melbourne, served as the British Commonwealth Member of the Allied Council for Japan. His book "Japan: Enemy or Ally?" published in 1949, remains one of the best critical studies of the problems of post-war Japan. *Owen Lattimore* is, of course, director of the Walter Hines Page School of International Relations of Johns Hopkins University. Few issues affecting American foreign policy today are of greater importance than those discussed in these penetrating articles by two experts on the Pacific.

Hectic Hunting Among the Sooners

To tell the story of the Oklahoma Loyalty Oath—a wild and w ideological concoction—*The Nation* has turned to two students, *Lomenick* and *Bruce Johnson*, editor and former editor of the *O'Collegian* of the Oklahoma A. and M. Their article not only deals w crucial educational issue but contains some rare and wonderful C homana.

The Fourth Estate in the Rockies

Coming issues will also carry two interesting articles about journalism the Rocky Mountain "Empire." The observant *Robert L. Perkins* of *Rocky Mountain News* will tell the story of *Houstoun Waring*, publisher of the *Littleton Independent*. The State Department has made a documentary film about this paper and its publisher to show throughout the world as an illustration of what might be called democratic newspaper management at its finest. *Max Awner*, assistant editor of the *Colorado Labor Advocate*, in "Metamorphosis of a Newspaper," will tell how *Palmer Hoyt* redeemed the *Denver Post* and then bewildered those who had cheered his energetic liberalism by manifestations of a strange xenophobia.

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 173

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • JULY 14, 1951

NUMBER 2

The Shape of Things

RUSSIA IS LIKELY TO REAP A RICH HARVEST from Congressional reaction to the prospective Korean cease-fire. No sooner had the Chinese and North Korean commanders responded favorably to Ridgway's invitation than the conservative alliance moved to cut down the Administration's mobilization program and return the country, to a substantial degree, to a business-as-usual economy. Lobbies against price rollbacks launched a new drive to eliminate all price and wage controls. The \$8,500,000,000 program for bolstering the economic and military strength of our allies was threatened with a meat-ax attack. Senator George, chairman of the powerful Finance Committee, talked about rewriting and reducing the \$7,000,000,000 tax bill voted by the House; sympathy was rising, he reported, for a soak-the-poor sales tax as a substitute for higher corporation and individual income levies. There is serious danger that the high-speed remobilization of the Western Allies planned last year will be watered down before we are assured even of peace in the Far East—and certainly before we are assured that a first step has been taken toward a negotiated settlement of the whole cold war.

★

TO ASSUME THAT MOSCOW PLANNED THINGS that way is to credit it with a more accurate knowledge of Congressional reflexes than it probably possesses. But unless Mr. Truman and public opinion can change the temper of Congress, the results are likely to be the same as if the Soviets had deliberately lulled us to sleep. If Congress refuses to authorize further wage and price controls, the Administration must either slow down the pace of industrial expansion or pay the price of unchecked inflation as mobilization reaches its peak in 1952-53. With Congress in its present mood, any funds voted for our allies are likely to be chiefly for rearmament, although Western Europe is still in desperate need of economic assistance to raise its living standards. Not the least of our weaknesses, as a power with world responsibilities, is the tendency in Congress to swing back and forth in response to isolated events, with the result

that the execution of a long-range program is hindered by vacillations, false starts, and delays. It should be clear to every member of Congress that remobilization and implementation of the Atlantic Pact were planned to meet not just the North Korean attack but the threat of aggression in the world illustrated by that attack. This threat of aggression will not be automatically removed by the outbreak of armed truce in a corner of Asia.

★

THE FRIENDS OF FRANCO IN THIS COUNTRY have made no secret of their pleasure at the welcome accorded the Spanish Air Minister, González Gallarza, in Washington. General Bradley, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, visited the Spanish embassy for the first time to attend the reception given by Ambassador José F. de Lequerica for Franco's Minister. Secretary of the Air Force Thomas K. Finletter also gave a reception for the head of the Spanish air force, and the ardently pro-Franco Senators, Brewster and McCarran, paid their respects to him. Every American who has taken seriously the claim that we are fighting for democracy will be deeply offended by these expressions of friendship for a visiting fascist. The incident, moreover, provides additional proof of the inconsistency of our foreign policy. Not many weeks ago Admiral Sherman, testifying before the Russell committee, made the very intelligent observation that this country should consider not only the strategic value of the Spanish bases but the condition of the country and the sentiment of its people. That 90 per cent of the Spanish people are against Franco was demonstrated by the extensive strikes last spring and will be demonstrated again by coming events. All Western Europe, all our best allies are against Franco. Yet this country defies world opinion and courts a dictator who was our enemy during World War II.

★

GOVERNOR OREN E. LONG OF HAWAII HAS approved a series of measures settling up a territorial employees' loyalty program. Despite the fact that the FBI has been able to find only 36 Communists in the territory's population of nearly 500,000, Hawaii will now

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things	21
Human Rights Are Now	24
The U. N. Looks Beyond Korea	25

ARTICLES

Thought Control on the Waterfront by Peter Trimble	27
Free Speech vs. Free-for-All by Nanette Dembitz	29
South Africa: Racist Caldron by R. K. Cope	32

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Cylon's Thread by Reuel Denney	34
A Critic's Diaries by Joseph Wood Krutch	35
Gide and Freedom by Richard Chase	36
Books in Brief	36
Films by Manny Farber	37
Records by B. H. Haggin	38

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 39

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 421

by Frank W. Lewis opposite 40

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Associate Editor: Carey McWilliams

<i>Foreign Editor</i>	<i>Literary Editor</i>
J. Alvarez del Vayo	Margaret Marshall

Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison

<i>Drama:</i> Joseph Wood Krutch	<i>Music:</i> B. H. Haggin
----------------------------------	----------------------------

Assistant Editor: Charles R. Allen, Jr.

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside

Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting

Staff Contributors

Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: Mary Simon

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1951, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$7; Two years \$12; Three years \$17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: *The Nation* is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

have a loyalty program more drastic than that of the federal government or of any state. The new measures require loyalty oaths of elected officials as well as teachers and civil-service employees; authorize a loyalty board to prepare personal-history forms which every jobholder must fill out; permit the board to oust any employee of whose loyalty it has "reasonable doubt"; permit the board to make its own rules and regulations, including the determination of a forum and the number of votes required to take action on any matter; and require the dismissal of any employee who refuses to answer questions on the ground of possible self-incrimination.

★

THE GOVERNOR SIGNED THE BILLS DESPITE protests from the American Civil Liberties Union, the Honolulu branch of the Americans for Democratic Action, and most of the faculty at the University of Hawaii. Even the usually nervous Honolulu *Star Bulletin* condemned the program as "too sweeping." The misgivings of the Governor, however, were even more impressive than these protests. "I have not found anyone who professes to like the bills," he said in signing them, "or who wants them to become a permanent part of our local and national laws. . . . Under ordinary conditions no one would think of such laws or tolerate them. We are not, however, living under ordinary conditions. The fervent hope of everyone is that in the near future all legislation of this nature will be unnecessary." That legislation so destructive of basic liberties could be approved by an executive who harbors such serious doubts of its wisdom is merely additional evidence of the hypnotic power of the loyalty obsession. The Governor's words will be scant comfort to the first civil servant or teacher who is luckless enough to be haled before Hawaii's new heresy tribunal. During World War II, Hawaii refused to yield to the hysterical pressure for the removal of Japanese Americans, and subsequent events amply justified its confidence in them. It is unfortunate that this fine record should now be marred by the enactment of the new loyalty program.

★

BACK IN 1887 THE FAMOUS GRAND HOTEL was built on Mackinac Island in Lake Michigan by a company headed by Commodore Cornelius Vanderbilt. The Commodore would certainly have been flabbergasted by the recent twelve-day convention of Moral Rearmament which brought 1,683 delegates from thirty-two countries to the Grand Hotel to hear Dr. Frank N. D. Buchman discourse on the four moral absolutes and proclaim "the right revolution" as the answer to communism. Delegates from California, Florida, and Japan came attired in summer clothing which offered scant protection against the strong winds buffeting the fog-

bound island, but the warmth of their reception made them soon forget the winds without. There were people from India, Burma, Japan, Ceylon, Malaya, China, and Korea, including an authentic abbot from the Buddhist monastery in Rangoon in saffron robes who chanted a prayer in the sacred Paili language. Lieutenant General Martin Gareis, a former German tank-corps commander on the eastern front, asked forgiveness of the French delegates, and Senator Alexander Wiley spoke of Moral Rearmament as "the dynamic morality" of our times. Among other Congressional leaders present were Senator Francis Case and Representatives Rabaut, Bennett, Deane, Thompson, and Carnahan. Confused thinking in Congress and other high places reminded Representative Charles E. Bennett of "a giant who beckons to smaller people and says, 'I don't know where I'm going but come on along.'"

★

FOR THE FIRST TIME IN AN MRA RALLY something was said on the sordid subject of finances. Delegates were assured that their travel and hotel expenses, like all MRA costs, were "underwritten by the generosity and sacrifice of rich and poor believers," rather after the manner in which the American Revolution was financed. Case-histories of the miracles worked by the four moral absolutes in industrial relations were presented by labor-management teams from a California dehydrated-fruit concern, a Canadian biscuit company, and Pan-American World Airways. Chancellor Konrad Adenauer reported that MRA had given "invisible but effective" assistance during negotiations on the Schuman Plan, and Dr. Hollington Tong told the delegates that although "the moon is down" for China, MRA and the Chinese Nationalists are beacons of life and new hope for 450,000,000 Chinese. Premier Sophocles Venizelos was scheduled to speak, but some nasty last-minute disturbances in Greece kept him away from Lake Michigan. At the conclusion of the convention 250 delegates journeyed to Washington, where they were feted by Senators Alexander Wiley and H. Alexander Smith. Seldom has a religious gathering of any kind received such lavish press notices as this "rich man's revival" on Mackinac Island. The generous coverage, however, is understandable. MRA may not believe in sawdust trails and trombone solos, but it stages the fanciest revivals of an age in which religious exuberance has become somewhat attenuated.

★

A LARRUPING DEMOCRATIC COUNTER-PUNCH is wrapped up in the current issue of *Social Action*, a publication of the Council for Social Action of the Congregational Christian churches. In an article entitled Protestant Piety and the Right Wing, a young Baptist minister just out of Yale has traced the rec-

ord of six leading right-wing organizations and their attempts to manipulate Protestant piety. The six organizations are the Committee for Constitutional Government, Merwin K. Hart's National Economic Council, the Foundation for Economic Education, Dr. James J. Fife's "Spiritual Mobilization," the Christian Freedom Foundation, and the fundamentalist organ, the *Christian Beacon*. The Reverend George Younger, who prepared the study, has neatly summarized the common denominators in the ideological outpourings of these and similar "Old Deal" propaganda efforts. He also points to the small clique of giant corporations that over the years has so generously financed this particular group of "right-wing" organizations. By playing on partial and largely archaic values, the right-wing "Old Dealers" have been quite successful in influencing the programs of many Protestant denominations. "The challenge to Protestantism from the 'Old Dealers' is a real one," writes the Reverend Mr. Younger "for much within traditional Protestantism would yield unwittingly to them. . . . Under the banners of 'freedom' and the fight against 'statism' [we] may be enlisted in an attempt to return to a day when business acknowledged very little responsibility except to itself." *Social Action* is to be commended for this pioneer effort to counter the influence of extreme right-wing propaganda in the Protestant movement.

★

IN A REPORT TO THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE on Teacher Education and Professional Standards, Dr. W. Earl Armstrong disclosed last week that an estimated 300,000 teachers will quit the teaching profession in the next three years and that 125,000 are expected to leave teaching for other types of work this year. These figures do not include those who will die or who will leave because of marriage or retirement. At the same time 10,000,000 more children will be enrolled in the schools by 1960. Other speakers at the conference emphasized the physical deterioration that has taken place in the schools since 1940: few schoolhouses have been built; existing structures have gone unrepaired. With some 50,000 additional elementary teachers needed this year, the problem is already much too big for local communities to handle without some assistance from the federal government. The new bill for federal aid to education (HR 4468), introduced by Representative Graham A. Barden of North Carolina, would provide aid only for teachers' salaries, salaries of supervisory and maintenance personnel, the purchase of laboratory equipment, and the maintenance and repair of school buildings, and therefore may not be considered entirely adequate, but it at least points the way to a solution of some of the critical problems now facing the nation's public schools.

Human Rights Are Now

IN A two-to-one decision, with Judge J. Waties Waring dissenting, the three-judge federal court which heard the Clarendon County segregation case—discussed in these pages on June 2—has upheld the constitutionality of racial segregation in the secondary schools. Since the state had conceded that school facilities for white and Negro students were unequal and had estimated that it would cost approximately \$40,000,000 to remove the more obvious discriminations, the court ordered the school authorities to report back in six months on what improvements had been made in the Negro schools.

The court majority, consisting of Circuit Judge John J. Parker and District Judge George Bell Timmerman, held that segregation in the public schools is a matter of legislative policy for the states. Segregated public schools do not violate the Fourteenth Amendment, they argued, since the issues at this level are different from those at the level of graduate schools. The reasons given for this distinction were that education at the common-school level is compulsory, and that at this level "as good an education" can be provided in "separate but equal" schools for Negroes as in the white schools. Not only are both reasons extremely dubious, but the argument ignores the fact that while the so-called "equalization" of facilities is taking place, certain Negro children will continue to be deprived of the kind of schooling to which they have a constitutional right. This loss cannot be made good to them; it is irreparable. "If segregation is wrong," as Judge Waring pointed out in his dissent, "then the place to stop it is in the first grade and not in graduate colleges. I am of the opinion that all of the legal guideposts, expert testimony, common sense, and reason point unerringly to the conclusion that the system of segregation in education adopted and practiced in the state of South Carolina must go and must go now." The decision, of course, will be appealed.

Although the impact of the decision was lessened by the state's strategic stipulations—none of the Negro plaintiffs got a chance to testify—the trial of this case undoubtedly marked the opening of a new chapter in race relations in the South. Not only was the trial widely reported in the Southern Negro press, but the coverage in such papers as the *Charleston News and Courier* and the *Columbia State* was complete and fair. Southern whites and Negroes were for the first time able to read in their local papers an adequate account of the argument against segregated schools.

The response of the local Negro community was extraordinary. On the first day of the trial some five hundred people, mostly Negroes, gathered in the federal building in Charleston as early as seven o'clock. Throngs in the corridors stood and listened patiently to the testi-

mony hour after hour. For many of these spectators it was doubtless an exciting experience to hear Thurgood Marshall, general counsel for the N. A. A. C. P., sharply cross-examine school officials. On the last day, before a packed courtroom, Mr. Marshall said in an effective summation, "Human rights are now," not next year, not next month, but now.

The prevailing view in the South seems to be that the Supreme Court will eventually rule, in this or some similar case, that segregation is unconstitutional even if school facilities for Negro and white children are equal, as measured, say, by per capita expenditures. On this assumption W. D. Workman, Jr., political correspondent for the *News and Courier*, has spelled out the possible courses open to the Southern states.

Mr. Workman concedes that open defiance, or, as he terms it, "popular nullification," is the least likely alternative. The Southern states, however, while acquiescing in a Supreme Court decision, might evade it by gerrymandering school districts to perpetuate segregation. This strategy would not work well in rural areas or small towns, nor would it prove satisfactory even in Charleston, where whites and Negroes are frequently intermixed territorially. A third "solution" would be the exclusion of Negroes on the pretense of raising academic standards, but this would be difficult to manage without also excluding large numbers of whites. Or, again, some 7,000 Negro teachers in the South Carolina schools might be discharged in an effort to line them up against integration. Or the public school system might be abolished. Or, as now proposed in Louisiana, a rule might be adopted that pupils could not be transferred from one school to another without the prior approval of the officials of both schools. A more likely stratagem would be to segregate the school population on the basis of sex in order to preclude what Mr. Workman rather luridly calls "the danger of racial consorting."

Abolition of the public-school system in South Carolina would save \$32,000,000 a year in state taxes and \$27,000,000 in county and school-district taxes but would raise serious problems over the disposition of some \$90,000,000 in school properties. Moreover, private grammar schools would have to charge about \$130 per child, junior high schools \$170, and high schools \$225; and few Negro or white families could afford such fees. Mr. Workman concedes that "by no means all" of South Carolina's whites would favor the abolition of the public-school system. A proposal to amend the constitution might provide a means by which those against abolition could be counted.

It is clear that the South is on the defensive, and that its strategy is to buy as much time as possible. Pointing to Governor Byrne's \$75,000,000 rural school fund, the South Carolina authorities asked the three-judge court for time in which to bring the state's Negro

schools up to the physical standards prevailing in the white schools. The difficulty, of course, is that time is measured differently by aroused Southern Negroes and by the bourbons who rule the South. Negroes demand their rights "here and now"; the whites say, "much later and maybe."

However, by conceding the fact of discrimination, the South has unwittingly thrown up its case against segregation. Once school officials begin to remedy existing discrepancies, the difficulties of maintaining a segregated school system will multiply. It will be almost impossible, for example, to give even lip-service to the principle of segregation if its basis is to be not color but sex. On the other hand, the more the Southern states spend to improve Negro schools, the greater will be their reluctance to abandon the public-school system. The Southern states can run but they cannot hide. And the faster they run—that is, the more they spend on segregated schools—the more difficult it will be to initiate a system of private schools and the harder Negroes will press for integration.

From any point of view, therefore, the South's opposition to integrated schools would seem to be self-defeating. In fact, the pessimistic tone of Southern editorials indicates a widespread realization that sooner or later segregated schools must be abandoned. But the South can fight a long delaying action, with Negroes being forced to bring test suits in every state and with the Southern states filing joint briefs in the Supreme Court. Since decisions by a three-judge court can be appealed directly to the Supreme Court, the Clarendon case may become an important factor in the 1952 election. South Carolina does not need to be reminded that the Supreme Court usually follows the election returns.

The U. N. Looks Beyond Korea

THE prospect of a cease-fire in Korea has lifted the spirits of United Nations officials. For them the Malik proposal means not only removal of the fear that the limited Korean conflict might at any moment develop into World War III. A cease-fire will, above all, be regarded by the U. N. as incontrovertible evidence that collective resistance to aggression does work—that what the League of Nations failed to accomplish in Ethiopia, the Rhineland, and Manchuria the U. N., with the United States this time in the lead, has achieved by a year's persevering effort.

The U. N. can justifiably take credit for its peace operations as well as its military operations. For the terms of the cease-fire negotiations are closely modeled on the proposal drawn up on December 15, 1950, by a three-man Group on a Cease-Fire composed of Nasrollah Entezam of Iran, president of the General Assembly,

Sir Benegal N. Rau of India, and Lester B. Pearson of Canada. At that time the U. N. proposal was rejected by Russia and the Chinese Communists as a "trap." Mr. Malik's advocacy in June of terms he considered intolerable in December represents a genuine victory for the United Nations.

What made the Russians change their mind? One reason, as seen in U. N. circles, is that the Chinese Communists needed additional war material if they were to continue the struggle with the far better-armed forces of the U. N.—and Moscow was apparently not prepared to become more deeply involved in the Korean war. Moreover, many U. N. delegates believe that Russia by no means always sees eye to eye with Communist China—contrary to the view prevailing in the United States that Peking is a mere puppet of the Kremlin, irretrievably lost to the rest of the world. There is, however, another reason which in the opinion of U. N. observers may have been even more influential in altering Russia's policy, and that is the removal of General MacArthur, whom Soviet-bloc spokesmen had often denounced at Lake Success as a "megalomaniac." It had been the judgment of some U. N. delegates that peace feelers would prove futile as long as the General, with his well-advertised sympathy for Chiang Kai-shek and his demand for the bombing of the Chinese mainland, retained control of military operations in Korea. Now they can barely refrain from murmuring, "I told you so."

While negotiation of a cease-fire by the military commanders in the field, meeting in Korea's ancient capital of Kaesong, three miles south of the Thirty-eighth Parallel, is not expected to present insuperable difficulties, the U. N. is already looking ahead to the next steps. The cease-fires in Israel and Indonesia, which immediately come to mind as analogous, do not provide exact precedents, for in these two instances the U. N. played the role of neutral mediator. In Korea the U. N. cannot be accurately described as a "belligerent": first, it has no forces of its own but rather serves as the framework within which the troops of U. N. members operate under a unified command; and, second, the role of the U. N. is not to engage in war but to step in for the purpose of preventing aggression before it has begun or checking it when it is under way. Nevertheless, the North Koreans, the Chinese Communists, and the Russians may find it difficult to regard the U. N. as a wholly disinterested party. This raises the question of who will supervise the execution of the cease-fire agreement. One of the by-products of collective security is that no real neutrals are left, except Switzerland. It is conceivable, however, that a supervisory committee might be recruited from countries of Asia and Latin America which, while agreeing on the need to resist aggression, have for one reason or another not sent troops to Korea.

More far-reaching is the question whether, once a

cease-fire has been concluded, the U. N. should leave well enough alone or press for negotiation of an over-all settlement in this storm center of Asia. From the point of view of the United States it would be much easier to end a limited war by an agreement strictly limited to battlefield arrangements. For this would preclude a new hue and cry by Senator McCarthy and his supporters about "a sell-out at Kaesong" comparable to "the betrayal at Yalta."

Yet will a cease-fire prove enough? Both the United States and the United Nations have hoped that Korea can ultimately be unified and rehabilitated under U. N. supervision. Should the U. N. act on the theory that discretion is the better part of valor and, forgoing unification for the time being, concentrate on rehabilitation of South Korea?

Any plans for Korea as a whole would obviously require the cooperation of the North Koreans, the Chinese Communists, and the Russians. On what basis can the United States negotiate with Peking after some of our official spokesmen have solemnly declared at the MacArthur hearings that they would "never" let Communist China into the U. N. and would not dream of turning Formosa over to the Peking regime? Yet to acknowledge

the existence of the Peking authorities on the battlefield and ignore them on the field of diplomacy may turn out to be an Alice in Wonderland act. What Washington apparently intends to do, while maintaining its newly hardened Far East policy intact, is to leave the decisions about the admission of Peking and disposal of Formosa to a majority vote in the General Assembly. The most important problem of all, however, from the point of view of both Communist China and the U. S. S. R., is not before the U. N.—and that is the Japanese peace treaty, which in its present draft contemplates militarization of Japan. Once a cease-fire has been concluded, it will prove increasingly difficult for the United States to keep Communist China from participating in negotiations for a Japanese treaty, particularly since Japan is in urgent need of trade with China.

There is mounting evidence that Moscow's objective today is to reduce fear of war in Europe and Asia and thereby achieve a "cease-arms" in Germany and Japan, the two great powers whose ambitions in the past have repeatedly endangered Russia's security. A Korean cease-fire and even a temporary shelving of the Formosa question might seem a modest price to pay for this larger gain.



"WHY NOT? I ONLY RISK ANOTHER BROKEN LEG" *London Daily Herald*

Thought Control on the Waterfront

BY PETER TRIMBLE

FOR many years the lot of West Coast maritime workers has been a hard one. The turbulent building up of their strong unions has often put them "on the bricks"—carrying a sign in front of strike-locked piers and ships. On San Francisco's Embarcadero men have been shot, gassed, stoned, beaten, shanghaied, and jailed for their defense of union principles—and black-listed so effectively that there was no work for them anywhere in the United States.

Many West Coast dock workers are former sailors—men who are "taking a trip ashore," a trip that often stretches to twenty years. They are tough, individualistic men. They have seen the world. They know the score. They have an opinion on everything and are willing to debate it with fists or bale hooks or in accordance with Robert's Rules of Order. Like most seamen, they regard Coast Guard port officials as their enemies—brass-bound shore men who can take a sailor's sea papers away from him. So it was perhaps unfortunate that the Coast Guard was selected to administer the regulations designed to guard the nation's docks and vessels against subversives—and given powers unprecedented in peace time.

Before a comprehensive screening program under the control of the Coast Guard was set up by the Magnuson act and a subsequent executive order from the White House, two emergency measures were put into effect. The first was a voluntary screening program adopted by representatives of "anti-Communist" maritime unions, shipowners, and the government at a meeting called by Secretary of Labor Maurice Tobin in Washington on July 24, 1950. The "lefties"—the big International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union headed by Harry Bridges and the closely allied Marine Cooks' and Stewards' Union—were not invited to participate and subsequently declared that the program was aimed directly at them. Joseph Curran, they pointed out, had already purged his C. I. O. National Maritime Union and was planning in addition to "retire" any member who could not pass the screening test. Harry Lundeberg, lusty head of the A. F. of L. Sailors' Union of the Pacific, had for years loudly waged war against those he called the "comrats."

With surprising unanimity, the Washington meeting, as reported in the press, decided to have the Coast Guard check all crew lists against government files con-

taining the names of "Communist Party card carriers, subversives, and notorious fellow-travelers."

The effect of the screening program was first felt on the West Coast in Seattle, Washington, four days after the meeting, when a seaman was removed from a ship as a "poor security risk." By August 4, sixty-five members of the Marine Cooks and Stewards had been fired by a Seattle steamship company for refusing to submit to the screening test. Soon all seamen were being screened, whether or not they were on ships carrying military or foreign-bound cargo. The procedure was extended to ships leaving from Atlantic and Gulf ports on August 9. On the same day President Truman signed the Magnuson act, giving the government authority to carry on the screening which the "voluntary" agreement had instituted.

Meanwhile, the Longshoremen and the Cooks were shouting their opposition. The Longshoremen, however, after bitterly condemning Tobin's program in a coast-wide caucus, yielded to strong internal right-wing pressure and voted to cooperate with "any such program that cannot be used against the union."

The second interim measure was a security check of all longshoremen employed on military docks ordered by the army and navy jointly on August 10. Before that it was mainly seamen who were screened. Only longshoremen who were cleared in this check received identification badges signifying they could work.

The I. L. W. U. called this a blacklist and backed its charge with a statement from one Joe Luby, a Seattle longshoreman. Luby said he had been screened off the navy docks with the official explanation that he was considered "an agitator and a radical . . . a Communist." Later, he said, he had been asked by navy investigators to point out dock workers who might be Communists and had refused. When the I. L. W. U. protested Luby's case, and that of some twenty-five other screened workers, the navy replied that "the disclosure of specific reasons for action in each of these cases would not benefit the individuals concerned, and it would be inconsistent with sound security-control policy."

President Truman's executive order giving the Coast Guard almost absolute power over all docks and vessels was issued on October 18. The waterfront simmered until April, 1951, when the I. L. W. U. reversed its attitude of reluctant cooperation. In convention in Honolulu, the union overrode minority opposition and condemned the screening program. Bridges spearheaded the action, calling on longshoremen to "wake up and fight."

PETER TRIMBLE is labor reporter for the San Francisco Chronicle.

July 14, 1951

Most rank-and-file dock workers, however, were unwilling to be cut off from the steady work provided by military cargoes and continued to submit to screening. Many, after the customary six weeks' wait, were informed that they were ineligible.

THE screening methods used on the San Francisco waterfront were exposed recently in court when ten rejected maritime workers asked Federal Judge Edward P. Murphy for an injunction on the ground that the loyalty check violated the First and the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution and was conducted in a manner contrary to the Administrative Procedures Act. At the hearing Major General J. A. Lester, commanding general of the San Francisco Port of Embarkation, revealed that United States intelligence services and the FBI had been asked for "complete information as to all shoreside workers at the port." An affidavit by Rear Admiral Joseph E. Stika, commander of the Twelfth Coast Guard District, declared that one man who had lost his merchant mariner's documents had been refused another set because "reliable information" indicated that he had been a member of the Communist Party in 1948-49 and had been a student at the California Labor School, which was on the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations. Another man, according to the Admiral's affidavit, was refused a security card because of "repeated arrests and convictions for drunkenness during the past nine years." Still another was screened out with this official explanation: "Believed to be affiliated with or sympathetic to the principles of organizations, associations, and groups subversive to the United States."

Vice-Admiral Merlin O'Neill, commandant of the

Coast Guard, named two workers who were rejected because they were "believed" to be members of or sympathetic to the Communist Party; another, a ship's stewardess, was alleged to have written letters to Judge Medina protesting against the trial of the eleven top Communists; a fourth was rejected because he was "believed to be a carrier and distributor of Communist literature"; and a fifth, because it was alleged he had been to Moscow (he denied it). Of this man Admiral O'Neill said, "He only refrained from joining the Communist Party because he thought such action would be displeasing to his mother." It was charged further that the unionist in question had declared at a union meeting, "The union comes before God and country."

For these and similar reasons 175 San Francisco seamen had been screened off their ships by May 2—50 were cleared on appeal—and 147 dock workers had been denied clearance. Some of these men were Communists, some babblers who could not be trusted with knowledge of military cargoes, some drunks who could not be allowed to handle ammunition. But many others stamped as bad security risks swear they are none of these things. They insist they are loyal Americans, skilled and steady at their trade.

THE present procedure requires all longshoremen who work on San Francisco's military docks—and a large number of the docks are used for military purposes—to register for a loyalty test. Six weeks after they have been photographed, finger-printed, and interviewed by screening officials, they are either issued a security card or informed by letter that they have been judged a "poor security risk." Seamen are checked every time they sign on for a voyage. If the screening officers find a seaman's name on a secret list supplied by the Coast Guard's Washington headquarters, they direct the shipping commissioner not to certify the man to sail.

Both longshoremen and seamen may appeal the verdict to a local and finally to a national board of review. As originally set up, the local appeal board was to be composed of union members, management representatives, and public members, with a Coast Guard officer as chairman. So far, however, local appeals have been heard by one man—a Coast Guard officer who may make recommendations to his commandant in Washington. The resultant ruling may be appealed to a national board, which for the present is composed of five Coast Guard officers. This board also makes recommendations to the commandant, whose decision is now final.

Screened-out longshoremen are afraid they will soon be denied work on commercial as well as military docks unless they can get their security classification changed. For loyalty requirements are spreading. The Coast Guard has recently announced it will screen every person who wants access to commercial docks that may be handling



Courtesy the Dispatcher (I.L.W.U.)

military or essential cargo. This means shipping executives, steamship-company employees, newspaper reporters, and anyone else with an interest at the docks. Certain docks will be closed to all but accepted persons while classified cargo is being handled.

The government has defended its one-man local appeal boards by asserting that lack of cooperation on the part of left-wing unions has made it impossible to set up tripartite boards. The Coast Guard has ordered them set up but has encountered difficulties in getting full panels of members. The M. C. and S. and the I. L. W. U. deny this. Both declare they have made detailed suggestions to the Coast Guard on the screening machinery, and the I. L. W. U. says it has submitted names of possible appeal-board members to the government.

In the first test of the program's constitutionality, the

petition for an injunction, Judge Murphy observed that while important constitutional rights were involved, "the public interest would suffer immeasurably by the issuance of an injunction" halting the loyalty check. He continued: "The personal deprivations petitioners have suffered and the additional sacrifice they are called upon to make by this denial of their [petition for injunction] bulks small beside the incalculable loss which might result if this court summarily suspended even part of the security program."

In his ruling Judge Murphy recalled that Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas had laid the entire problem bare in connection with another case involving civil rights. "The problems of security are real," Justice Douglas said. "So are the problems of freedom. The paramount issue of the age is to reconcile the two."

Free Speech vs. Free-for-All

BY NANETTE DEMBITZ

THE attention paid to the case of the eleven Communist leaders has somewhat obscured a trio of Supreme Court decisions on another aspect of the question of free speech. The street-corner soap-box, very symbol of free speech, has emerged from these decisions a less secure platform. Because street corners and public parks have, in the Supreme Court's words, "time out of mind, been used for purposes of assembly, communicating thoughts between citizens, and discussing public questions," the right to use them as public forums is an established part of the constitutional guaranty of free speech. These free, open meeting places are especially valuable to ill-financed minority causes trying to attract converts. But since the speaker addresses himself to the general public, he frequently confronts an unsympathetic or hostile audience. The questions before the court in the recent cases were how far the speaker's delivery of his opinions should be protected in the face of objections from his hearers, and whether the speaker or the audience should be restrained if the objections were so violent that disorder in the streets resulted.

In one case (*Kunz v. New York*) a Baptist minister had harangued vigorously against Catholic theology in Columbus Circle in midtown New York, addressing among others the Catholics who traversed this busy pub-

lic square. Reading from the Bible and other inoffensive printed material, Kunz had interpolated such declarations as "the Pope is the anti-Christ," "Catholicism is the religion of the devil," and "the Catholic church makes merchandise out of souls." A number of Catholics complained to the police about his speeches, and fist fights occurred between Kunz followers and other members of the audience. In *Feiner v. New York* a Syracuse University student aroused the belligerent opposition of some of his listeners in a mixed Negro and white audience, as well as open friction between the two elements, by urging Negroes to "fight for their rights." While religion and race were involved in these cases, the issue was how to handle the clash between the speaker and the audience rather than the much-discussed question of whether to suppress speech which is dangerous because of the listeners' responsiveness to a message of racial or religious hatred.

The good health of a democracy undoubtedly requires that fighting at public meetings be prevented; it intensifies antagonisms and undermines public confidence in the value of a free exchange of opinions. On the other hand, some degree of ideological friction, and of the concomitant disorder, must be hazarded, for if truth and progress are to be furthered, preconceptions must be scrutinized, not insulated, and there is more value in disagreement than in conformity.

Confronted with these conflicting interests, the Supreme Court in the recent decisions remained faithful to its tradition of safeguarding civil liberties and emphasized that there should be governmental interference

NANETTE DEMBITZ, a practicing lawyer in New York, was formerly with the Department of Justice. A different view of how the growing threat to free speech should be combated will be presented by Verne Countryman of the Yale Law School in an early issue.

with meetings only in cases of actual disorder and no censorship of speeches in advance of delivery. Unfortunately, in the matter of how to handle the disorder, the effect of the court's decisions is to permit the police to suppress a street-corner speaker whenever the opponents of his views are sufficiently bellicose to threaten him with violence: the less tolerant his opponents, the less his right to speak. In the dissenting words of Justice Black, the court, in this phase of the decisions, took a "step toward totalitarianism," and if it is to be reversed, another solution must be sought for the problem of control of speech in public forums.

Kunz, the Baptist minister in New York City, and Niemotko, a Jehovah's Witness in Havre de Grace, Maryland, were arrested and convicted for attempting to make speeches in public squares after municipal authorities had refused them permits. In the Havre de Grace case the court held unanimously that the arrest was unconstitutional, the officials having denied the permit merely because they disliked Niemotko and his religious views, not because they feared disorder if he were allowed to speak. The Kunz conviction was likewise overturned and the New York licensing system condemned. But recognizing the reality of the danger of disorder at the Kunz meetings in view of past outbreaks, the court suggested that in lieu of the invalidated permit system New York could make arrests for disorderly conduct if violence threatened. While it is fortunate that the court refused to approve a system for the total suppression of speakers through denial of permits, and while the only feasible method for the control of meetings seems to be through disorderly-conduct arrests, the disturbing aspects of the latter type of control are accentuated by the court's decision in the third case.

Feiner, the Syracuse University student, spoke in a predominantly Negro residential district of Syracuse to announce a speech to be delivered by O. John Rogge at a meeting of the Young Progressives of America in a Syracuse hotel that evening. Feiner protested against the city's revocation of a permit it had originally issued for the holding of the meeting in a public school. It must be granted at the outset that his manner of speaking was puerile and intemperate. But he said nothing more inflammatory than that President Truman and Mayor O'Dwyer were "bums"; the American Legion was "a Nazi Gestapo"; "the Fifteenth Ward is run by corrupt politicians and there are horse rooms operating there";



Justice Douglas

the Mayor of Syracuse "is a champagne-sipping bum—he does not speak for the Negro people"; and "the Negroes don't have equal rights; they should rise up in arms and fight for their rights."

According to the court's description of the incident, "the crowd was restless and there was some pushing, shoving, and milling around . . . the statements before such a mixed audience 'stirred up a little excitement' . . . some of the onlookers made remarks to the police [two policemen were present] about their inability to handle the crowd . . . there were others who appeared to be favoring . . . [Feiner's] arguments." After Feiner had spoken about twenty minutes, "a man said to the police officers, 'If you don't get that s. o. b. off, I will go over

and get him off there myself.' It was then that the police . . . [asked] Feiner to stop speaking." When Feiner continued to urge attendance at the Rogge meeting, he was arrested for disorderly conduct.

As the dissenting justices—Douglas, Minton, and Black—pointed out, the police made no attempt to restrain or disperse the belligerent members of the crowd, not even the man whose threat to assault Feiner precipitated the arrest. The majority of the court, without considering the possibility of this method of averting disorder, upheld Feiner's arrest on the ground that the policemen were apparently motivated by a bona fide desire to preserve order rather than by a desire to suppress Feiner's opinions. But the only justification the opinion offered for the police passivity toward the crowd and hostility to Feiner was the arbitrary statement, without any analysis of Feiner's remarks, that he had engaged in "incitement to riot." A speaker who is inciting to riot—that is, exhorting a crowd to an immediate physical attack—should undoubtedly be suppressed. But it was only the reaction to Feiner's remarks which made them seem inciting. His declaration that Negroes should rise up in arms and fight for their rights was, as Justice Black stated, clearly "rhetorical" in the context of his criticism of the Syracuse authorities and his appeals to attend the Rogge speech. And if the court had evaluated Feiner's remarks in the light of established standards of free speech instead of considering chiefly the reaction of the crowd, it could hardly have condemned as too provocative an appeal to Negroes to fight for equality, even in the presence of a mixed audience, or an appeal for support of the Young Progressives and O. John Rogge. The ballyhoo for the Rogge meeting was prob-

ably what aroused the crowd's antagonism, though this was emphasized only in Justice Black's dissent.

The *Feiner* decision marks a disappointing departure from the principle that suppression of the speaker "cannot be made a substitute for the duty to maintain order," a principle which the Supreme Court vigorously asserted when it invalidated Mayor Hague's refusal of a meeting permit to the C. I. O., despite the Mayor's claim that the meeting would cause a riot.

IF THE problem of how to handle disorder at public meetings is to be solved, there must be a clear differentiation between the danger of disorder caused by the listeners' compliance with the speaker's exhortations and the danger of disorder caused by their antagonism to him, as in the *Niemotko*, *Kunz*, and *Feiner* cases. For the latter situation, the limits of a speaker's right to communicate opinions offensive to his listeners must be clearly defined; a criterion will then be available by which to judge whether it is the speaker or the audience against whom the police should act.

The Supreme Court has already established that "insulting or 'fighting words'"—those which by their very utterance inflict injury or tend to incite an immediate breach of the peace—are outside the constitutional protection of free speech when used in personal face-to-face encounters (*Chaplinsky v. New Hampshire*). This rule should, as suggested by Justices Douglas and Minton in their dissent in the *Feiner* case, be extended to street speeches, although it is true that the extension would set a new restraint on speech, since it would curtail the speaker's freedom to persuade listeners other than the subjects of the insulting language. But a belligerent response to personal insults is such an accepted part of our social customs that it would be impossible to enforce a rule that the crowd should be restrained in order to permit a speaker to continue his personal abuse.

The "insulting words" rule must, however, be interpreted narrowly and must not be used to suppress speech which arouses emotion in people merely because they disagree with it. Outlawed speech must be scrupulously limited to disparagement of the personal characteristics of those to whom it is addressed, as in the *Chaplinsky* case, where the "fighting words" were calling a police officer a "God-damned racketeer" and a "damned Fascist." A declaration to a street-corner audience including American legionnaires that legionnaires are "cowards and traitors" would justify an order to the speaker to desist, but condemnation of the Legion's policies, while it might arouse anger, would not constitute a personal insult warranting the speaker's suppression. As the Supreme Court said in the *Terminiello* case, invalidating for the sake of the free-speech principle the arrest of a demagogic priest: "A function of free speech under our system of government is to invite discord. It may indeed

best serve its high purpose when it induces a condition of unrest, creates dissatisfaction with conditions as they are, or even stirs people to anger."

Street-corner speaking in particular would be shorn of its essential function as a medium of communication for minorities if it were suppressed merely because it roused opposition and anger. Mere exposition of a view, no matter how temperate the language, may be regarded as a threat or an insult by its rabid opponents, and rouse them to violent protest if majority sentiment supports their belief in the righteousness of their own views and their contempt for the speaker.

Because members of racial and religious groups feel a close and inescapable identification with the group and are so identified in the eyes of others, a personal disparagement of a prominent representative of the group is commonly regarded as attacking the honor of all its members, justifying retaliation by them, and should perhaps be treated as the one exception to the rule that "insulting words" are those which disparage the personal characteristics of the actual listeners. A declaration in a public place in the hearing of Catholics that a high church dignitary is a "crook" would thus be "insulting words," warranting the speaker's suppression. *Kunz's* anti-Catholic utterances, however, would not have subjected him to arrest, even under this test, for he did not engage in personal aspersions on Catholics but in a theological diatribe. Doubtless his speeches did "outrage the religious sensibilities of others," but if Justice Frankfurter's conclusion that the city could therefore suppress *Kunz* in order to safeguard "peace in one of the most populous centers of New York City" were accepted, all public theological criticism would be hampered.

The right to use the streets and parks as public forums—so important if minorities are to express themselves and society is to progress through the challenge of their ideas—entails the possibility of antagonistic audiences. Recognizing the need to minimize any resultant disorder in the streets but rejecting both a speech-licensing system and indiscriminate suppression of the speaker as in the *Feiner* case, the writer suggests that the insulting-words test, administered by police specially schooled for the supervision of street meetings and subject of course to court review, would provide appropriate protection for the right of free speech and at the same time a workable pattern for the control of street meetings. The police effort required to protect a speaker who observes the prescribed limit may seem ill expended when his message is falling on ears closed by hostility, particularly if it has little apparent social value. But protection of the right to express opinions cannot depend upon their reception or their merit without the right becoming a precarious privilege held at the mercy of its opponents or of governmental power to proscribe thoughts.

South Africa: Racist Caldron

BY R. K. COPE

Cape Town, South Africa

CRAWLING across a thousand miles of dry, cold veld, the "zoo" trains take back South Africa's legislators and every species of official from the parliamentary capital, Cape Town, to the bureaucratic stronghold of the country, Pretoria. In the satchels of the ministers is a fresh batch of oppressive laws forced through the world's most undemocratic legislature by methods which have sent a chill of alarm into every section of the nation except the small, cast-iron minority in control. Together with the other statutes piled up since Dr. Malan's Nationalists gained power in 1948, the new measures virtually complete the blueprint for turning South Africa into one vast slave-labor camp.

While Parliament was in session, the Dutch Reformed churches dogmatized that the right to vote was a privilege given by God and could be rightly exercised only by civilized Christians. The definition cut out all persons of African race and all "colored" persons. The pattern of events became clear: another general advance on all fronts was being opened by the Broederbond, the secret society of the Nationalist leadership which is steering the country toward its goal of a one-party, one-race, one-language fascist dictatorship.

The Dutch Reformed churches look after the theocratic and "spiritual" operations of the Broederbond. In their eyes a Christian is an Afrikaner Calvinist or one who accepts the "mastership" (*baasskap*) of the Afrikaners. With the Calvinist God barring the non-white races from democratic rights, the political wing of the Broederbond got busy in Parliament to force through laws to this effect.

One law disfranchised the million-strong minority of mixed or colored race, though they have a considerable common ancestry with the white Afrikaners and have enjoyed the vote for a hundred years, evidently in ignorance of the Divine will. This law was passed in violation of the South African constitution, which under historical "intrenched clauses" requires a two-thirds' majority for any change in the political rights of the colored people. The colored minority lose their vote but will be allowed to send four white representatives to Parliament.

A striking feature of the opposition to the colored-

disfranchisement bill was a nation-wide outburst of demonstrations led by white veterans of the Second World War who had helped smash fascism and Nazism from Abyssinia to the River Po. Hundreds of thousands of people paraded through the streets of the cities. Brown and black marched at the side of white ex-soldiers for the first time since they had sweated across North Africa and up through Italy. They marched at night, carrying torches. There was something desperate and ominous about it. The red, smoky flares of diesel oil were patches of light against an all-embracing blackness.

The movement was headed, briefly, by a many-times-decorated ace pilot of the Battle of Britain—one of Churchill's "few"—with the same name as the Prime Minister. Group-Captain Malan—"Sailor" Malan, he is called—left his farm in the semi-arid diamond district of Kimberley to run itself while he stumped the country. He felt he had a mission and burned like a new Savonarola to purge the people of the wickedness which had seized them. In his eyes they were guilty of the same fascism he had fought in the skies over England.

But "Sailor" Malan's fiery enthusiasm was snuffed out by a whisper. Group-Captain Malan is playing the red game, he is a red, said the Nationalists. The war ace was nonplussed. Astute vote-catching politicians of the official opposition, the United Party of the late Marshal Smuts, exploited him. They wrote logic-chopping speeches for him that put him on the defensive. The flames fizzled out. But not before the government's police had smashed into demonstrators outside the Parliament building and filled Cape Town's casualty bays with battered heads.

Dr. Malan, of course, had introduced the yearly instalment of anti-red legislation in Parliament. The latest act enables the government without trial or inquiry to brand as a Communist anyone who at any time, even fifty years ago, advocated any of the objects of communism. Definition of a Communist is virtually anyone the government says is a Communist. Once so branded, a man may be banished or deprived of his civil rights. He has no recourse to the courts. Nobody who has ever opened his mouth in public is safe unless he kotows to Malan, as one notorious ex-Communist does—and has been rewarded with a seat in the Senate.

The witch-hunt started immediately with an investigation of the newspaper *Guardian* by a board of three Afrikaners. The paper has been a consistent opponent of the Nationalists and champion of the colored people.

R. K. COPE is a South African poet and journalist who has written frequently for *The Nation* on the racial problem in the Union.

Its suppression is regarded as certain. Every other newspaper can see that it faces the fate of Argentina's *Prensa*: either bend the knee to Baal or be liquidated. During the debates on this bill one of the leading Nationalist anti-Semites, von Moltke, said that if clergymen preached the Christian doctrine of equality of all men, thereby encouraging communism, they should be brought to heel. The objections of Marshal Smuts's former Minister of Justice, the Honorable Harry Lawrence, were answered by the raucous jibe of a back-bencher: "In ten years you'll be hanged!"

The government party is exerting intimidation through a Press Commission. Among the purposes of the commission is to inquire into the activities of foreign correspondents who keep the outside world informed of what goes in South Africa. Dr. Malan is enraged that the great newspapers of the world presume to criticize his policy. The correspondents can perhaps be brought into line, but the world press has only to use his own words or to quote the text of successive Nazi-like laws. The Prime Minister has declared he will secede from the British Commonwealth and set up a rump republic if the British papers do not cease their criticism. He hates the United Nations and finds himself uncomfortable in a world that is two-thirds colored. He would like to secede from the world. He has his own Monroe Doctrine. He wants all Africa safe for the white-Herrenvolk creed of the Broederbond. The 150,000,000 dark folk of the north give him nightmares.

THE Nationalists' plans for the black man emerged clearly during the six months of Parliament's session. In defiance of a resolution adopted by the United Nations General Assembly, Malan officially proclaimed the Group Areas Act, known as the ghetto law. By this measure all races are eventually to be separated and bolted and barred from any contact with one another—except that between white master and black servant. The proclamation has had no effect as yet save to paralyze thousands of property transactions because nobody knows where the ghettos will be.

Three more bills followed: one to tighten up generally the labor bondage of the black man, another to push him back into a parody of primitive tribalism, and a third empowering white owners of land to uproot black families settled on it. "The government makes us like homeless birds in our own country," said a Xhosa leader in Cape Town. More ominous was the remark of a Zulu leader in Natal, "I look upon myself as a defeated person who will one day win back his freedom despite the barriers set up by political legislation." Senator W. G. Ballinger, the Native Representative in Parliament, complained bitterly that the so-called "slave-labor bill" was "a measure to tighten up in every respect the laws that are now grinding so harshly upon the native

people of this country." This bill was held over until next year.

The most subtly repressive of the three bills is the Bantu Tribal Authorities Act, which attempts to revive the shattered functions of primitive tribal society. But tribal society was pagan. Its cohesion was insured by ancestor-worship based on a semi-nomadic, and hence warlike, cattle culture. The Bantu today are very largely Christian; they have no freedom of movement; they are disarmed, defenseless, and for the most part landless. The Nationalists would specifically deny the black man the rights conferred by education and Christianity. Stripped of verbiage, the Tribal Authorities Act uses the black man for his own undoing. It is the Nazi technique of the infamous *Judenrat*. From their ghettos, the phony tribal authorities will be expected to deliver up their people for labor, taxation, or any purpose for which they are wanted. No wonder the Bantu leaders are considering steps to defeat the working of the law. In Natal Province the militant African Congress signaled a new phase of solidarity against the oppressor by electing to its leadership a Zulu chief, A. J. Luthulie.



Prime Minister Malan

Dr. Malan's government has a pathetic faith in the efficacy of laws. Every problem, it believes, from sexual immorality to thought control, can be solved by passing an act. But laws too often remain mere paper while the intractable reality is untouched—the reality of a small, hated white minority imbedded in the vital mass of Africa's millions.

The awakening of Africa is inevitable. Here are peoples of undreamed-of talents, resources, and solidarity. The achievements of individual Negroes in the New World indicate their capacities. It is not strange that the Malan government bans American Negro publications and prevents the importation of films or magazines showing Negroes in positions of equal dignity with whites.

Christianity for Africans is an original experience. It lives among them as a deep and palpable faith, gaining emotional power, no doubt, by a tinge of more naive beliefs inherited from pagan forefathers. Theirs is a primitive Christianity in the sense that it is equalitarian, the creed of the oppressed: Freedom is no sleazy catchword to these people but a passion that stirs them with gathering force. And Malanism is the extreme expression of what stands between Africa and freedom.

BOOKS and the ARTS

Cylon's Thread

ROADS TO AGREEMENT. By Stuart Chase in Collaboration with Marian Tyler Chase. Harper and Brothers. \$3.50.

BEFORE Solon, the adherents of the would-be tyrant, Cylon, were pursued by a crowd and found sanctuary with Athena on the Acropolis. Persuaded to come down and stand trial, they took care to attach a thread to the statue of Athena and unroll it behind them. At some distance from the shrine the thread broke. The crowd interpreted this as a repudiation of the thread-bearers by the goddess, and killed them. A later historian, however, saw the break as pure chance, a matter of a defect in the thread. We have somewhat the same problem of interpretation today as we survey changing fashions in leadership. Perhaps our growing revolt against strong-man-leadership patterns is based on a feeling that such leadership is no longer smiled on by the fates of the American scene. Would it be a better interpretation to say that strong-man leadership in American business and social life simply had its magic thread of public relations broken by depressions and wars?

Stuart Chase, in his studies of human groups, is shrewd enough not to commit himself to an opinion. It may be that simple breaks in communication threw the Morgans and the Teddy Roosevelts off the scene, along with their cult of the strong man, before their usefulness was ended. Whatever the causes, much of our older dependence on a strong "line organization" is slipping away. We have now set up the slogan of "participation"—partly because older top-methods of group organization appear to be ineffective, partly because we wish to repudiate coercion and organize ourselves in terms of persuasions.

The problem is to assess Chase's book for what it is: a popularization of many, though not all, of the studies made of group productivity and leadership between, say, efficiency expert Frederick Taylor and the last paper by a "group

dynamist." The desirability of group agreement is suggested by Chase in a variety of references to unsolved conflicts ranging from the struggle over the issue of world sovereignty down to the plant dispute. His own scheme for discussing this matter is to emphasize three "tools" in human relationships—group dynamics, semantics, and "the culture concept borrowed from anthropology."

As a report of these disciplines and of their acceptance by some more or less sophisticated Americans, the book stands as a neat counterstatement to a work like Dale Carnegie's "How To Make Friends and Influence People." For Carnegie the catchword is individualism, and the theme is manipulation; in Chase the catchword is group action, and the theme is rational agreement. The foreign observer might find in both books an American worship of "contacts," resting on our old assumption that we belong in some way to a mystical body social with which we all should be in touch. The approach to this rite in Chase's work is by way of a Stoic sense of the brotherhood of any group of disputants. The approach in Carnegie might well be identified as Epicurean: the world is full of people with bad tempers and sales resistance; so you had better learn to walk on eggs and avoid tests of basic differences. Chase's outlook is far more attractive to Americans who think that a developed and tolerated difference of opinion is more essential in social life than a developed indifference to taking a stand.

Are the three disciplines referred to by Chase being used to report on the state of our social imagination, or are they being employed as substitutes for it? Group dynamics seems to assume that the form and content of group discussion are somehow identical—then proceeds to repudiate this formula by abstracting "mood" as a cause of agreement or disagreement. Perhaps group dynamics moves toward a clinical formulation of a certain American conversational pattern—the pattern by which, as a British observer has noted, no conversation can advance until every mem-

ber of the group feels that all the others are aware of what each is committing himself to. The emphasis on the personal equation reminds us of frontier etiquette, when the stranger introduced himself in a new community by carefully saying: "I'm an *ornery* soft-money man," or "I'm one of those *touchy* Grangers," or whatever it happened to be. By this etiquette, an organized difference of philosophy and politics was represented by each stranger as his personal quirkiness, not to be taken too seriously by the other party over a drink or a picnic table.

The employment of semantic self-controls also raises interesting questions. The threat of a bad-tempered disregard for verbal definitions lies behind a hankering for semantic controls, which are supposed to operate like the sprinklers in a department store when the fire starts. The intended application of a discipline like semantics somehow reminds us of childhood experiences when we said "No'm" for "No Ma'am" and then were sharply told that "Nome is a city in Alaska." So much that is badly worded can be well understood—and therefore must be not so badly said—that one wonders whether definitional impurity is the real bane of American discourse. Even if it is, perhaps the best we can hope for is that the Korzybskian and related logics will help to reduce our infatuation with arguments based on high-flown universal propositions. Meanwhile, the paradox in the application of the certifiably "semantic" interchange in conversation and discussion is that it can stop interchange dead in a society that has few common cultural concerns and is hardly needed in a society that has them.

The "culture concept borrowed from the anthropologists" raises still other questions. In the long run it may prove to be one of the concepts by which intellectuals come closest to exerting an influence on the whole American society. Those who are familiar with the concept seem to be of two minds about how it is being employed. Some observers are inclined to think that it is another one of the intellectual disci-

plines by which a group comes to power, as lawyers came to power by their craft control of legal decision. It is possible today for a government official or a business man to affect a political and economic decision by voicing an opinion on its cultural content. Still others are inclined to emphasize that a popularization of the cultural concept is an intellectual weapon in the fight for social hygiene in matters like race conflict and rural and urban differences. In any event, the increasingly widespread American taste for observing and accepting cultural differences seems to suggest that the anthropologists are not necessarily very far ahead of public opinion in their taste for cultural pluralism.

At a time when self-identification in America appears to rest less and less on class attitudes and more and more on cultural and consumer attitudes, Chase's anthology of experiments in group harmony is highly relevant. For example, it points implicitly toward the discomfort that people can feel when they are forced off class standards while playing their parts in a group. Moreover, as a "how to" manual, it is a lucid summary of a variety of ways in which transitional stages in the art of common consent can be pioneered without panic. In short, the book stands on secure Jacksonian grounds in its formulation of one essential problem of power: when we permit old forms of decision-making to languish, we let ourselves in for the job of creating new ones.

REUEL DENNEY

A Critic's Diaries

THE LATER EGO. By James Agate. Introduction and Notes by Jacques Barzun. Crown Publishers. \$4.

JAMES AGATE was, among other things, drama critic for the London *Sunday Times*. Like our own Woolcott, Broun, and Hammond but unlike most of the present-day New York critics, he dramatized his role, played it to the hilt, and very much enjoyed being somebody in his own special world. Equipped with stick, homburg, and eyeglasses, he liked so well to drink champagne for lunch in the right cafes that he was seldom more than barely solvent, but he was also a prodigious worker who boasted that in twenty-five

years he had written seven million words, or about twice as much as Balzac, which meant, so he said, that he had put in eleven hours' work a day, not counting the time it took to see the plays and movies or to read the books he reviewed. A side issue was a diary published in nine instalments called "Ego 1," "Ego 2," and so on, which he continued up to four days before his death at seventy, or until ten days after he had caught his best friend in a restaurant composing an obituary for the press. Apparently the diaries were widely read in England, and the present volume—composed of the last two of the original nine—is a six-hundred-page sample for America.

The "Egos" have been compared to Pepys' "Diary" and to Arnold Bennett's "Journal." To some extent they do resemble the latter, partly because Agate and Bennett were above everything else professionals whose ruling passion was a professional interest in the professional world of arts and letters. Neither comparison is, however, particularly apt, if for no other reason than the fact that even Bennett's "Journal" was not intended to reach the public's eye during the author's lifetime, while Agate's calls to mind a line from one of his own favorite plays: "It's only a young girl's diary and therefore intended for publication." What the reader actually gets is something more like a collection of American "columns." There are references to friends, records of wise-cracks, comments on current plays, movies, and books, letters to or from unknown correspondents, and occasional short discourses on the diarist's pet subjects—which include the greatness of Bernhardt, Irving, and Dickens, as well as the folly of all avant-garde playwrights, poets, painters, and musicians. Agate, though highbrow enough in his own somewhat Edwardian way, was never completely won over even by Shaw and saw little in either T. S. Eliot or Christopher Fry.

He manages to give the impression that he got about quite extensively, but perhaps the fact that he worked so hard at his writing trade made it impossible for him actually to observe as much of even his chosen milieu as he would have needed to observe to compose quite that complete abstract and brief chronicle of his time which his more enthusi-

astic admirers give him credit for. Certainly the "Egos" do exhibit the limitations imposed by a mind active and honest rather than profound or original and a style practiced and competent rather than great. But after all allowances have been made, "The Later Ego" is still a very readable, very entertaining mélange. When Clifton Fadiman complains that Charles Morgan writes tripe without knowing it, Agate is characteristically malicious enough to say of his colleague: "What nonsense! Our Charles is magnificently unreadable, but he doesn't write tripe. If I had to use a culinary metaphor it would be the funeral baked meats served up to the sorrowing relatives of a dead duke." But perhaps the best comeback recorded in the volume is not Mr. Agate's. Of the just arrived John Mason Brown he demanded, "Why do you Americans, delightful individually, add up to a nation of twerps?" "All right, Agate. Why, with you Britishers, is the converse the case?"

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

WESTBROOK PEGLER

has been rawhiding E. Haldeman-Julius in his syndicated column because of his wicked writings—but Pegler hasn't ~~even~~ to mention the name of the periodical. Draw close. Catch my whisper. It's *The American Freeman*, in which Haldeman-Julius pours 75,000 words each month. Send me \$1 for an entire year. Address: THE AMERICAN FREEMAN, Box 4087, Girard, Kansas.

BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

from the

U S S R

FOR AN ALL-EMBRACING PORTRAYAL OF SOVIET LIFE AND ACHIEVEMENTS

SOVIET UNION

(formerly "U.S.S.R. in Construction")

Published in English, Russian, Chinese, French, German and Spanish

SUBSCRIPTION RATES — One Year \$2.50

Single Issues: 25¢

FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.

W. 111 Street, N. Y. 19 Murray Hill 8-2000

Buy Your Books through THE *Nation*

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C.O.D. No C.O.D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to Miss Le Pach

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
20 Vesey Street New York 7, N. Y.

Gide and Freedom

THE JOURNALS OF ANDRÉ GIDE.

Volume IV: 1939-1949. Translated from the French, with an Introduction and Notes, by Justin O'Brien. Alfred A. Knopf. \$6.

GIDE is not really one of the greatest critics or thinkers. But, if we can now read him candidly, it is impossible not to see in this last volume of journals a valuable and engaging exercise of the mind. An "elderly Faust" in his eighth decade may be expected to speak sometimes in a dry voice; the famous Gidean austerity occasionally breaks down into mere dullness or querulousness. But the whole effect is of vigor, of a dedicated concern for the free life of mind, of a capacity for observation too rich for a review even to suggest. There is nothing presumptuous in Gide's claim of descent from Montaigne and Goethe.

What of Gide's much-advertised "defeatism"? There is no doubt that in 1940 he felt, with France, defeated, that he thought militant resistance "premature," and that the situation revived in his mind what he had always considered to be the great possibilities of Franco-German cooperation. These journals reinforce one's impression that much of what is most dubious as well as most admirable in Gide's thought has to be traced back to his residual Calvinism. In his attitude of "acceptance" he sometimes tried to believe that sinful France—given over to "softness, surrender, relaxation in grace and ease, so many charming qualities that were to lead us, blindfolded, to defeat"—actually deserved Hitler. I should think that the worst that can be said of Gide on this score is that in 1940 he indulged in fantasies of self-castigation and self-abnegation which, though their purpose was to make possible a Promethean rebirth of France—a spiritual return after a spiritual withdrawal—were dangerous in their political implications. Certainly one is annoyed at the repeated "I will try to convince myself that art, that thought itself, will lose . . . through excessive freedom." And at this, the low point of the journals: "Oppression cannot debase the best; and as for the others, it matters little. Hurrah for thought held in check! The world can be saved solely by the few. It is in

non-liberal epochs that the free mind achieves the highest virtue." This is the desperately irrational side of a partly Calvinist attitude which, in different terms, leads to statements much more admirable: "Liberty seems to me deserved solely by the man who could utilize it for an end other than himself or who would demand of himself some exemplary development." By the end of 1940 Gide repudiated his own pessimism, though not his "witnessing" against the "decay of France," and his mind began to work with a more vigorous clarity.

As a whole the journals are a plea for the continuation of art and of thought and a searching out of the grounds upon which this may be possible in that probable future when "art will give way to a common well-being; when what is individual will cease to have a justification and will be ashamed of itself." He affirms the moral life—"the feeling of duty confers a sort of benediction on every deed accomplished"; yet he insists that a continuously moralistic criticism easily distorts and misunderstands art, since the point of view of "the priest and the major-general can coincide with that of the poet only most accidentally." This is not "aestheticism"; it is a recognition on the one hand that art has its own integrity and on the other that art requires not only passion but dispassion and relaxation, a graceful animal relatedness to nature: "Art inhabits temperate regions. And doubtless the greatest harm this war is doing to culture is to create a profusion of extreme passions which, by a sort of inflation, brings about a devaluation of all moderate sentiments."

Gide is not remarkably original as a thinker. Yet his thought has the elements of a durable vitality. He remains untouched by the fiercely irrational religious and secular ideologies of the war. He reasserts a naturalist position, and though he insists that one must retain the idea of the "soul" he cannot conceive of a life of the soul after the death of the body, the soul being in some sense analogous to the phosphorescence produced by decaying matter. He realigns himself with the traditional French dialogue of the mind which has characteristically matched a Montaigne with a Pascal, Bossuet with Molière, Racine

with Hugo, Claudel with Valéry. This dialectical naturalism is stiffened and strengthened by a Calvinist severity which, although it remains imperfectly constituted as an idea, does lend to Gide's thought a beneficial sense of necessity and a consequent respect, and indeed a reverence, for disinterested action, for "gratuitousness."

To a letter from a young man who had regarded Gide as his mentor, who had found existentialism a "terrifying absurdity," and who came to feel the need of "new masters," Gide answers, "Why seek 'new masters'? Catholicism or communism demands, or at least advocates, submission of the mind. Worn out by yesterday's struggle, young men (and many of their elders) seek and think they have found, in that very submission, rest, assurance, and intellectual comfort. . . . The world will be saved, if it can be, only by the *unsubmissive*."

There are several honorable alternatives to the Gidean view of things. Yet, the world being what it is, the most powerful alternative is to be heard in the words of a certain Giovoni, addressed to the Commissioner for Information in Tunis, where Gide lived for several months during the war: "André Gide . . . who has exercised such a murky influence over young minds, indulges in defeatism in the midst of the war. His craze for originality and exoticism, his immoralism and his perversity make him a dangerous individual. Today literature is a weapon. That is why I demand prison for André Gide."

RICHARD CHASE

Books in Brief

MIRACLE AT KITTY HAWK. The Letters of Wilbur and Orville Wright. Edited by Fred C. Kelly. Farrar, Straus, and Young. \$6. For pure inspiration this beats all the Horatio Algers and Oliver Optics ever written, for it tells, in their own words, the story of two young mechanics who by study, patience, and ingenuity solved a problem that had baffled the best minds—the problem of human flight—and overnight were catapulted to fame and fortune. Somehow the fact that while sweating it out alone on the sands of Kitty Hawk, with the stakes so high

and the odds so heavily against them, they still wore their stiff white collars and their ties is an integral part of the picture both of the men and of the period.

THE CONTINUITY OF POETIC LANGUAGE: Studies in English Poetry from the 1540's to the 1940's. By Josephine Miles. University of California Press. \$5. This big heavy book might have been so dull, a work of laborious scholarship, all that counting of words, that tabulation of the proportions of noun-adjective-verb, through five centuries, twenty poets a century, a thousand lines per poet. It is, on the contrary, a most engrossing study, made so not only by the thoroughness of the research but also by the modesty, perceptiveness, good sense, and good writing of the researcher. Looking at the work of the prominent poets of each period, Miss Miles has been able to establish a basic vocabulary for each period, to show how this vocabulary both persists and varies in the next, and to interpret the shifts of sensitivity that these changes reflect. The tables, in themselves, are fascinating; and the text, which amplifies, explains, diverges now and then, disavows perfection, and directs delight, is illuminating and refreshing. A most interesting job.

THE MEANING OF SHAKESPEARE. By Harold C. Goddard. The University of Chicago. \$6. As an act of filial or parochial devotion it was once the custom to bring out posthumously a volume of sermons by a beloved pastor, accompanied by laudations of his simple piety by other wearers of the cloth. It was a gracious custom because so little calculated to impose upon anyone. One may speak only praise of "The Meaning of Shakespeare" if the volume is viewed as a traditional memorial to Professor Goddard, for it preserves the tones of a devout reader and earnest teacher. Its three chapters of generalization and thirty-three chapters of comment on separate plays, although associated *pensées* rather than articulated essays, will bring a nostalgic pleasure to those who knew the author in their youth; that they have a claim upon other readers, or genuine significance as literary criticism, cannot in honesty be affirmed.

Films

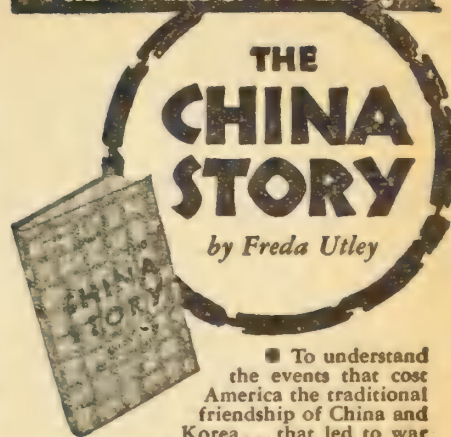
MANNY
FARBER

THE FROGMEN, in which Richard Widmark wins the latter part of World War II under water, is a new type of movie experience roughly equivalent to reading "Tom Swift" in Braille at the bottom of a well. While examining the strokes, breathing apparatus, and demolition tactics of the navy's warfaring bathing beauties, it unwinds a boyishly heroic tale beneath the Pacific in middle-distance shots that make the story as hard to see as a recent dillie called "The Long Dark Hall," which was shot without electric lights in a dark walnut courtroom. One virtue of 20th-Century-Fox films is that they are cast with manly males of the advertising-executive type who reject the kind of pansy-brained, masochistic, floor-walker's poetic technique that has become a lauded acting style in most Hollywood films.

"Ace in the Hole"—an ex-G. I., crazy for Indian relics, is pinned down in a cave fall-in, with sand dribbling in his face, while a sensationalist reporter keeps him there for the sake of a gaudy news story—is built chiefly round the acting of a tough, corrupt news-hound by Kirk Douglas. Douglas plays it in the worst style of the Yiddish theater, bursting with self-pity, slowing everything with a muscular, tensed-up technique, and ranting as though he were trying to break the hearts of people blocks away from the theater. His conceited hamming is pretty typical of the whole show, in spite of a well-cast Albuquerque contractor, a reasonably well-cast floozy (Jan Sterling) who makes a nice nasty thing of riffling some currency in Douglas's face, a few beautiful long shots of the carnival that blossoms at the scene of the tragedy. These last make up in very small part for Producer Wilder's dreadful, misanthropic, corny depiction of the rubber-neckers gathered for the kill and of "hicks" whose provincialism consists of not being hep to chopped liver or Yogi Berra.

Joseph Losey, the left-wing naturalistic director of two excitingly candid films, "M" and "The Prowler," is an ambivalent citizen who loathes the

Key to 10 Years of Secrecy in our China Policy



■ To understand the events that cost America the traditional friendship of China and Korea... that led to war in Korea and participation in the war by the mainland Chinese... read Freda Utley's **CHINA STORY**, the only book discussed in the joint investigation into China policy.

A seasoned, on-the-spot reporter, Miss Utley in *China Story* gives the record of Communist influence in the making of our foreign policy, presents the painful facts about how the Administration withheld military aid from Chiang Kai-shek, shows how sections of the press and advisers like Owen Lattimore moulded public opinion to their own ends! She tells the real results of the Marshall Mission, the *Amerasia* case, the Tydings investigation, the McCarthy charges and the suppressed Wedemeyer report!

Every open-minded American should know the truth about China. **\$3.50**

WHAT THEY SAY ABOUT IT

"I feel that every thinking American interested in the Far Eastern Policy of the United States should read *The China Story*."

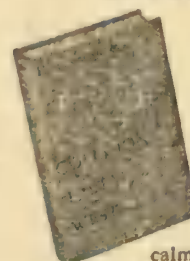
—DAVID N. ROWE,
Prof. of Political Science, Yale University

"... a tellingly documented account of the errors and confusion which lost the U.S. its last chance to save free China."—**TIME**

"Since this is her answer to Owen Lattimore's *Ordeal by Slander*, it must in all fairness be read by those who have read that volume."—**NEW YORK TIMES**

"It is our best book on the Chinese-Korean situation."—**LOS ANGELES TIMES**

In the Interests of Peace in Asia



COLLISION of EAST and WEST

By Herrymon Maurer,
with Introduction
by Hu Shih

Presents in a clear, calm manner the important cultural differences and failures in understanding that resulted in the complete rupture of East-West relations. Mr. Maurer's analysis reaches back to the times of Confucius and encompasses Japan and Korea as well as China. A beautifully written, fascinating book well worth reading. **\$4.50**

At Your Bookstore, or Write To:

HENRY REGNERY COMPANY
20 West Jackson Blvd., Chicago 4, Illinois

cupidity, sadism, and prejudices of his fellow-men, and lovingly borrows the best things they have done with a camera. In his remake of "M" the discriminating Losey makes good use of, among other things, Lang's morose camera set-ups and lighting, the architectonic design and subjects of Walker Evans's photographs, and the eerie handling of carnival freaks, last seen in a good "B" called "Woman in Hiding." "M" provides a sensitive if unimaginative evening, whose major asset is David Wayne's somewhat over-harassed acting of an elegantly hysterical psychopath. However, in "The Prowler," which catalogues a cop's hot pursuit of a frightened wife and his disposal of her disc-jockey husband, Losey has perfected his taut, dry naturalism to the point where he has turned out a near "sleeper" held down only by its mimicries, all less snappy than the models from "Double Indemnity," "Greed," and so on.

"He Ran All the Way" is an old-fashioned gangster film (no message or Freudian overtones; fairly intense and exciting) about an inept hooligan (Garfield) who shacks up, unwanted, with a tenement family. This family, generalized with dull virtues, never tries to find out what makes the gangster tick but just stands around scared to death. The locale, dialects, architecture are a puzzling mish-mash of Bronx, Venice, Cal.,

and Group Theater. The film takes place entirely in a railroad flat, where, despite the fact that the ceilings seem to have been removed and the doors left off all rooms so as to allow for camera movement, the energy comes entirely from emotionally congested acting which appears to have worked its way down through a hundred plays and movies from "Awake and Sing," an earlier and better Garfield show.

Records

B. H.
HAGGIN

ANOTHER and better recording has been issued of the marvelous Mozart Piano Concerto K.453 that I reported was so poorly played by Hambro and the Oklahoma City Symphony. This time Ralph Kirkpatrick plays with unusual sensitiveness on a reproduction of a late-eighteenth-century piano, and the Dumbarton Oaks Chamber Orchestra is conducted by Alexander Schneider. With the fast movements paced a little slowly it is a quietly, almost soberly sensitive performance of music one of whose outstanding characteristics is a sharp-witted, exuberant animation that rises to incandescent brilliance. On the same record the smaller-scale Violin Concerto K.218 is well played by Schneider (Haydn Society).

In another marvelous work, Haydn's Symphony No. 104, the Vienna Symphony plays well under Scherchen, and the first movement is effectively paced; but the second movement suffers from one of Scherchen's excessively slow tempos, and the latter movements from his tendency to slow down tempos. The Symphony No. 55 on the same record I find inconsequential (Westminster).

Two other early Haydn symphonies, Nos. 52 and 56, have a few impressive pages but are for the most part undistinguished. They are well played by the Vienna State Opera Orchestra and Vienna Symphony under Heiller; in No. 56 the violin sound is sharp and the surface defective (Haydn Society).

Though they don't equal the superb Concerti Grossi Opus 6 Handel's six Concerti Opus 3 and his "Alexander's Feast" Concerto are fine works for the most part, and are excellently played by the Vienna State Opera Orchestra under

Prohaska (Bach Guild through Vanguard). There is fine music also in the orchestral suite from Handel's oratorio "The Triumph of Time and Truth," but more than seems able to hold together by itself. It is well played by the Vienna Orchestral Society under Fekete; treble must be reduced to minimum (Period).

Tchaikovsky's Fifth Symphony is well performed by Fricsay with the Berlin Philharmonic; surfaces are a little noisy (Decca). His Serenade for strings Opus 48 is well performed by Schmidt-Isserstedt with NWDR Symphony of Hamburg; there is a loss of brilliance near the center of the record, and surfaces are a little noisy (Decca).

I heard a Sinfonietta of Janacek years ago that I thought magnificent; but his "Taras Bulba" and Suite for strings I find insignificant (Westminster).

In the first four movements of his Piano Concerto No. 5—well played by Alfred Brendel and the Vienna Symphony under Sternberg—Prokofiev seems to me to be filling out time with the resources of his style; only in the fifth movement does he seem to operate with real ideas. Nor do I care for the Sonata No. 5 and the three small pieces from Opus 12, well played by Hans Graf. Treble must be reduced; surfaces are gritty (Period).

Stravinsky's engaging Capriccio for piano and orchestra is excellently played by Monique Haas and the RIAS Symphony under Fricsay (with Ravel's Piano Concerto; Decca).

The first two movements and a *grazioso* episode in the third movement of Bartok's Violin Sonata No. 1—excellently played by Isaac Stern and Alexander Zakin—are in the idiom which makes no musical sense to me; but the third begins with material derived from folk dance that is understandable and impressive (Columbia). Similar harsh, powerful, and skilful treatment of folk material is heard in the Rhapsody No. 1, which is played well by Janos Starker, cello, and Otto Herz, piano (with Kodaly's Sonata Opus 4 and Weiner's "Lakodalmás"; Program).

Sessions's Duo for violin and piano is in another idiom which makes no musical sense to me; Ives's Sonata No. 2 for violin and piano, on the same record, hops from one thing to another

SUMMER SPECIAL

For July and August
SELECTED LIST OF L. P.'S
33 1/3 % OFF

Send 15¢ for catalog
DISCOUNT RECORD CLUB
DEPT. N-27

Box 533, Grand Central Station, New York 17, N. Y.

PULITZER PRIZE CRITICS' AWARD

RICHARD RODGERS & OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd
present in association with
LELAND HAYWARD & JOSHUA LOGAN

ROGER RICO
MARTHA WRIGHT

South Pacific

Music by RICHARD RODGERS
Lyrics by OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd

Book by
OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd & JOSHUA LOGAN
Adapted from JAMES A. MICHENER'S Pulitzer
Prize Winning "TALES OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC"

Directed by LELAND HAYWARD
Scenery & Lighting by Jo Mielziner
with MYRON MCCORMICK • DIOSA COSTELLO
MAJESTIC, 44 St. W. of B'way • Air-Cond.
Evenings 8:25. Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:25

in the usual unintegrated succession. Both are well played by Patricia Travers and Otto Herz (Columbia).

And here is a report on other works I don't care for:

Debussy's Violin Sonata. Well played, except for an occasional wail, by Heifetz and Bay (Victor).

Debussy's Cello Sonata. Well played by Marcel Hubert and Harold Dart. With Franck's Sonata, in which the sound of the upper range of the cello is not agreeable. Treble must be reduced; surfaces are gritty (Allegro).

Dvorak's String Quintet Opus 97. Well played by the Budapest Quartet and Katims. Treble must be stepped up; the sound lacks warmth and luster (Columbia).

Brahms's Piano Quartet Opus 26. Well played by the Albeneri Trio and assisting viola. The piano sounds dull, the strings brash and edged (Mercury).

Brahms's String Sextet Opus 18. Well played by the Vienna Konzerthaus Quartet and assisting artists. Treble must be stepped up (Westminster).

Brahms's Piano Trio in A—a posthumously discovered early work, less accomplished and for that reason less objectionable than later ones. Well played by a Viennese group (Westminster).

Beethoven's Violin Sonata Opus 30 No. 2. Played simply and well by Heifetz and Bay (Victor).

Beethoven's String Trios Opus 9 Nos. 2 and 3. Beautifully played by the Pasquier Trio; recorded sound hard and brash (Allegro).

CONTRIBUTORS

REUEL DENNEY teaches social science at the College of the University of Chicago.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH, Brander Matthews professor of dramatic literature at Columbia University, is the drama critic of *The Nation* (now on leave). He is the author of "Samuel Johnson," "The Twelve Seasons," and other books.

RICHARD CHASE, a member of the English Department at Columbia University, is the author of "Quest for Myth" and "Herman Melville: A Critical Study." He will publish in the fall a critical biography of Emily Dickinson.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

A Korean's Plea

[The following letter is from a Korean who came to the United States after the liberation of his country from the Japanese.]

Dear Sirs: In Korea we prayed fervently for a victory of the Allies over Japan. And we trusted that this victory would bring a peaceful world in which we could at last find our rightful place and enjoy a decent human life. I remember so clearly the day I welcomed the American G. I.'s in my poor English. I saw Korean shopkeepers give fruit to the soldiers and little children run to them offering flowers. However, we soon discovered that America and its Allies had not liberated our land but divided it.

As time went on, our divided land experienced lowered production, a rapid drop in the national income, a disorganized economy, and a terrible inflation. We also saw the pro-Japanese who had fought our liberators regain favored positions. Although the American Military Government failed to create conditions favorable to the growth of democracy, it insisted that we must be democratic and free. I sometimes think that if the United States had created democratic conditions many American lives would have been saved.

Of course, the large-scale attack in June, 1950, was initiated by the North Koreans, but I do not think the war was the result of this single act. The war in Korea was a violent manifestation of deep-lying ailments. In 1945 the pressure of many forces for basic changes in the structure of our society was quite evident. What was needed was a program to harness these forces and by their effort bring about peaceful change. Unfortunately, the pent-up social forces in Korea were linked to international power politics, and there was violent disagreement about the implementation of the necessary reforms.

In spite of the fact that the war is waged on Korean soil, and that Koreans are the ones who have suffered most, no one pays the slightest attention to the wishes of the Korean people. Contrary to the nicely phrased statements of Mr. Truman, the recent testimony given in Washington shows no concern for the future of the Korean people.

And now comes Mr. Malik with a proposal for a cease-fire in Korea after

the death of millions of his fellow-Communists. This is the very Mr. Malik who refused to use his good offices to prevail upon the North Koreans to stop their attack, and who registered little enthusiasm toward earlier proposals to end the Korean war. Does this indicate a willingness on the Soviet Union's part to desert its comrades when it sees fit to do so?

As a Korean I cannot welcome a cease-fire which does not lead to a unified and democratic Korea; yet I feel that we must accept a cease-fire as a beginning, for further bloodshed and devastation would put an end to any hope for a truly democratic Korea. Instead of restoring a weak Korea, buffeted about by two powers, I propose a neutralized Korea, not a part, but the whole of Korea. Both powers, and the Chinese, should get out, and north and south disarm.

The United Nations should then provide the social engineering to reconstruct Korea as the product of a peaceful revolution. If the U. N. should side with the counter-revolutionary forces in the name of peace and order, then, even though it might stop aggression for a time, I see no further hope for the U. N.

SONAMU

New York

Prisoners of Conscience

Dear Sirs: *The Nation* has an excellent record of reminding its readers of points at which United States democracy needs to be strengthened. Racial prejudice, loyalty oaths, and the like have been given the needed spotlight of publicity. But I would like to see it examine the problem of conscientious objectors in this country. Although respect for individual conscience, religious expression, and political freedom is theoretically basic to democracy, for

FRESH BLUEBERRIES!

Super-size, bush-ripened blueberries! We send you only our biggest and best right from the heart of America's finest blueberry belt. Will keep fresh, firm and full of flavor in home refrigerator for 10 days or longer. Friends will love them—a wonderful gift. Each pint wrapped in cellophane—each case strongly crated. One case, 6 pints, \$3.25; one case, 12 pints, \$5.95. Shipped prepaid anywhere in the U. S. but west of the Mississippi add 50¢ for 6 pints and \$1.00 for 12 pints. No C.O.D.s please. If not delighted, money back immediately.

BLUEBERRY HILL PLANTATION

Dept. N-714 RR-2, Paw Paw, Michigan

RESORTS



a resort
that is
"different"

Pottersville, N. Y.
On Schroon Lake

OSCAR BRAND ■ Complete Staff in
■ Season-Long Festival of POLK SONGS, ACTS,
DANCE MUSIC ■ DRAMA
ANITA ■ JULES ADOLPHE, Folk Dancers,
All Sports—Private Beach, Boating—Canoeing,
5 Championship Clay Tennis Courts.
Dance Orchestra—Cozy Bar—Excellent
CAMP PHONES CHESTERTOWN 2630 or 1111
City Office: 142 Montague Street, Brooklyn 2, N. Y.
Phones: Main 4-8570 or Main 4-1230
LEAH OKUN, Director



Informal Resort Estate in the Adirondacks
Limited to 80 ■ 14-mile Lake ■ Pollen-Free
Tennis ■ Fishing ■ Golf ■ Motor Boating
Folk-Sg. Dances ■ Concert Trio ■ Dance Band
Bachelor Club Rate \$60-\$85
N. Y. Office: 250 West 57th St. Circle 6-6386
■ Louis A. Roth, Dir. ■

FARMS & ACREAGE

FAMILY break-up enables us to offer for quick sale \$25,000 value in small Berkshire estate for \$16,500. 8 rooms perfect from attic to cellar. Completely modern, oil heat, insulation, artesian well, fireplace, landscaping. Splendid barn, paddock, young orchard, asphalt drives. 25 acres, expansive view, ideal location. Berkshire Farm Agency, East Chatham, New York.

PERSONALS

exit loneliness

Somewhere there is someone
you would like to know.
Somewhere there is someone
who would like to know you.
We can help you find a richer,
happier life through discreet,
disguised "social introductions."

Write for booklet, or phone
MAY RICHARDSON
Dept. TN, 111 West 72 Street
New York City EN 2-2083



the last twelve years there have been men in prison because they could not conscientiously participate in military preparations.

These men are in prison for their religious or philosophical beliefs. With selective service extended for four years and probably to be followed by universal military training, we face the possibility of having our prison population permanently include prisoners of conscience.

Is prison the only answer democracy has for these men? Cannot we tolerate within our society the microscopic percentage of men whose beliefs forbid participation in war and conscription?

The conscientious violators of the Selective Service Act usually fit into one of three general categories:

1. The absolutists who refuse to cooperate to any degree with selective service. These men do not register, or they register and then refuse to fill out classification questionnaires or to report for physical examinations.

2. Men unable to obtain conscientious-objector classification (IV-E). These men are either arbitrarily considered insincere by the Selective Service System, or they do not fit the narrow definition of the law. They obey all orders except the induction notice.

3. Jehovah's Witnesses unable to obtain ministerial classification (IV-D).

PUBLISHING SERVICE

AUTHORS! Sales Department available for your short stories, articles, books and plays. Free booklet, write today! Mead Agency, 419 Fourth Avenue, N. Y. 16 (OR 9-1150).

J. W.'s feel that they are ministers and that their primary responsibility is their religious work. Over 4,000 members of this group went to prison during World War II.

It is frequently erroneously proclaimed that the United States is more liberal in its provisions for conscientious objectors than any other country in the world. The Commission on Human Rights for the United Nations Economic and Social Council made a report on the legal provisions for C. O.'s in countries with conscription. In this report, issued March 30, 1950, twelve countries were listed as having provisions for objectors. The United States was the only country with such provisions which limited C. O. rights to persons who took the position on religious grounds. Some countries grant absolute exemption for absolutist objectors. The United States does not.

LYLE TATUM, Executive Secretary,
Central Committee for
Philadelphia Conscientious Objectors.

A Relativist Rebuked

Dear Sirs: The philosophy advocated by Professor Buchler in his review of my book, "The Rise of Scientific Philosophy" in *The Nation* of June 30 is precisely the kind of philosophy against which my book is directed and which I regard as responsible for the divorce between science and philosophy. I am not astonished at this sort of reaction, which does not represent a logical argument but merely expresses emotional irritation. If my view is correct, many conceptions that present-day philosophers still regard as sacred are no longer tenable. No wonder that my book arouses the antagonism of those who have regarded these conceptions as exempt from doubt.

I think nothing prevents an understanding of traditional philosophical systems more than the relativism advocated by Professor Buchler. He quotes a sentence from my book concerning the various equivalent descriptions of the phenomena of quantum physics, and wishes to extend it to a general equivalence of all philosophical systems. This is an example of a kind of fallacy in which traditional philosophy is abundant. It is the extension of certain well-defined concepts of scientific inquiry to vague usage in philosophical discourse. I wrote my book to warn philosophers that unless they disavow relativism and turn to precise forms of language they will never win the approval of scientists.

New York HANS REICHENBACH

FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE

The NATION

- ☐ with Harper's Magazine . . . \$9.50 You Save \$2.50
☐ with Consumer Reports . . . \$10.75 You Save \$1.25

These club combinations listed are for ☐ year, and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses. Remittance must accompany all combination orders.

THE NATION BY ITSELF:

- ☐ One Year \$7 ☐ Two Years \$12 ☐ Three Years \$17

SERVICEMEN'S RATE \$5 A YEAR

Canadian and Foreign Postage \$1 a year extra.

THE NATION, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

- I want to subscribe to *The Nation* for _____ years. ☐ Remittance enclosed. ☐ Bill me.
I enclose my remittance for the following *Nation* combinations listed below.

NAME _____

STREET _____

CITY _____

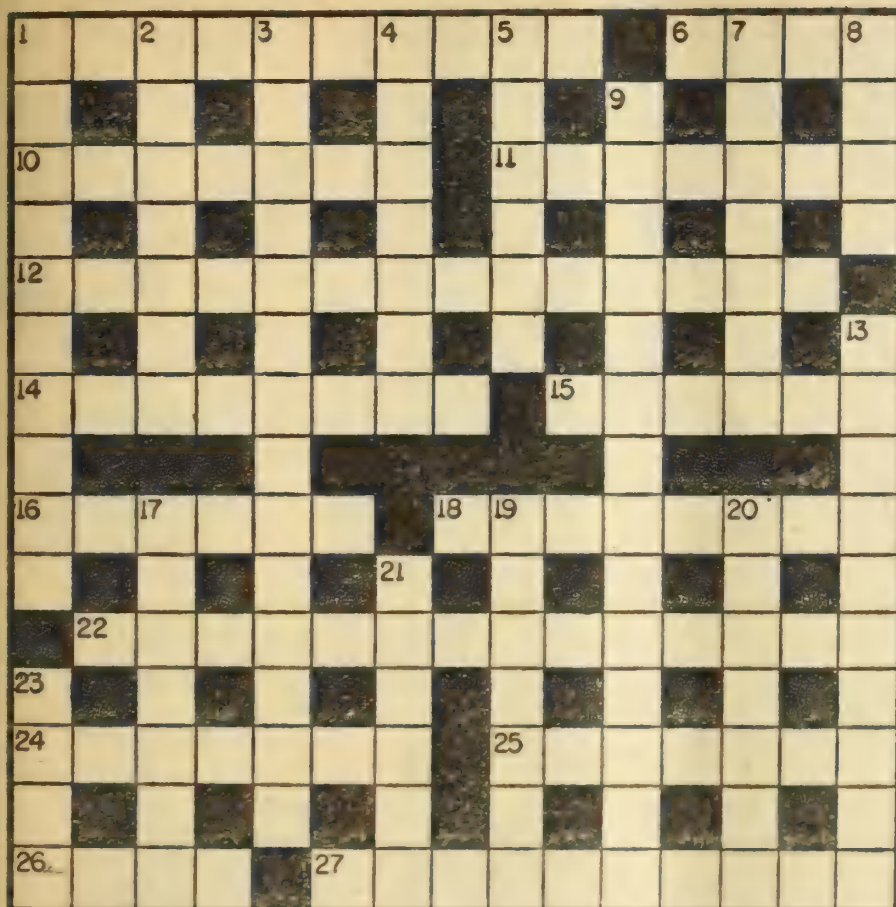
ZONE _____

STATE _____

7/14/51

Crossword Puzzle No. 421

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 Masculine gene that produces a criminal? (10)
- 6 and 2 down. Reputedly one of these is a low-grade salt. (11)
- 10 Just a shade of resentment implied. (7)
- 11 Their cold steel might cut quite a figure. (7)
- 12 The *Missouri* for example? (And we hope it's more sturdy than the president's yacht. (3, 4, 2, 5)
- 14 Mount for the best ride possible! (8)
- 15 Game where one might expect to come across. (6)
- 16 Sounds like it should be worn around the neck, rather than on board. (6)
- 18 Debating the construction of confers. (8)
- 22 Not necessarily spent at the spa. (6, 8)
- 24 Rocks obtained from E St., extended. (7)
- 25 Minos' daughter and I are confused by it. (7)
- 26 Regrets seeing the "Streets of Paris"? (4)
- 27 Period of confinement, not necessarily spent in the hospital! (10)

DOWN

- 1 Gyp, and how he might get out of the river? (10)

- 2 See 6 across.
- 3 Light-headed, no doubt. (14)
- 4 Behaved as peepers naturally would. (7)
- 5 Get it in the toss, if you want to. (6)
- 7 Related to the sort placed on watch. (7)
- 8 See 23 down.
- 9 A ragged thing, or a sort of man related to it. (14)
- 13 Going down! (10)
- 17 Society's capital. (7)
- 19 Salt that implies an animal comes to an early end? Quite the opposite! (7)
- 20 Likely to be perpetrated by 1 down. (7)
- 21 Urges one to breakfast, perhaps! (4, 2)
- 23 and 8. Rats! Ask Hoagy! (8)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 420

ACROSS:—1 and 13 WATER ON THE BRAIN; 6 APIS; 10 INKLING; 11 UNCLEAR; 12 COSSETED; 15 RIFLE; 17 LAWMAKERS; 19 VEGETABLE; 21 DROWN; 23 TORSO; 24 BY THE WAY; 27 ETERNAL; 28 EXAMINE; 29 ELSE; 30 PRESIDENTS.

DOWN:—1 and 26 WHIPPETS; 2 TAKW-OFF; 3 RAINS; 4 NIGHT CLUB; 5 HOUND; 7 PRELATE; 8 SPRING SONG; 9 SCABARD; 14 PRIVATE EYE; 16 EFTSOONS; 18 WRESTLERS; 20 GARDENS; 22 OVATION; 24 BALER; 25 ELAND.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

RESORTS

the dream resort you've been looking for
and looking for and looking for!

THE NEW
Glenmere
PRIVATE GOLF COURSE

Chester, N. Y. in the beautiful Ramapos
Phones: Chester 1101 - N. Y. REctor 2-5047

"An Artist in the Kitchen"
pody's LOCUST GROVE
Hopewell Junction, N. Y.
Accommodations for

Beautiful colonial home on 100-acre farm. 55 miles from N. Y. 15-mile mountain views. Acres of lawn, century-old shade trees, private lake, sports, counselor. Complete care-free summer including gourmet meals, informal fun, art classes if you like. Low summer prices.

Year 'round Adult Activities
Hathaway Lodge

Formerly the palatial 592-acre Macy estate. Luxurious rooms, many with open fireplaces. Swimming pool, clay tennis courts, handball, badminton. Horseback riding, hiking—magnificent mountain trails. Recordings, library, informal dancing. Delicious American-Jewish food. Easy transportation. Attractive Rates. For reservations or booklet N:

HATHAWAY LODGE
Haines Falls, N. Y. • Phone Tannersville 299

50 MILES TO FOREST HOUSE

Near enough for easy travel, far enough for an unforgettable vacation. Forest House achieves new levels of gay relaxation in inspiring surroundings. Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality. Two grand lakes. All sports.

FOREST HOUSE
Lake Mahopac, N. Y. • Tel. MAhopac 8-3449

50 MI.
FROM
NEW YORK



MAMANASCO
Lake Lodge
RIDGEFIELD, CONN.
Phone 8-7000

A beautiful country estate converted into a delightful retreat for vacations and weekends. All outdoor activities. Mile-long lake. Tennis. Golf nearby. Informal, congenial atmosphere. Television, recordings. Excellent cuisine and accommodations. Moderate rates.

SUMMIT LODGE

ROSCOE, NEW YORK • Elevation 2,500 feet

- Famous for our Viennese Home Cooking
- The Continental Cafe on The Green
- Spacious, shady lawns
- Swimming and boating
- Sports
- Library, recordings

Rates \$43 up, semi-private bath
Rooms hot, cold running water
ROSCOE 2-3412
N. Y. Tel: IN 2-5351
or WA 4-1575—
5-10 P.M.

MERRIEWOODE

A CAMP FOR ADULTS

HIGHLAND LAKE - STODDARD, N. H.

Where Interesting People Meet for the Perfect Vacation. Enjoy beautiful 10-mile lake. All Land and Water Sports. Interesting hiking objectives thru woodland trails. Arts and Crafts, Square and Folk Dancing Instruction. 4 hours by train from New York.

OLIVE "HATTIE" BARON, Director
Write Dept. N for literature. Tel: Hancock 98-Ring 13

THE *Nation*

RESORT CLASSIFIED DISPLAY

\$7.42 per inch, one insertion
Generous discounts for multiple insertions.
Write or phone today for further information.

ADVERTISING DEPARTMENT

The NATION

20 VESSEY STREET, NEW YORK 7, N. Y.
BARclay 7-1066



*Medal
of
Honor*



Master Sergeant Travis Watkins, of Gladewater, Texas—Medal of Honor. On September 3, 1950, near Yongsan, Korea, Sergeant Watkins was wounded and paralyzed from the waist down. Ordering his squad to pull out and leave him, he stayed behind and died covering their withdrawal.

Sergeant Watkins gave his life for freedom. What can you do?

This. You can begin today to do your share in defense of the country he defended far "above and beyond the call of duty" by buying more . . . and more . . . and more United States Defense* Bonds.

For your Defense Bonds strengthen America. And if you will make our country strong enough now, American boys may never have to give their lives again. Defense is *your* job, too.

Remember that when you're buying bonds for national defense, you're also building ■ personal reserve of cash savings. Remember, too, that if you don't save *regularly*, you generally don't save at all. So go to your company's pay office—now—and sign up to buy Defense Bonds through the Payroll Savings Plan. Don't forget that now

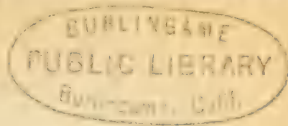
every United States Series E Bond you own automatically goes on earning interest for 20 years from date of purchase instead of 10 years as before. This means, for example, that ■ Bond you bought for \$18.75 can return you not just \$25 but ■■ much as \$33.33! For your country's security, and your own, buy U. S. Defense Bonds now!

****U.S. Savings Bonds are Defense Bonds - Buy them regularly!***



The U. S. Government does not pay for this advertisement. It is donated by this publication in cooperation with the Advertising Council and the Magazine Publishers of America ■■ public service.

Korea: We Win a Round—*Owen Lattimore*



THE *Nation*

July 21, 1951

The Kefauver Report

"The Pressure to Buy and Corrupt"

BY H. H. WILSON

✱

Germany Plans to Rearm

BY SCRUTINEER

✱

Freedom for Insulting Speech

BY VERN COUNTRYMAN

✱

Six Minus Four: Trenton's Way Out

BY CHARLES R. ALLEN, JR.

MONEY-SAVING MAGAZINE COMBINATIONS

For Your Convenience

^{THE} *Nation* with

☐ Harper's Magazine..\$9.50

You Save \$2.50

^{THE} *Nation* with

☐ Consumer Reports.\$10.75

You Save \$1.25

These club combinations are for one year and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses. Remittance must accompany all combination orders.

^{THE} *Nation* by itself:

☒ One Year \$7 ☐ Two Years \$12

☐ Three Years \$17

SERVICEMEN'S RATE \$5 A YEAR

Canadian and Foreign Postage \$1 a year extra

The NATION

20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

☒ I want to subscribe to *The Nation* for _____ years.

☐ Remittance enclosed. ☐ Bill me.

☒ I enclose my remittance for the following *Nation* combinations as listed below.

NAME _____

STREET _____

CITY _____

ZONE _____

STATE _____

7/21/51

SPECIAL NOTICE TO NATION READERS:

To Subscribers:

We are asking subscribers who wish to change their address to give us at least three weeks' notice, indicating the old as well as the new address.

If you will renew your subscription on receipt of the first notice of expiration, your cooperation will be much appreciated. It will help us simplify our record-keeping, saving us time and expense, and shield you from further renewal letters. At same time you will avoid interruption in receiving *The Nation*.

To Newsstand Readers:

Since *The Nation* is distributed key newsstands only, you may have difficulty in obtaining your copy. Therefore, the only certain way of getting *The Nation* regularly is to enter a subscription. By doing so you will not only be sure of receiving your copy promptly every week but also save considerable money.

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 173

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • JULY 21, 1951

NUMBER 3

The Shape of Things

SENATOR WAYNE MORSE HAS INTRODUCED a resolution calling for an appropriation of \$50,000 to enable the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to investigate the China lobby. Although such an investigation might return handsome political dividends to the Administration, including, for example, the possible defeat of the "China boys" of the Senate—Knowland and McCarthy—it seems unlikely that the Democrats will give the resolution their united support. Little about the China lobby is really "Chinese": its funds are American in origin, and its leading figures, like those of the German and Spanish lobbies, are well-paid and well-connected American lawyers and executives, some of whom have held high positions in the government. These men, and the powerful interests they represent, have already moved into action against Senator Morse's resolution. President Truman doubtless favors the investigation, but little support for it is forthcoming from the departments with the largest and most interesting files on the China lobby—State, Treasury, Defense, and Justice. The lukewarm attitude of these departments reflects their vivid awareness of the persons and interests that such an inquiry would be certain to expose. Failure to investigate the China lobby now would be to forfeit an opportunity that is not likely to recur. And if the opportunity is exceptional, the need is great. We can never develop popular support for an intelligent Far Eastern policy until the interests directing the China lobby are exposed and discredited.

★

EVEN BEFORE THEY HAD SEEN THE FULL text of "One Way Only," the new pamphlet by Aneurin Bevan, Harold Wilson, and John Freeman, the big berthas of American editorial opinion had opened fire across the Atlantic. One could have assumed that these editorials would say what they did—namely, that Mr. Bevan is a wilful, passionate, irresponsible, and ambitious demagogue who has done "grave disservice" to the unity of the Western world by issuing this manifesto. What apparently disturbs his American critics most is the fact that Mr. Bevan has been extremely lucky in the timing of the pamphlet's publication. A month ago it might have been ignored; but peace has now ceased

to be a dirty word. That the pamphlet will have a large influence in England today may be taken for granted; we are primarily concerned with its effects here. In the absence of a left opposition in the United States, Mr. Bevan is like a drummer who has only one stick: he can make a noise but he can't beat out a rhythm. His argument needs an American response to complete its logic.

★

WHAT HIS CONTENTION COMES DOWN TO IS that Great Britain should use its geographical position as a brake on the power of America. Specifically, Mr. Bevan and his colleagues want Great Britain to be able to exercise a veto on any offensive which the United States might want to launch from British bases. He does not argue against a sensible armament program or against the British-American alliance; his real concern is with strategy and objectives. He would like to see more initiative and independence in British policy, and he wants more labor, materials, and funds used for the development of backward areas. The crux of the matter is stated by "Critic" in the *New Statesman and Nation* of July 7: "The beginning of Socialist wisdom today is to realize that the class war has burst national frontiers and been transferred to the international plane. The British worker is now part of an exploiting class which must concede genuine equality to the colonial peoples or alternatively hand the world over to the Communists by trying to hold the tide back by force of arms." American workers are also now part of this exploiting class, but we have the resources, which the British lack, to implement Mr. Bevan's argument. Both British and American workers want a policy of strength and firmness, but they must insist that the objectives remain those of peace, freedom, and equality. The "one way only" for real British-American unity is for the American labor movement to respond to the issue which Mr. Bevan has now raised.

★

AS THE TRUCE NEGOTIATORS ASSEMBLED IN Kaesong, the rush for "certificates of necessity" gathered momentum in Washington. Apparently afraid that a cease-fire might be achieved before special tax dispensations could be obtained, a hundred or more companies in the week ending July 6 managed to get permission from

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things	41
McCarran's Ministry of Fear	42
Korea: We Win a Round <i>by Owen Lattimore</i>	44

ARTICLES

"The Pressure to Buy and Corrupt" <i>by H. H. Wilson</i>	45
Germany Plans to Rearm <i>by Scrutineer</i>	48
Freedom for Insulting Speech—a Reply <i>by Vern Countryman</i>	50
Six Minus Four: Trenton's Way Out <i>by Charles R. Allen, Jr.</i>	52

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

One Moment in History <i>by Frances Keene</i>	54
A Man of Taste <i>by Ernest Jones</i>	55
Primitive Medicine <i>by Ralph Colp, Jr.</i>	56
American Songs <i>by Abbe Niles</i>	57
Books in Brief	57
Music <i>by B. H. Haggin</i>	58

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 59

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 422

by Frank W. Lewis opposite 60

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Associate Editor: Carey McWilliams

<i>Foreign Editor</i>	<i>Literary Editor</i>
J. Alvarez del Vayo	Margaret Marshall
<i>Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison</i>	

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch Music: B. H. Haggin

Assistant Editor: Charles R. Allen, Jr.

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside

Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting

Staff Contributors

Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: Mary Simon

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1951, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$7; Two years \$12; Three years \$17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: *The Nation* is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

the Defense Production Administration to accelerate depreciation on plant expansions totaling \$125,000,000. Companies planning defense-plant expansions costing \$7,721,975,741 have now permission to take advantage of the five-year amortization bonanza discussed at some length in *The Nation* of June 30. In the main the write-offs included in this latest list cover 70 per cent or more of the cost of new installations, most of which have an obvious potential peace-time use. The Union Pacific Railroad, for example, is now authorized to write-off, over a five-year period, 80 per cent of the \$17,000,000 which it expects to spend on railroad-freight facilities. Viewing this extraordinary spectacle of a government granting special incentives for corporate profit-making, the average individual taxpayer is likely to wish that he might abandon name and personality and incorporate himself, so that he, too, might be encouraged to increase his earnings by the non-payment of taxes.

★

FEDERAL JUDGE EDWARD M. CURRAN HAS ruled that the Veterans' Administration acted properly when it dismissed James Kutcher in 1948 from the position of clerk in the Newark, New Jersey, branch office. Kutcher, who lost both legs in the Battle of San Pietro in 1943, admitted membership in the anti-Stalinist Socialist Workers' Party. Apparently no one in the Department of Justice entertained any serious doubt as to Kutcher's personal loyalty or thought that he might take advantage of his position to injure the United States, but since he admitted that "force and violence" might have to be used to overcome "a minority of capitalists" in order to usher in the socialist regime in which he believes, he has been denied employment and branded as "disloyal." As the *Washington Post* has pointed out, the process by which Kutcher has been ousted from his job "seems to have about as much relation to reality as the voodoo rites which primitive tribes devised to ward off evil spirits. And it entails, besides, an immeasurable corruption of cherished American institutions."

McCarran's Ministry of Fear

UNLESS vigorous protest is made, and paid attention to, Congress is likely soon to pass a bill on immigration, naturalization, and nationality which has in it elements that are both obnoxious and dangerous. We refer to S. 716, the McCarran omnibus immigration bill.

The purpose of the legislation, to codify the hundreds of laws and regulations in this area, is unexceptionable. The McCarran bill accomplishes codification but it is open to charges of both general and specific defects. It is unscientific in point of view, often devoid of humanitarian instinct, and inept in national policy. Specifically,

it enlarges the police-state activity of the federal government, places intolerable burdens and fears upon the immigrant, and threatens the citizenship rights of both naturalized and native-born Americans.

The police-state quality of the bill arises from these provisions: (1) consuls and immigration and naturalization officers are given enormous discretion in the determination and evaluation of facts, even those which can properly be weighed only by a medical or historical expert; (2) the same discretionary power judges the significance of even the smallest misdemeanor and assesses the presence or absence of moral turpitude in an offense; and (3) with respect to a resident alien, the bill opens his Social Security record to scrutiny by the Department of Justice. The bill also removes decisions on immigration, naturalization, and important matters of status from the court review which is provided for under the Administrative Procedure Act of 1946.

Opposition to these provisions has been impressive. Congressman Celler observed: "We pride ourselves on the fact that we are a government of law and not a government of men. Here power of untold proportions is given to an immigration officer . . . frankly, he can play God." The failure to provide appeal to the courts in immigration hearings was vigorously opposed by Watson B. Miller, former Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization. On the necessity for judicial review important testimony revealed that in a group of forty-four cases where citizenship had been denied by administrative officials under existing law, no fewer than thirty-five persons were later adjudged citizens by the courts.

These are matters of life and death, especially in view of the kind of world a man may have to return to if he is deported from this country. Under S. 716 a person seeking an entry visa from a United States consul would face unholy and often impractical barriers. Once the alien is in the "land of the free," any offense, even the most trivial, is grounds for deportation at the discretion of the Attorney General. The resident alien need not even have a court conviction; he has only to make a statement "tantamount to a confession of guilt" of a crime involving moral turpitude. And finally, the exclusionary provisions are extended to the area of deportation and made infinitely retrospective. In fact, every immigrant would be doomed to live in fear that decades after the documents and witnesses on which he relied have vanished he might be deported from his adopted land without a judicial trial.

Citizens of the United States may not fare much better than aliens under the new rules on nationality. The naturalized citizen is discriminated against; he would be barred from serving as Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization! Even the native-born citizen faces real hazards. If he loses his passport in a foreign country

and the resident consul denies his citizenship, he can make no appeal to a United States court. Unbelievable as it may seem, he can lose his status within the limits of the country of his birth: if an immigration inspector has instituted deportation proceedings against him, the citizen cannot take his case to court and the court cannot review the facts or the discretion of the inspector. That some of these provisions are probably unconstitutional offers slight consolation to prospective victims.

AMERICAN immigration law has traditionally embodied the idea that one race is better than another in quality or assimilability. But this assumption, unquestioned a century ago and merely archaic when the main existing law was written in 1924, has been proved flatly wrong in our day. Nevertheless it is fully preserved in the quota system of the McCarran bill. Indeed, the situation is made worse. Quota is imposed on quota. For the total of 154,000 who can be admitted, a subquota of 50 per cent is established for immigrants "whose services are determined by the Attorney General to be needed urgently in the United States because of the high education, technical training, specialized experience, or exceptional ability of such immigrants . . .," 30 per cent for parents of adult citizens, and 20 per cent for spouses or children of permanently resident aliens. Not more than 10 per cent of any nationality quota may be used for immigrants not falling within the subquotas. There is not the slightest chance of the preferred subquotas being used up; for example, out of a possible 46,200 in the "parents" group in 1948, only 3,000 were admitted. Ordinary non-preferential immigration would probably fall below 8,000 a year. Here, it seems, is the real intent of the McCarran bill—to reduce to an inconsequential dribble the stream from which all Americans derive their ancestry.

Far too little attention has been focused on this destructively un-American proposal. Formidably exclusive, cruelly suspicious, offensively arrogant, S. 716 would create a real ministry of fear in immigration and naturalization matters. Its enactment would be tantamount to a direct repudiation of an enduringly attractive aspect of the American tradition, namely, a generous and friendly willingness to accept people at face value and to give the world's oppressed a second chance. Since Congress now has before it all the information and argument it needs, the only remaining hope would seem to lie in legitimate pressure. McCarran will not change his stand and Congressman Celler needs no encouragement to continue his opposition. But the remarks of Francis E. Walter of Pennsylvania, who is chairman of the House subcommittee, indicated a reasonable and open mind, and it is to him and similar middle-of-the-road Representatives that special appeals should be addressed.

Korea: We Win a Round

BY OWEN LATTIMORE

IT IS a favorite Communist maneuver to accept moderate terms of reference and then, when the other side has committed itself to negotiations, to keep adding new and more difficult stipulations. For once, the United States and the United Nations have been able to work this maneuver on the Communists. When General Ridgway accepted Kaesong, as proposed by the Chinese and North Koreans, as the scene of cease-fire talks, he successfully committed them to negotiation. When he later hardened his terms to demand that Kaesong be made in fact an open city, with as much freedom of access for the United Nations as for the Communists, the Communists were caught. Throughout Asia, which for the Chinese is more important than the rest of the world, they would have been held guilty of an unnecessary continuation of the war if they had refused to concede this reasonable equality of footing.

While General Ridgway was winning this important opening move, however, a feeling of apprehension, almost of panic, swept the world. Neither side can now afford to put itself in the wrong by seeming to make it impossible to move forward from a cease-fire to an armistice, and on in the direction of stabilizing the frontiers of power in Asia.

Each successive step will be delicate and dangerous. We have won a round before. We won a round in Iran when, working through the United Nations, we got the Russians out of Azerbaijan. We won a round in Berlin, when our airlift broke the Russian blockade and forced the Russians to settle on terms more favorable to us than to them. We have won other rounds; but we are in a long struggle in which there will be many more rounds, for what is going on is no less than a step-by-step delimitation of the frontiers of power throughout the world.

By forcing the Communists to accept a settlement at approximately the Thirty-eighth Parallel we stand to win a major victory for collective security, for we shall have demonstrated the ability of the United Nations to stop armed aggression. Such a victory should also lessen the danger of a new world war, by proving that "little wars" can be successfully held within limits, thus greatly weakening the Soviet ability to bluff us into premature settlement by playing up the fear of a general war.

It will be well for us to face the fact, however, that in the next round, which will be a political round, the Communists will have certain tactical advantages. Backed from within the United Nations by Russia and the Soviet bloc, the Chinese and North Koreans will undoubtedly seek to exploit disagreements on political strategy between the United States and its principal

allies, the badly undermined position of Syngman Rhee in Korean politics, and the link between the Korean issue and the issue of Formosa.

In the past year President Truman has strengthened his position both in American politics and in the world by his courageous and sound handling of the four main decisions: the original decision to stand and fight in Korea against an outrageous aggression; the decision to limit the war instead of letting temporary frustration drive us into a world war; the decision to remove General MacArthur; and the final decision to negotiate, facing the awkward fact that a limited victory is all that can be won in a limited war. Once the shooting stops and the political appeals begin to operate, however, the President and his Secretary of State are likely to have cause to regret that they have let a whole year pass without doing the work that should have been done to prepare the American people for the realization that there are serious weaknesses in the political situation in Korea, and that our own allies can now be expected to make a concerted effort to get us to modify our policies on China and on Formosa.

In Korea, President Syngman Rhee had become so unpopular that just before the Communist aggression free elections in South Korea had gone overwhelmingly against him. During the war there have been no signs that he has made himself an inspiring political leader. We should now encourage and push forward whatever new, young, and politically capable leadership we can find in South Korea.

We have won a major point in preventing the Chinese from shooting their way into the United Nations; but the Chinese have won a point by demonstrating that when it comes to the power politics of the corner of the world where China, Japan, and Russia stand so close to one another it is Mao Tse-tung who counts—in or out of the United Nations—and not Chiang Kai-shek. In the related question of Formosa a cease-fire in Korea will force into the foreground the fact that President Truman originally put Formosa under the guardianship of the Seventh Fleet solely in order to prevent the spread of war from Korea, and that this move, unlike the decision to fight in Korea, has never been indorsed by the United Nations.

Two courses seem imperative. In Korea an all-out effort must be made to show that the United Nations can accomplish more in the way of economic and political rehabilitation, and do it more quickly, than a Chinese-Russian program could accomplish. In dealing with China, whatever is done should be done in such a manner as to encourage the Chinese to handle their own diplomacy, instead of routing it through Moscow. The fact that Chinese, not Russians, are negotiating at Kaesong as the patrons of the North Koreans is potentially to our advantage.

"The Pressure to Buy and Corrupt"

BY H. H. WILSON

IN JANUARY, 1950, Senator Estes Kefauver introduced a bill calling for a full-scale Senate investigation of crime in interstate commerce. After a hard struggle, first with those who sought to prevent such an investigation and then to see who would control it, Kefauver and his supporters, in May, 1950, succeeded in bringing into being the Special Committee to Investigate Organized Crime in Interstate Commerce.

For citizens desirous of having a permanent record of the committee's findings and recommendations the third interim report has been made available by two private publishers,¹ and Senator Kefauver has prepared a useful summary of the coast-to-coast hearings in his "Crime in America."² There is not, regrettably, in either his book or the committee report any significant analysis of the mass of facts, and there is little indication that either the Senators or their staff understood the implications of the material gathered.

While the hearings had vast entertainment value for newspaper readers and for the reported 20,000,000 to 30,000,000 television audience, it is doubtful that they contributed greatly to our understanding of the nature and sources of crime in American society or to our prospects for eliminating organized criminal activity. Only if the committee's findings are looked upon as a starting point, as a bringing up to date of one phase of the problem, will the \$265,000 spent on the investigation during the first twelve months produce an adequate return.

The statements of committee members reveal curiously naive assumptions about American society and the sources of deviant behavior. For example: that little was hitherto known of the extent of crime and political corruption; that the majority of citizens object to gambling, political favoritism, and the "fix"; that when aware of existing conditions people demand corrective reforms; that most anti-social behavior stems from the foreign-born and underprivileged; that personal pathologies are responsible for aberrant conduct; or that, as Senator Hunt observed, corruption exists "because the human heart is despicable and wicked in all things in its normal state." These assumptions are an

inadequate framework for analysis of phenomena so widespread and also prevent the raising of various crucial questions. It would have been more productive, for example, to have tested the hypothesis that aberrant behavior is a symptom of conflict between culturally approved goals and narrowing opportunity for their achievement.

With no intention of belittling the sincere efforts of Senator Kefauver and his colleagues, it needs to be emphasized that the mere accumulation of additional evidence has little basic significance. Few adult citizens will be as astonished as Senator Tobey seems to have been by the committee's general conclusions: that "organized criminal gangs operating in interstate commerce are firmly entrenched in our large cities in the operation of many gambling enterprises"; that in some cities "law-enforcement officials aided and protected gangsters and racketeers"; that "there is a sinister criminal organization known as the Mafia operating throughout the country"; that "the leading hoodlums in the country remain for the most part immune from prosecution and punishment"; that the "fix" may come about through tie-ups with political machines or apparently respectable business men, or through corruption of the public by charitable contributions and press relations; that "the backbone of the wire service which provides gambling information to bookmakers is the leased wires of the Western Union Telegraph Company"; that "legitimate business men have aided the interests of the underworld by awarding lucrative contracts to gangsters and mobsters in return for help in handling employees, defeating attempts at organization, and breaking strikes." Such facts have been repeatedly documented by scores of able newspapermen from Lincoln Steffens's day to this, as well as by such investigations as those of the Chicago Vice Commission, 1911, the Senate subcommittee on "so-called rackets," 1933, or the La Follette committee, 1938.

Twenty years ago in a report written for the Wickersham Commission, Morris Ploscowe emphasized the need for fundamental social analysis:

It is in considering the social, economic, and political factors in crime causation that one is frequently confronted with the fact that the things which are considered as contributing to crime are merely the effects of larger and more fundamental causes. To explore these causes adequately demands a thoroughgoing examination of the criminal situation in the light of the social, political, and economic development of the country. This kind of examination has unfortunately not been

¹ "Senator Kefauver's Crime Committee Report." New York, Arco Publishing Company; 50 cents paper, \$2 cloth.

"The Kefauver Committee Report on Organized Crime." New York, Didier; \$1.50 paper, \$2.95 cloth.

² New York, Doubleday; \$1 paper, \$3.50 cloth with pictures.

H. H. WILSON, a member of the Department of Politics of Princeton University, is the author of "Congress: Corruption and Compromise."

July, 21, 1951

made, and one can merely speculate upon the effect upon crime of urban concentration, an industrial and acquisitive civilization, multiplication of contacts through rapid communication and transportation, the apparent inefficacy of democratic government to cope with modern problems, a long tradition of lawlessness, a long history of violence, etc. Though it is extremely difficult to make this kind of an examination, it is essential that it be done, so that a program of crime prevention can aim at fundamental causes and not at effects.



Senator Kefauver

Despite the fact that Judge Ploscowe, now executive director of the American Bar Association's Commission on Organized Crime, worked with the Kefauver staff in preparing its final report, there is no evidence that the current Senate committee profited either by his advice or by the work of previous federal, state, and local crime studies. Similarly there is no evidence that use was

made of such trenchant analyses as Edwin Sutherland's "White Collar Crime," Thorsten Sellin's "Culture Conflict and Crime," Lawrence K. Frank's "Society as the Patient," or Robert K. Merton's "Social Structure and Anomie."

Apparently emotional fervor and moral uplift got in the way of realistic appraisal of crime and delinquent conduct as an integral aspect of American society. In the words of Senator Kefauver, "Serving on the Crime Committee was a tremendous emotional experience for all of us"; "emotional uplift came in the way that people from everywhere spoke of their approval of what we were trying to do"; and after the New York hearings, "my personal feelings were at a pitch of high moral indignation." It might have been more useful had the committee members remembered that people's indignation at anti-social or aberrant conduct, whether of private individuals or government officials, is rarely translated into positive action. Moral indignation may even serve as a convenient release for tensions and frustrations and, combined with our limited span of attention, provide a substitute for creative reform. As Frank has written, the "assumption of individual depravity or perversity gives us a comfortable feeling that all is well socially, but that certain individuals are outrageously violating the laws and customs that all decent people uphold."

In any case, in all the list of committee recommendations not one seems capable of rallying sustained public support or of providing opportunity for positive action. True, among its accomplishments the Crime Committee does cite the "tremendous response in the nature of public awakening and its constructive reaction to enlightenment . . . a far-reaching chain reaction" which is being expressed in grand-jury activity and "little Kefauver committees" in "many state legislatures." And it believes it "reasonable to forecast that venal politicians whose corruption has permitted the racketeers to become so firmly entrenched will in large measure be eliminated as aroused and awakened citizens go to the polls." A look at the record, however, arouses acute skepticism on this score. The history of almost any American city would show that "aroused and awakened citizens" seldom pursue reform for very long and almost never tackle the root sources of corruption. That Philadelphia has been corruptly governed for almost two generations is surely no secret to its inhabitants; James Michael Curley seems never to have been utterly repudiated by the citizens of Boston; even after the Kefauver investigation there is no obvious evidence of popular demand for the recall of Ambassador O'Dwyer; and if the people's representatives in Congress have demanded the resignation of the convicted Walter E. Brehm it has not come to notice. Nor has Congress displayed undue enthusiasm for prompt action on the legislative proposals of the Kefauver committee.

Evidence is also lacking for the committee's Jeffersonian tendency to believe that virtue resides in the small towns and rural areas. The hearings brought out that in the small towns of LaSalle and Streator, Illinois, gambler Thomas J. Cawley had been operating horse books, punchboards, baseball pools, roulette, and poker games for twenty-five years without apparent opposition from a majority of the citizens. And black-marketeer David Lubben had no difficulty in buying "a vast quantity of corn syrup in the Midwest by making under-the-table black-market payments to farmers."

POLITICAL corruption," according to Lincoln Steffens, "is not a matter of men or classes or education or character of any sort; it is a matter of pressure. Wherever the pressure is brought to bear, society and government cave in. The problem, then, is one of dealing with the pressure, of discovering and dealing with the cause or the source of the pressure to buy and corrupt." We need to know what it is in society that forces individuals to pursue socially defined and approved goals by unlawful means. We have reached a stage in our national development where the exclusive pursuit of individual ends may well cause the disintegration of our society. It is not enough for the committee to say that success in the fight against crime and corruption "de-

depends on the uplifting of standards of public and private morality, a rededication to basic spiritual values which will entail righteous indignation over" these conditions. Nor does Spruille Braden's suggestion—"I sometimes wonder if the Soviet is not, at least in some measure, inciting these vermin to defile our system of law and order"—advance our understanding. Let's face it: graft, crime, corruption, the "fix" are imbedded in the very fabric of our highly competitive society.

The closest Senator Kefauver comes to discussing this basic problem is when he writes: "In many big cities young people come to maturity with an attitude of contempt for law, because they see and hear almost daily of instances wherein criminals, through alliances with conniving politicians and crooked law-enforcement officers, are bigger than the law." He might usefully have gone on to discuss the impact on young people of the employment by the Phelps-Dodge Copper Products Company of gangster Anthony Anastasia (an incident which he does not treat in "Crime in America"), or of the Ford Motor Company's contract with Joe Adonis, or of the relations of the Detroit Stove Works and the Briggs Manufacturing Company with gangsters.

A certain naivete marks the report's treatment of business tie-ups with the underworld. We are told that "in fairness to Ford Motor Company it should be noted that it is taking vigorous steps to disassociate itself from these racketeer-held contracts." Apparently we are to assume that this represents revulsion from newly discovered contamination, although at least one of the contracts had existed for twenty years! At any rate we should be thankful that "Ford has publicly deplored this situation." In general it is puzzling that the Crime Committee should be so sanguine about the possibility of raising standards of public and private morality when the hearings reveal that business élites are not receptive to this rededication. "Practically every large distillery and brewery has granted franchises to racketeer dealers," but "they were almost all vague on the question of whether they would fire a distributor upon finding he had criminal associations." Similarly, though Senator Kefauver was irritated by California's "million-dollar lobbyist," Arthur H. Samish, he failed to develop the implications of the fact that Schenley Distillers of New York paid Samish \$36,000 a year, or that the California State Brewers' Institute provided him with another \$30,000 salary, "plus control of a \$153,000-a-year slush fund."

The record of business during World War II suggests that even patriotism is inadequate to overcome other pressures operating in our society. The Senate National Defense Committee had no difficulty in compiling a list of major firms willing to take advantage of the national crisis, and Marshall Clinard has reported that at least 11 per cent of all retail firms violated OPA regulations

in 1944. As a matter of fact, the million OPA violations in one year practically equaled the number of all other crimes known to the police in the same period. Though we do not place these white-collar criminals in the same category with violators of other laws, the financial loss from white-collar crime is probably greater than that from all other crimes combined. As Edwin Sutherland has demonstrated, its impact on our institutions and morale is infinitely greater. "The white-collar criminals resist efforts to enforce the criminal law against themselves by attacks, through the agencies of public opinion which they control, on the integrity of public officials and private parties who object to white-collar crime. These attacks result in further disintegration of the society."

OF THE twenty-two recommendations of the Kefauver committee, one could be tremendously valuable—the creation of a Federal Crime Commission one of whose functions would be "the initiation and development of appropriate social study relating to crime, its punishment, and law enforcement." What is needed is a detailed analytical study of American society, its premises, values, institutions, and the forces operating to produce social disorganization and anomie. The findings of the Kefauver committee should be combined with those of the New York narcotics investigation, the Fulbright study of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, the "five percenters" material, the studies of businessmen and the black market, relevant sections of the Truman committee findings, even the results of the Douglas committee on ethics and the Delaney committee on the use of chemicals in food-stuffs.¹ Until the American public understands that these are all facets of the same problem—social disorganization, the disintegration of a traditional culture, the absence of common individual or social ends—investigations will do little more than compound the popular cynicism.



Senator Tobey

The narrow investigation of crime as the violation of law must be broadened to include the concept of delinquency—"those forms of behavior disorder which manifest themselves in injury to others or to society"—

¹ See *The Chemicals We Eat*, by Ruth E. Brecher, in *The Nation* of June 23, 1951.

and the whole area of white-collar crime. That 350 unmarked trucks a month have been detected trying to enter the Holland and Lincoln tunnels carrying explosives or inflammable loads since the serious explosion in the Holland Tunnel in 1949 is more revealing of the general social malaise than is some individual's activity in betting on sporting events. The needed study of social morale would be aided by a comparative analysis of conditions in another society. A team of social scientists might therefore be sent to Great Britain, where

some evidence suggests that deviant behavior is less common and that conflict between socially approved goals and means has been less acute. It would be a difficult assignment, for no culture can be realistically analyzed without a searching examination of its basic premises, institutions, and sacred idols—or without stepping on the toes of the righteous and the wielders of power. If this is too big or too delicate a task for the United States Congress, perhaps one of the foundations could be persuaded to do it.

Germany Plans to Rearm

BY SCRUTINEER

Washington, July 12

LABELED "Top Secret," the German Republic's new plan for restoring German military power is now locked in the files of the State Department and the Pentagon. But no dust is settling on it. The forty-odd-page report which John J. McCloy, United States High Commissioner in Germany, carried to Washington last month is being eagerly studied and discreetly discussed almost daily by our top policy-makers. Copies of this confidential document are also in the hands of the British and French governments.

Some of the German proposals are startling. They include: (1) a German tactical air force of at least 2,000 planes, with a minimum air-force personnel of 40,000; (2) German armed forces to total about 250,000; (3) eventual reintroduction of conscription and a two-year period of compulsory military service; (4) a future army of at least twelve divisions; (5) instead of the regimental combat teams of 4,000 to 6,000 which the Allies last December agreed would be the maximum German unit, the Germans suggest that they create army corps of two divisions each; (6) each division to consist of about 12,000 men; (7) a naval coastal-defense force of small craft with a personnel of 12,000; (8) not exactly the old-fashioned general staff but a staff at corps level.

It ought to be said at once that neither the United States, Britain, nor France has so far approved this ambitious program for West German remilitarization, though the plan emerged after some four months of discussion in Bonn between the American, British, and French on the one hand and the Germans on the other. It bears the imprimatur of Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, but it is largely the work of the two former Wehrmacht generals—Hans Speidel and Adolf Heusinger—who

were the dynamic members of the German delegation in the recent negotiations.

President Truman's Administration is reliably reported to view most of the German proposals as reasonable. Official reports from London say that since the Big Four deputies' conference in Paris went on the rocks in June, Foreign Secretary Herbert Morrison and the British chiefs of staff favor pressing ahead with German rearmament. Could it be that they do not want German industry to sit out the dance and concentrate on competitive peace-time production, while British industry is turning to war goods at the cost of its export trade?

The French Foreign Ministry and defense chiefs regard the German scheme as a menace. What is more, there is a suspicion in Paris that American support for the German program may be a trick to induce France to enlarge its own preparedness plans. Under North Atlantic Treaty arrangements the French are committed to put twenty divisions in the field by mid-1954. It is French policy to maintain armed forces about twice the strength of West Germany's. If Germany is permitted to exceed the ten divisions fixed at the Brussels meeting of the Atlantic Council last December, France will be under strong pressure to raise its own sights, say to twenty-five or thirty divisions, depending on whether the Germans are to have twelve or fifteen. But the French are already groaning under the burden of rearmament, despite our lavish military aid.

France is placing its hopes on the fruition of its scheme for a European army. In a matter of days the five-nation conference which has been going on in Paris since February will complete a draft treaty for a European army, designed to achieve in the military sphere the goals of the Schuman Plan in the economic. The French want to forestall a strong German national army by interlarding the European army with small German formations. The proposed treaty would be signed by France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, and Luxemburg.

SCRUTINEER is the pen name of a Washington journalist who has long specialized in foreign affairs.

The Dutch and Scandinavians have refused to sign, partly if not primarily because Britain stands outside the European-army project. As they see it, this means that while France will be the leading military power on the Continent for a few years, German armed might, alongside that of the United States, will all too soon dominate non-Communist Europe. If Britain were a participant, the traditional balance could be partially restored.

To what extent will French opposition succeed in thwarting the extravagant German rearmament program? It is safe to prophesy that France will fail in that endeavor, though it may water the program down a little. Already the French have dropped their insistence that regimental teams be the biggest German unit and have acquiesced in the creation of German divisions. French reliance upon the United States in Indo-China and North Africa, as well as in metropolitan France, is so great that defiance of American wishes is unlikely. Yet our sponsorship of formidable German rearmament will play straight into the hands of the French Communists, who are the principal French foes of German military revival.

A CLOSE look at the German plan discovers illuminating comparisons. The proposed armada of 2,000 German war planes is almost exactly equal numerically to the tactical air force at Hitler's disposal just before World War II. In the files of the Pentagon is a secret report written by Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh on January 1, 1939. At that time Lindbergh, prophet of the not-so-permanent wave of the future, was a confidant of the late Field Marshal Hermann Göring. His report revealed that the grand total of German military aircraft was 7,850, of which 2,194 planes, excluding transports, made up the tactical air force.

W. Stuart Symington, former Secretary of the United States Air Force and now administrator of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, in a speech at the Air War College in Montgomery, Alabama, in 1948, said: "By 1926, although denied a military air force, Germany nevertheless launched her glider program and developed commercial aviation in such a way that her aircraft industry could be promptly converted to war purposes. . . . Thus during five short years—1935 through 1939—Germany produced Hitler's big stick, the Luftwaffe." It was with that club, Symington recalled, that Nazi Germany compelled Neville Chamberlain and Daladier to crawl to Munich on their bellies.

The 2,000 fighters and light bombers which the Germans now propose would carry an incomparably bigger wallop than the 2,194 tactical planes of 1938-39. Thus the Germans actually intend to set up a much more powerful tactical air force than they had when they undertook the conquest of Europe.

Let us take a squint at another historical comparison. The armed force of 250,000 men which the Adenauer

government desires today is more than twice the size of the army allowed Germany under the Versailles treaty. This force, moreover, will have tanks, guns, and other equipment beside which the equipment of the old Reichswehr would look sadly moth-eaten. But a clause in the Versailles treaty required Germans who enlisted in their volunteer army to sign for at least twelve years. This long service made it possible to develop the Reichswehr into a highly trained, technically superb body of 100,000 potential officers and non-coms.

Within four or five years after the Germans were compelled to sign the Treaty of Versailles, they began to rearm secretly. Forbidden to have an air force, they built an aircraft factory a few miles from Moscow—for the Russians, of course. Several years after that, about 1929, in an incautious obituary notice in, I think, the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, the bereaved parents of a German Reichswehr pilot lamented his death in a plane crash in the Ukraine. This indiscretion revealed that German air-force cadets were being trained surreptitiously in Russia.

A courageous German journalist, Carl von Ossietzky, disclosed in his weekly magazine *Die Weltbühne* that a clandestine German general staff, illegal under the treaty, was operating behind closed doors at the Ministry of Defense. He divulged that the German military chiefs were secretly experimenting with submarines, also banned by the treaty; the experiments were being conducted on the coasts of Spain and Holland. Ossietzky, who later received the Nobel peace prize, died of tuberculosis after torture in a Nazi concentration camp.

Time and again the Germans managed artfully to dodge Allied restrictions on their armed power. Then came 1936, when Hitler began to rearm in deadly earnest. Now we are seeking to associate the Germans, nationalistic as ever though as yet a little less impatient to jump back into uniform, with the Atlantic Alliance. Later we intend to invite them to join as equals.

For the course we are steering the Russians bear their share of responsibility. Three years ago Moscow promoted the remilitarization of Germans in the Soviet zone, setting up "alert squads" which totaled about 50,000 men and were equipped largely with small arms. This piece of Kremlin folly gave the West a degree of justification for planning the remilitarization of West Germany. What we mean to undertake there, however, is something more formidable than Russia's creation of the East German *Bereitschaften*.

WE SHALL probably approve German conscript forces of about 250,000. Even if the Germans shun evasion of their commitments this time, a rash supposition, they will have trained a million men in six years. They will have at their disposal all the skill and technical experience for which they are rightly celebrated, plus much of ours. How long will it be before

they again defy the Allied *Diktat*? How long before they once more break their "chains"?

Many sober political thinkers say that by permitting the German Republic to develop such military strength we are placing it in a position to decide whether there shall be a third world war and when. Moderates like Stresemann and Brüning could inflame their countrymen's emotions in the twenties and early thirties over the color of Danzig's mailboxes, to say nothing of the Polish Corridor. How much more effectively the lost territories of Silesia, East Prussia, and Pomerania will lend themselves to the spirit of vengeance when the German Republic is able publicly to flex its muscles!

The Adenauer government is already demanding that Germany's share of the occupation costs be cut so that it will have more money available for rearmament. Ludwig Erhard, German Minister of Economics, has been in Washington discussing this and other topics. The government views its plan for large-scale remilitarization as a German concession to the Allies. It is not asking us for permission to rearm. In return for rearming at our request, it is demanding absolute equality of treatment. It is also demanding a "contractual relationship"—a fancy name for a peace treaty—which will relieve West Germany forever of the fetters of the Occupation Statute.

Freedom for Insulting Speech—a Reply

BY VERN COUNTRYMAN

CONGRESS shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech." So reads the First Amendment. The Fourteenth, as the Supreme Court has construed it, makes the same prohibition applicable to the states. The necessity for such a guaranty where government is based on the consent of the governed is apparent. Free communication of ideas is essential if the governed are to exercise their self-governing function.

The guaranty is expressed in the Constitution without qualification, and the social necessity for free discussion clearly requires that qualifications be imposed only sparingly if at all. But, at least since *Bridges v. California* in 1941, the Supreme Court has imposed a general limitation, first enunciated by Justice Holmes in 1919, which permits abridgment of that speech which creates a "clear and present danger." This limitation seems on its face to give more protection to free discussion than did the "dangerous tendency" test employed by the court in earlier cases. As applied by the court, however, it has brought little demonstrable improvement.

Although the clear-and-present-danger test has been employed by the court in cases involving all the freedoms guaranteed by the First Amendment, it has not been consistently applied to any of those freedoms. Many decisions sanctioning abridgment of First Amendment freedoms have made no mention of clear and present danger and at the same time have given no reason for not applying the test. Moreover, the cases in which it has been applied have given it little identifiable meaning.

VERN COUNTRYMAN is associate professor of law at Yale University. This article is a reply to one by Nanette Dembitz, *Free Speech vs. Free-for-All*, in last week's issue of *The Nation*.

What sort of "danger" is contemplated? The danger of "substantive evils" which government has the power to prevent, said Holmes, and the court added in the *Bridges* case that "the substantive evil must be extremely serious." But the possibility of a street-corner brawl is serious enough to silence Mr. Feiner, and the court once sanctioned an abridgment of religious freedom when the only conceivable serious evil was the refusal of two school children to salute the flag.

When is the danger "clear and present"? When "the degree of imminence [is] extremely high," said the court in the *Bridges* case, but Mr. Feiner goes to jail because his audience was "restless" and one of its number threatened to pull him off his platform. And only a few days ago the court upheld the conviction of eleven Communist leaders on Judge Medina's reading of "clear and present" to mean "as speedily as circumstances would permit."

ONE of the free-speech cases decided without reference to clear and present danger was the Chaplinsky case, upon which Miss Dembitz draws so heavily. Chaplinsky called a police officer a "damned racketeer" and a "damned fascist," and the court upheld his conviction because such "insulting or fighting words," employed "face to face," were "plainly likely to cause a breach of the peace." Whether or not a possible scuffle between Chaplinsky and the reviled officer was a "substantive evil" of sufficient magnitude to justify abridgment of speech the court did not determine. Instead, it resorted to the time-honored lawyer's trick of avoiding an issue by calling it something else, and announced that Chaplinsky's speech was not really speech at all when properly considered. "Resort to epithets or personal abuse is not in any proper sense communication of infor-

mation or opinion safeguarded by the Constitution." Less than a year later the court found it unnecessary to mention either the Chaplinsky decision or clear and present danger when, in *Cafeteria Union v. Angelos*, it held that the free-speech guaranty protected pickets who told customers of a picketed cafeteria that they were "aiding the cause of fascism." And the Terminiello decision in 1949 made it even more difficult to square the Chaplinsky case with the clear-and-present-danger test by finding no sufficiently serious evil to justify silencing the racist vituperation of Father Terminiello, although an "angry and turbulent" crowd was rioting outside the meeting hall in which he spoke. Speech, said the court, is protected "unless shown likely to produce a clear and present danger of a serious substantive evil that rises far above public inconvenience, annoyance, or unrest."

In the *Feiner* decision, which Miss Dembitz and I both deplore, the court again found it convenient to avoid any mention of clear and present danger—perhaps because of the difficulty involved in demonstrating the seriousness of the "breach of the peace" or "riot"—terms used interchangeably by the court—which *Feiner* was found to be "inciting." The case is one of a long line demonstrating that the spasmodic application of an essentially meaningless test will never provide that "clear standard . . . as to the limits of a speaker's rights" which Miss Dembitz seeks.

But the standard which she proposes is not appreciably clearer; nor, so far as its operation can be predicted, is it otherwise preferable to the clear-and-present-danger test. She would extend to street speakers the "insulting words" doctrine which the Chaplinsky decision enunciated for face-to-face encounters. And in order to give that doctrine greater precision she would confine it to speech "which disparages the persons to whom it is addressed in their personal characteristics." What this means is not clear to me, and it becomes less clear in the light of her illustrations. To call a policeman a "damned fascist" is to disparage his "personal characteristics," but if I understand Miss Dembitz correctly, no similar disparagement of the "personal characteristics" of American legionnaires was involved in *Feiner's* calling their organization a "Nazi Gestapo"—although he would go too far if he called them "cowards or traitors."

Miss Dembitz would further extend her proposal so as to include the suppression of disparagement of prominent representatives of a racial or religious group whenever a member of the group is in the audience, because members of those groups feel such a "close and inescapable identification with the group" that disparagement of a group leader "is commonly regarded as attacking the honor of all members." (A similarly cohesive loyalty is not to be permitted for other groups—American legionnaires are not allowed to consider disparagement of their leaders a personal insult.) But Miss

Dembitz assures us that her proposal would not land Kunz in jail even if he declared "the Pope is anti-Christ," although he could be promptly bundled off if he said "the Pope is a crook." Obviously, Miss Dembitz's proposal involves some assumptions about man's insult threshold which, to say the least, are not clear.

MOREOVER, her proposal would, as she admits, "establish a new restraint on speech" in at least two important respects. In the first place, as Justice Roberts said for a unanimous court in *Cantwell v. Connecticut*, "to persuade others to his own point of view, the pleader, as we know, at times resorts to exaggeration, to vilification of men who have been or are prominent in church and state, and even to false statement." Justice Roberts thought that toleration of such speech was, "in the long view, essential to enlightened opinion and right conduct on the part of citizens of a democracy." Miss Dembitz disagrees—she would require the speaker to mind his manners.

Furthermore, even the mannerly speaker would suffer a new restriction on his freedom under Miss Dembitz's proposal. Since she does not embrace the Supreme Court's notion that no communication of ideas is involved in insulting speech, she presumably recognizes that her proposal would silence every street speaker who had an insulting idea to convey, at least if there is an insultee in the audience. (Just how, when, and by whom the composition of the audience is to be determined is not too clear, but apparently this function, as well as that of identifying insulting ideas, is to be discharged in the first instance by "police especially schooled for the supervision of street meetings.") Many ideas are insulting to someone, no matter how delicately they are expressed, but the manner of expression becomes unimportant under Miss Dembitz's test. No street speaker is to be allowed to attempt to persuade his listeners that anyone who may be in the audience is a racketeer or that the leader of any racial or religious group which may have a member in the audience is a crook.

And why should insulting statements, as distinguished from all others, be subject to blanket suppression? Not because they are less "essential to enlightened opinion" than Justice Roberts thought they were, but because social custom condones physical retaliation for a personal insult.

Here, it seems to me, is the most dangerous feature of Miss Dembitz's proposal. For the free-speech guaranty is only of importance when the speaker runs afoul of some "social custom"—no one is interested in suppressing the utterer of orthodoxies. The most vital function of the guaranty is to insure the dissemination of ideas which prevailing opinion of the moment would suppress—whether the suppression is effected by public officers enforcing statutes enacted by representatives of the majority

or by private citizens acting in accordance with "social custom." As Justice Douglas said for the court in the *Terminiello* case, free speech "may indeed best serve its high purpose when it induces a condition of unrest, creates dissatisfaction with conditions as they are, or even stirs people to anger."

Social custom probably now condones physical retaliation not only for "personal insults" but also for insults to God, country, and mother; and it may one day condone similar retaliation for insults to the wisdom of

General MacArthur or the integrity of Senator McCarthy. Why social custom should prevail over free speech in one instance but not in the others neither Miss Dembitz nor the advocates of group libel laws, who make similar distinctions, have explained. But her use of the very force which makes the free-speech guaranty necessary as a justification for abridgment of speech would, if accepted, open the door for many more abridgments of that speech which best serves its high purpose by stirring people to anger.

Six Minus Four: Trenton's Way Out

BY CHARLES R. ALLEN, JR.

ON JUNE 14, as a hundred state and city police patrolled the courtroom and corridors, and the streets around the courthouse, an all-white jury acquitted four of the defendants in the Trenton Six murder case and recommended life imprisonment for the two found guilty. Lasting fifteen weeks, this second trial was not so much a trial of the six Negro defendants as a trial of the Trenton police, who stood accused by the defense of deliberately suppressing evidence and of having forced false confessions from innocent men.

The jury obviously did not believe the state's main evidence, the confessions. Patently illogical, the verdict was characterized by defense counsel as "verging on legal lunacy." While the two defendants charged as principals were acquitted, Collis English, described as "undersized, undernourished, of inferior mentality, depressed, confused, a cardiac, psychoneurotic case," and one other defendant, Ralph Cooper, were convicted. Apparently the jury either felt that it had to save face for the Trenton police or was forced to compromise if a verdict of any kind was to be returned.

The *Trenton Times*, which has long supported the city police and the Mercer County prosecutor, admitted that the verdict was puzzling. "This verdict," an editorial declared, "is difficult to rationalize. It is obvious that a great deal of evidence by witnesses in whom the public has faith did not weigh heavily in the reasoning of the jurors and that the confessions which seemed damaging were not controlling in influencing the conclusions [of the jury]. . . . The history of the Horner case constitutes one of the dark chapters in the record of New Jersey justice."

This dark chapter began on the morning of January 27, 1948, when William Horner, a seventy-two-year-old shopkeeper, was beaten to death in the rear of his second-hand furniture store. Elizabeth McGuire, his common-law wife, who was in the store at the time, was badly beaten but ultimately recovered. More than \$1,600

in Horner's pockets, as well as some \$900 which his wife had in her stocking, was left untouched. Several days later Collis English, a twenty-seven-year-old navy veteran, was arrested on a complaint or tip from his father, George W. English, who charged that the son had used his car without permission. The father was not called as a witness during the first trial, since he was serving a term in the New Jersey state prison for rape. The police testified that Collis English admitted using the car on the day in question and later revealed the names and nicknames of his companions. All the defendants were unskilled Negro laborers and some of them were illiterate. They were arrested, incidentally, without warrants.

Five of the defendants signed confessions—one with his mark—and they were brought to trial in the summer of 1948. Represented by lawyers appointed by the court, they repudiated their confessions and testified that they were either working or were at home when the crime was committed. Employers, fellow-employees, and neighbors substantiated their testimony. Nevertheless, the jury found them guilty, and the judge sentenced them to die in the electric chair. The convictions were appealed on the grounds that the trial judge had committed legal errors and that evidence, particularly evidence of fingerprints found on the alleged murder weapon, a green soda bottle, had been suppressed. Shortly after the appeal was argued, the case began to attract national attention largely because of the intervention of the Civil Rights Congress.

In ordering a new trial the New Jersey Supreme Court directed the state to produce all available evidence and denounced the suppression of the fingerprint evidence as an offense "against all the plainest principles of justice." Through the efforts of the Princeton Committee for the Trenton Six—a committee made up largely of clergymen and Princeton University professors, with Dr. Edward S. Corwin as chairman—George Pellettieri,

a former Trenton judge, and Arthur Garfield Hays, well-known general counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union, were brought into the case. Additional counsel were also provided by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

FROM the outset of the second trial a strong light was thrown on the methods used by the Trenton police in investigating the case. Lieutenant Elvin Sharpe, head of the Police Department's identification bureau, insisted that he had found no fingerprints on the soda bottle which might have been used to make comparison tests, though he acknowledged that the weapon was covered with "fragmentary" prints. No photographs were made of these prints, and the bottle was wiped clean after it had been examined. Under cross-examination, Sharpe admitted that he had failed to make a written report of his findings until June, 1949—a year after the Trenton Six had been sentenced to death.

The state's key witness, Elizabeth McGuire, identified three of the defendants as having been in the store on the day of the murder but admitted that she had failed to identify them at the police station eleven days after the murder. Asked to identify the defendants then, she had said: "I am certain they were not the men." The police conceded that the defendants were the men she had been asked to identify on that occasion and that they had not been placed in a regular police line-up. Elizabeth McGuire also testified that she had been unable to make any identifications until about a week before the first trial, when she was shown photographs of the defendants in the prosecutor's office.

Another important witness for the state was Captain Louis Neese, head of the police communications system. Shortly after the murder, he said, teletype and radio alarms were sent out calling for the apprehension of three or four "colored men" driving a bluish-green four-door Plymouth with a trunk at the rear. One of the teletype messages read: "Trenton police definitely certain that car in question is 1936-1937 bluish-green Plymouth Sedan." The George English automobile is a black two-door Ford which has no trunk. The facts about the alarms were suppressed at the first trial. At the second trial the police testified that the alarms were based on information supplied by Elizabeth McGuire and by persons who may have seen Horner's attackers fleeing from the store. But the alarms were not canceled until two days after the defendants were arraigned, and no effort was made to explain this irregularity.

During the first trial the prosecution was permitted to introduce all the confessions. But after hearing testimony at the second trial that the confessions were obtained by the use of drugs, threats, and promises, the trial judge excluded all but three of them. At the first trial a Negro physician testified that he had examined the defendants

at the police station when the confessions were signed. His statement must have pleased the prosecution for shortly afterward he was given a county office. When he testified at the second trial that certain of the defendants had acted as if they were drugged when they signed their confessions, the prosecution charged that pressure from the Negro community had prompted this new piece of information.

One of the most controversial questions of the trial was the weapon that was supposed to have been used. Two soda bottles were presented at the first trial; a third was presented at the second. The first two were linked to the defendants who were acquitted; the third, which was traced to one of the two defendants convicted, was not uncovered, according to the police, until August, 1950. But the plant manager of a bottling works, called by the defense, testified that the third bottle had not left the company's warehouse until June, 1950—more than two years after the murder. This third bottle, moreover, was turned over to the police by George W. English, father of Collis English.

At the second trial Dr. Fredric Wertham, the well-known New York psychiatrist, testified that the confessions were "induced fiction" and could not have come from the minds of the defendants. To rebut his testimony, the prosecution placed Dr. James Spradley, a state psychiatrist, on the stand. Dr. Spradley insisted that he was unaware of any case where a sane man had ever signed a false confession. To Arthur Garfield Hays's question, "Don't you know that people often do things because of pressure?" he replied: "I don't know that."

Addressing this year's annual convention of the N. A. A. C. P., Philip Willkie pointed out that racial discrimination fosters a hypocrisy that can only result in a general lowering of moral conduct. A society that will tolerate one standard of justice and fair play for white men and another for Negroes will betray its traditional ideals in other respects. The story of the Trenton Six—now minus four—is a story of corruption and betrayal that will not be fully expunged from the record of New Jersey justice until Collis English and Ralph Cooper are released or pardoned. The failure of justice in this case stemmed directly from the notion that the United States would somehow suffer a defeat in the cold war with the Soviet Union if New Jersey were to fail to convict any person defended by the Civil Rights Congress. Even after the Congress was no longer in the picture, the largest measure of justice that could be obtained was a compromise verdict. Justice has not been done as long as two men must serve long sentences for a crime they did not commit.

Thanks to the generosity and leadership of the Princeton Committee for the Trenton Six, an appeal will be taken, and it may be hoped that the convictions of English and Cooper will eventually be reversed.

BOOKS and the ARTS

One Moment in History

THE WATCH. By Carlo Levi. Farrar, Straus and Young. \$3.75.

FIRST of all, of course, this isn't a novel, as the jacket and its blurb would have you believe. It would be a mistake to expect Levi to construct, out of historical incident and personal experience, a technically acceptable work of fiction. So let's get the idea out of the way that "The Watch" even pretends to be a novel, complete with plot, sub-plot and, if possible, love interest. Then perhaps we can talk fairly about the book.

It is, instead, a prolonged meditation upon one moment in recent history. Levi's work has always had to do with man in relation to the historical moment, and the present book gives it continuity and cumulative force. He is a writer animated by a clinical interest in his fellow-man, but unlike many clinicians, he has also great love for his fellows. It is not the kind of love which breeds false values or the eternal sentimentalities of men who "mean well." It is the love of a good doctor, which Levi was trained to be, the doctor who knows when merely to advise, when to cut and stitch, even when to prescribe the death draft.

This loving man, this writer who is piling up human and personal documents in his books, has chosen to record—of all the incidents he has witnessed in the event-packed last years—one moment in time which was to some the most searing and shattering, and therefore the most symbolic of all—the fall of the Parri (Resistance) government in Italy in 1946. The importance of this moment was that for so many it spelled the end of hope. Not only for Italy but for Western Europe, the coup d'état sealed a kind of doomed return to the status quo ante and, specifically in Italy, to clericalism and Giolittian impotence.

In the lacerating and beautiful chapters which describe the government crisis and the last press conference of the ousted leader, Levi writes: "The Premier, the fallen Premier whom they

wanted either to support or replace, did not fly in the sky [of politics], nor did he even turn to look at it. He walked over a small earth, and did not want to know and see anything but . . . the faces and hands of all those he met on his way. He stopped to talk with them, forgetting everything else, and he wept for their tears."

Opposing this "exotic and courageous" man, Levi aligns not only the other party leaders who maneuvered him out of office but the multitude of inert, malevolent, and sycophantic office-holders who "would no longer have to tremble at the idea of crazy reforms, senseless changes, cruel purges, and ridiculous demands for efficiency, [who] would no longer need to greet superiors who didn't hesitate to humiliate them by rejecting the title 'Your Excellency,' so sweet on the lips." There you have the duality between real and false, between sincere and conventionally bland and faceless, which is the prime element of the book.

This symbolic dichotomy appears again in a notable and intensely credible discussion between two fellow-editors and the author in which one of the former divides all men into producers, *Contadini* ("peasants" in the sense of those who make real things grow), and parasites, *Luigini* ("gentlemen" whose only claim to survival is their genuine passion for a bite, even a small bite, of authority).

Hammering this theme in its various aspects on page after page, Levi yet manages never to make "The Watch" a bitter book. It has the gentle, rolling, and engulfing warmth of mulled wine, as if the author partook a little, despite his Piedmontese origin, of the Neapolitan sense of timelessness, which he describes as a "world that had already lived out its time in its own eternal and unchangeable law and that, in that ancient and sorrowful world, people considered themselves nothing but an ephemeral ornament, a transient expression, and yet were putting all their good-will into adorning it . . . contemplating their own swift passage through it without illusion."

This acceptance by the author of the inevitability of loss, of disillusion, of political but not moral defeat, never implies fecklessness. Levi calmly mentions at one point his own inertia, which is manifest everywhere in his inability, once started on a descriptive passage or a summoned scene of memory (childhood in Turin, the rout attending the fall of France, a moment in the prison of Le Mantellate when the owls were spied on a nearby roof), to cut it short. But his recorded thought and known anti-totalitarian action attest the fact that his convictions have shaken him loose often enough. He knows whereof he speaks when he describes that army of "men and women [who] went about on the streets of the world, driven into a time which was not their own."

This brings us to the device, arbitrary and baroque but valid, of the watch from which these rambling, meditative memoirs take their name. The writer presents us in his first pages with a Kafkaesque watch, the heirloom given to the son by his father upon his emergence into still-fumbling adolescent sentience and standing clearly for some sort of ordered, upper-middle-class continuity of intellectual and social ideas. Levi's meditations begin with his inherited watch, which is first broken in a dream and then, on his waking, in sober fact.

The symbol is never obtrusive, and it starts us off. We then follow the author in his personal hegira to have the watch fixed, hence to his job as editor of *L'Italia Libera* (the Action Party daily), and on to press conference and printer's, including excursions outside the straight narrative of the political events of those days yet related to them by implication. And everywhere the spiritual and physical climate of Rome in those days follows us. In the end, the watch of Levi's adolescence—broken, we are led to believe, beyond repair—is replaced by another bequest, this time from an uncle, a doctor, a "sage," who transmitted it to him on his deathbed through the hands of a toil-worn peasant woman, representative of the loyal-

ties and stubbornness of the *contadini* at their resistant best.

But there is too much of everything in the book, as if, pouring his hot wine with a steady and generous hand, the author did not, literally, know when to stop. Especially is this true of the overblown Naples passage, in which everything of fact and legend which has meaning for our time comes popping, page on page, before our eyes, until at a certain moment, as if to protect the best of the book against this engulfing flood of scenes, words and more words, we wish to cry stop. But despite such defects of proportion, the book has communicable and convincing greatness.

There are a few lame passages which do not ring or move in English, but on the whole the translation is honest and good. Levi's prose pattern, ornate, swollen with pregnant associative adjectives, with convoluted allegorical and prophetic imagery, is more closely followed in this translation than in any American edition of his other books.

To add spice for the initiate of any nationality, there are the painter's vignettes of De Gasperi, Togliatti, Cianca, Croce (in the dream sequence), and a host of other painters, writers, editors, men of politics, who paraded across the Italian scene in the immediate post-war years.

"The Watch" is intimately related to Levi's other work. The chronological order of the books, if I recall, places "Fear of Freedom" first (for reasons of prior copyright, this title, the correct translation of the French and Italian title, could not be used in English). Levi's contention that this fear is at the root of man's inability to direct his destiny to a morally more acceptable end is given empirical evidence in his first narrative, "Christ Stopped at Eboli." Therein the fear and its resultant duality are exemplified in the infinite capacity of man to visit repressive and ignorant cruelty on his fellows. In the present work the author takes us one step farther and confronts man with a moment of choice—in "Christ Stopped at Eboli" there was no choice possible. The recorded moment is that of "the last chance." But even among the *Contadini*, the morally saved or salvageable, there are those who "turn toward peace with such intensity that they refuse to defend it": fear of

the responsibilities of freedom engulfs the moment, and it is gone. This inability to choose, to distinguish with any certainty between the real and the unreal, which Levi saw in his snatched moment of history, when all hopes for a true resurgence of the progressive forces were dashed, is the bleak, tragic pageant "The Watch" records.

At a time when man's concern with himself has shut him progressively away from the other selves who make up his world, it is a healthy experience to come on a subjective and personal work so teeming with awareness of the world about one, an "I" book so human, so honestly thought through, and so vast.

FRANCES KEENE

A Man of Taste

THE TWO LIVES OF JAMES JACKSON JARVES. By Francis Steegmuller. Yale University Press. \$5.

JAMES JACKSON JARVES belongs to the history of those nineteenth-century Americans who for various reasons found themselves happier in Florence or Rome than in Boston or New York. Notional, indefatigably busied with a multitude of enterprises, he was doubly an exile, for his artistic convictions did not make him popular in the Italianate society of which the brightest permanent ornaments were such men as William Wetmore Story and Hiram Powers. While they were profitably imitating Canova and Thorwaldsen, turning out pieces and "groups" which now clutter the basements of our museums, Jarves, an amateur of the arts, guided only by an untrained taste and dicta picked up from reading Ruskin, was buying Italian primitives which almost no one else wanted but which today form one of the more important collections of Yale University.

His early life had nothing to do with the arts. In 1837, when he was nineteen, his father, the inventor of Sandwich glass, sent him to Honolulu to recuperate from a nervous breakdown and to make his fortune. During his eleven years in Hawaii he published a lively newspaper, became deeply involved in local politics, wrote the first history of the islands, contracted a wretched marriage, and failed in every one of his numerous business ventures.

Returning to the states, he had a brief and unsuccessful fling at the California gold rush. Thereafter he moved with his family to Paris.

In the galleries of the Louvre, European painting burst upon him like an apocalypse. And in Florence, in the fifties, he found his vocation. "In buying," he was to write, "there is pleasure because it is in an inferior sense a species of creation." At a time when most critics thought of Italian primitives as examples of the awkward beginnings of Western painting, he managed, one way and another, to collect 119. There, since he fancied himself a modern Augustus, unfortunately impecunious, he desired to see purchased by some merchant prince or group of merchant princes and established in a gallery in his native Boston. Not entirely for their intrinsic merit. As Mr. Steegmuller points out, although Jarves loved his paintings for themselves, he wrote of them, falling into contemporary jargon, as illustrating the "progress" of Art. He also thought of himself as a missionary, believing that if Art were ever to flourish in America, examples of it must be "carried" there, exactly, to cite

BOOKS AND
PERIODICALS

Just Arrived! KONSTANTIN FEDIN'S

EARLY JOYS

In English — 503 pp. — \$1.50
and its Sequel

NO ORDINARY SUMMER

2 Vols.—In English—1255 pp.—Set: \$2.25

"Literary masterpieces of the first rank."

—DAILY COMPASS

Latest Soviet Records, Sheet Music, Handicrafts

1951 SUBSCRIPTIONS OPEN FOR ALL

SOVIET NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS

Ask for Complete Catalogue P-31

FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.

55 W. 56 Street, N. Y. 19 MURRAY HILL 8-2660

Buy Your Books through *THE Nation*

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C. O. D. No C. O. D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to
Miss Le Pach

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
20 Vesey Street New York 7, N. Y.

Mr. Steegmuller again, as the Gospel had been carried to the Hawaiians. But the millionaires of the sixties were not interested in Italian primitives. (*The Nation* was one of the few periodicals to welcome the collection to the United States.) After years spent in trying to dispose of them and after many complicated financial embarrassments, Jarves lost his paintings to Yale for \$22,000.

At the same time he was writing an autobiography which begins in the womb, two long books on art, the second of which, "Art Studies," goes, says Mr. Steegmuller, "immensely beyond any other American book of its period," and numerous articles. In his later and more prosperous years, when he was buying for such American collectors as the Vanderbilts, he also wrote the first book by any Westerner on Japanese art.

He was, then, a prophet almost entirely without honor. If he subscribed to theories of "progress" in the arts, still he was clear about developments to which his contemporaries were blind. To quote from "Art Thoughts" (1870):

In America, the present is an epoch of monstrous plaster figures daubed with crazy paint; of mammoth cast-iron wash basins, called fountains; of cast-iron architecture and clumsy gateways to public parks. . . . Yet the American, while adhering closely to his utilitarian and economical principles, has unwittingly, in some objects to which his heart equally with his hand has been devoted, developed a degree of beauty in them that no other nation equals. His clipper ships, fire-engines, locomotives, and some of his machinery and tools combine that equilibrium of lines, proportions, and masses which are among the fundamental causes of abstract beauty.

The opening Jeremiad is not entirely novel for its time, although it is at odds with the taste of the generations which admired Powers's Greek slave; the conclusion did not become central to American thinking about art until after the turn of the century.

This is a brief summary of what Mr. Steegmuller has presented fully in the first book to bring together the facts of Jarves's life and to place him in the history of our culture, a book invaluable, also, to anyone concerned with the curious history of Americans in nineteenth-century Italy. Yet in spite of

extensive quotations from family correspondence—the letters of his vixenish first wife are an engrossing record of a bad marriage—Jarves has eluded his biographer. The fault is not Mr. Steegmuller's, although he sometimes sounds over-cautious in his use of unpublished matter. Jarves was so notional, however right he may have been, that he contrived for himself a moral and to some extent an emotional isolation. He had many acquaintances but no close friends. He behaved badly to his first wife and to his children by her. If he adored his mother, his second wife, and the children of his second marriage, the evidence shows that they were long-suffering. Passion he reserved for his collecting. Morally he was the kind of expatriate American whose archetype James drew in Gilbert Osmond, the man of taste but also the villain of "The Portrait of a Lady." Jarves was not an evil man, but he was certainly lacking in ordinary human feelings. Like Osmond—one thinks, too, of Gaithorne-Hardy's recent memoir of Logan Pearsall Smith—the pursuit of art depleted his humanity and left him a singularly unmanageable subject for his biographer.

ERNEST JONES

Primitive Medicine

A HISTORY OF MEDICINE. Volume I: Primitive and Archaic Medicine. By Henry E. Sigerist. Oxford University Press. \$8.50.

FOR Sigerist medicine is a social science rather than a natural science because the goal is social; it is one "link in a chain of social-welfare institutions; therefore our approach to the history of medicine cannot be broad enough." This work—a synthesis of all preceding medical histories—is for the general reader, historian, and physician; it takes medicine out of its technical category and shows it as the thread running through the multifarious activities of man creating his civilization. For the past twenty-five years all Sigerist's efforts have been focused on the writing of a history of medicine. He worked in social medicine in Europe, America, Africa, and Asia; he knows fourteen languages; he was the director of an Institute of the History of Medicine first in Leipzig (1925-31) and then at Johns Hopkins (1932-47).

In 1947 he retired to his native Switzerland and there is writing in English an eight-volume history of medicine, of which this is the first.

The hub of medical history is the history of the incidence of disease. How old is disease? A special field of investigation aptly named paleopathology deals with this question. By means of X-ray and microscope the bones of man and pre-man animals have been analyzed for the marks of disease, and it is urged that "every mummy should at least be X-rayed as a matter of routine." We can now say that disease is as old as life, that early man and animals before him suffered from much the same array of disorders as we today. Man's natural defenses against disease were always "a very limited number of mechanisms." A hydra may be cut into as many as four pieces and each part will regenerate a new organism, but man can only form scar tissue. Man's brain, enabling him to perfect artificial defenses, has always been his best protection. The incidence of disease must have fluctuated in different countries and periods, but on this quantitative aspect of disease our information is scanty. In our age of One World, Sigerist, constantly defining problems requiring further research, points to the need for monographs, with atlases, on the history and geography of disease.

The present volume covers primitive and archaic (Egyptian and Mesopotamian) medicine. The section on primitive medicine is probably the only recent attempt to gather up many widely scattered threads in one whole. Today over half the world's population lives under primitive medicine. There are some rational elements: the setting of fractures, a form of vaccination against smallpox, and certain efficacious drug and diet therapies. However, these techniques are intermixed with magic and religion, forming a blend which "puts faith before reason." The "first flowering of civilization" was in Egypt, and Sigerist's broad approach finds its scope here. He presents a society in terms of its health problems and the relation of doctor to patient. The sanitation of Egypt—a country "created and re-created by the Nile"—is dependent on man's control of the Nile; when this is ineffective, parasitic

diseases are more prevalent. Today disease may be more widespread in Egypt than under the Pharaohs, perhaps because the land has to support twice the ancient population and because the control of irrigation is relatively not as effective as it was in ancient times.

In Egypt, for the first time in history, there was an empirico-rational school of medicine: a class of physicians, evidently trained in medical schools, who knew no anatomy but who speculated on the body and diseases without recourse to the gods—"very impressive." Through the papyrus Edwin Smith and papyrus Ebers we see the physician as he examines the patient, interrogating and palpating him, occasionally connecting a disease with a cause—worms—and dispensing numerous drugs by prescriptions which look amazingly like our contemporary prescriptions. Unlike the physician of today the Egyptian was not interested in alleviating incurable disease. "Man," Sigerist reminds us, "needs a certain time to develop certain techniques, ideas, philosophies," and this is the beginning of our modern medicine.

In Mesopotamia religion and magic colored all medical activities, and the priests were the doctors. The notion of the sick man as a sinner is emphasized; this "was to play an extremely important part to our very days." The medical literature of Mesopotamia, in contrast to that of Egypt, is still incompletely edited and translated, and Sigerist's main contribution is to present the social background against which future medical discoveries will have to be considered.

The main single impression gained from this volume is of the interaction of medicine with the total life of the time, and we close it feeling that rarely have we learned so much about man and his society. RALPH COLP, JR.

American Songs

CARL SANDBURG'S *NEW AMERICAN SONG BAG*. Broadcast Music. Cloth, \$2.50; paper, \$1.25.

THIS tall but slender volume ought to represent the first easy installment on a revised and much-enlarged edition of the great Song Bag of 1926. That was and remains the supreme American collection for the ultimate

consumer who wants words, music, and accompaniment of the songs he has remembered or forgotten, and to whom class distinctions based on commercial or folk origin are matters, not of acceptance or rejection, but of historical interest at most. For such a consumer it is so much velvet to find the material annotated with illuminating comment, and it happens that Sandburg is one of a very few writers who can make a song come clearer by talking about, or around, it. Even when he seemingly digresses to talk of his country at large, somehow his country's songs spring out like the stars, in their places.

We have here sixty songs, of which only about twenty-five are out of the original Bag, and those include some of the prizes. He's Gone Away, for instance, in the Sowerby arrangement is about the most exquisite American secular folksong, in substance and setting, that has achieved print. (Sowerby, by the way, receives a credit line, which some other deserving arrangers have missed.) The added material also comprises some fine pieces, such as Raggle Taggle and Zora Neale Hurston's find, Cold Rainy Day. It would be fun to superannotate many of these intermarried songs. Thus Sandburg names five kin of Rabble Soldier, to whose number I should add the Dallas Blues, Water Boy, He's Gone Away, and a great English immigrant, The Wagoner's Lad. The pages are embellished with many pertinent cuts from old prints. As to sequels to come, I regret that the editor's foreword is coy.

ABBE NILES

Books in Brief

THE OXFORD COMPANION TO THE THEATER. Edited by Phyllis Hartnol. Oxford University Press. \$8. Similar in plan and scope to the other Oxford "Companions" this nine-hundred-page reference work will prove genuinely useful where others fail. There is some duplication, especially on the subject of the most important playwrights, but the stress is on the stage rather than on literature, and there is a vast amount of technical information about theaters, actors, stage machinery, theatrical custom, and the like not available in any other one book. The

arrangement is that of an alphabetical encyclopedia; the scope is international. Inevitably where so much is undertaken, the user will sometimes be disappointed not to find an entry which he thinks it reasonable to expect, but "if something is omitted much is performed." There are nearly sixty contributors, some of them American, and there is very full stress on things American. Movies are excluded as demanding a volume to themselves, but the treatment of the non-literary theater is very full. So too is that of the early French, English, and German playhouses and players. The present reviewer has discovered one wrong date and no doubt there are others, but the general impression is of informed trustworthiness and commendable absence of the slapdash compilation evident in more than one other remotely similar volume.

GOVERNMENT PROJECT. By Edward C. Banfield. Free Press. \$3.50. In 1936 the government established a cooperative farm at Casa Grande in the Arizona desert and settled fifty-seven indigent farm families on the land. After the expenditure of over a million dollars and seven years of constant effort by honest and reasonably efficient government officials, the project collapsed and was liquidated. This objective, impartial, and wholly fascinating post mortem illuminates the difficulties inherent in such government projects and their tendency to be wrecked on the rock of plain human cussedness.

THE HUMAN GROUP. By George C. Homans. Harcourt, Brace. \$6. The recent interest shown by American sociologists in the small group has prompted Professor Homans of Harvard to essay a "sociological synthesis" of all that is known about small groups, their structure, problems, and leadership. Although he writes with simplicity, straightforwardness, and a refreshing freedom from jargon, his method of presentation, as he himself warns with disarming modesty, is repetitious and dull and emphasizes the obvious. He arrives at a series of "hypotheses" or sociological "laws" which are intended to apply to all small groups, illustrating them with five case studies ranging from a street-corner gang in the slums of an American city to the family system of

a South Pacific tribe. His "hypotheses" are aesthetically very neat, but seem excessively abstract and frequently trivial. Nor are the "limiting conditions" under which they hold true fully stated.

GENERAL CHARLES LEE: TRAITOR OR PATRIOT? By John Richard Alden. Louisiana State University Press. \$4.75. A detailed and interesting biography of the eccentric English adventurer who became a general in the service of the colonies and is remembered now as the object of Washington's wrath at the Battle of Monmouth. Contemptuous of humanity and devoted to dogs, proud, turbulent, cynical, and romantic, Lee rates this biography as a curiosity of his period rather than for his historical importance.

CONTRIBUTORS

FRANCES KEENE, long a worker with the Italian underground group which became the Action Party, edited the only documented history of fascism as told by the opposition, "Neither Liberty Nor Bread."

ERNEST JONES is a member of the English Department at Queens College.

RALPH COLP, JR., is a resident physician at Mt. Sinai Hospital.

ABBE NILES is an authority on American folk music.

Price War Continues Bigger Than Ever

MERCURY—Any two 12" L. P. Records, \$5.45. No limit. Order all you want.

ALSO HUNDREDS OF OTHERS AT
40% to 50% OFF

Send 10¢ and self-addressed envelope
for big bargain list.

LES DISCOPHILES, 1079 Lexington Ave., N. Y. C.
Hours 12 noon-10 p. m. daily REgent 7-8334

PULITZER PRIZE and CRITICS' AWARD
RICHARD RODGERS ■ OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN II
present in association with
LELAND HAYWARD ■ JOSHUA LOGAN

ROGER RICO
MARTHA WRIGHT

South Pacific

Music by **RICHARD RODGERS**
Lyrics by **OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN II**
Book by
OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN II and JOSHUA LOGAN
Adapted from JAMES A. MICHENER'S Pulitzer
Prize Winning "TALES OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC"
Directed by JOSHUA LOGAN
Scenery & Lighting by Jo Mielziner
with MYRON MCCORMICK ■ EMMA COSTELLO
MAJESTIC, 44 St. W. of B'way • Air-Cont.
Evenings 8:25. Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:25

Music

B. H.
HAGGIN

CORRECTION: Listening to the Urania recording of "Tristan und Isolde" I heard passages in the second act that used to be cut at the Metropolitan, and therefore accepted Urania's statement that this was a completely uncut performance. But apparently one must never believe anything a record company says; for Jerome Bohm reported in the *Herald Tribune* that about fifteen pages were still cut from the second act.

Two more recordings of operas of the standard repertory are Columbia's "Carmen" and Cetra-Soria's "The Barber of Seville." The "Carmen" is an excellent Paris Opéra Comique performance with spoken dialogue instead of the recitatives we have always heard; of the singers the Escamillo, Michel Dens, is poor, but the Carmen, Solange Michel, the Don José, Raoul Jobin, and the Micaela, Marthal Angelici, are good; and the conductor of the animated and finished performance is André Cluytens. The "Barber" performance conducted by Fernando Previtali is in the hammed-up style—with all sorts of changes of the Rossini score—that we hear all the time (this is a work badly in need of restatement by a Toscanini). In that style the Figaro, Giuseppe Taddei, sings well, and the Rosina, Giuletta Simionata, sharpens the contours of both slow melody and brilliantly executed florid passages with the verve that she exhibited in the "Cenerentola" recording—though it must be added that her mezzo-soprano voice is a little tremulous and edged this time; but the Almaviva, Luigi Infantino, carries the extravagances of the Italian tenor to the point of sheer caricature.

As for unfamiliar works, the Haydn Society has taken enormous trouble to assemble the scattered fragments of Haydn's "Orfeo ed Euridice," which he wrote during one of his London visits, into a complete score for performance and recording. Unfortunately there is in the music nothing like the crescendo of dramatic excitement that is built up in the descriptive notes: the long reci-

tatives aside, the arias and choral passages are agreeable to listen to, but without the dramatic force that is heard only once—in the opening chorus of Act 4, which for me is the outstanding piece of the opera. The tenor Herbert Handt sings well; the soprano Judith Hellwig gets through the florid passages with great difficulty; the bass Alfred Poell sounds dry and tight much of the time but occasionally magnificent. The orchestra and chorus are those of the Vienna State Opera; the performance seems well paced by Swarowsky; but the recording produces the unspacious sound of a small orchestra which deprives some of the music of the power which the sound of a large one would give it.

The dramatic quality absent from this work of Haydn's maturity is strikingly present in Verdi's early opera "Nabucco," which has been issued by Cetra-Soria. And not only dramatic quality: it is astonishing to hear the Verdi style used with such sureness and effectiveness even without its later enrichment and refinement. Paolo Silveri sings with a strong vibrato and with his upper notes less agreeable than his lower ones; better singing is done by the bass Antonio Cassinelli, and good singing by the tenor Mario Binci; Gabriella Gatti's beautiful soprano voice is free of tremolo in the last act; Caterina Mancini's fresher and lovelier soprano is produced in a way that results in tremolo and occasional screaming. The orchestra and chorus are those of Radio Italiana; and Previtali conducts forcefully.

The wonderful orchestral introduction to *Ella giammai m'amò* is cut, but I haven't a score with which to tell how much more is cut of the magnificent music of Act 3 of Verdi's "Don Carlo" that is on a Capitol record, excellently sung by Hilde Konetzni, soprano, Elisabeth Höngen, mezzo-soprano, Georg Oegel, tenor, and Alois Pernerstorfer and Alexander Welitsch, basses, of the Vienna State Opera with its orchestra conducted by Erwin Baltzer. Regrettably the music is sung in German—for example, *Sie hat mich nie geliebt*—which is disturbing. The orchestra is sometimes far back of the singers and dim; there is excessive reverberation; and no text is provided in any language.

RCA Victor's LP record Highlights of "Don Carlos" assembles a number of recordings made at different times and places. One was previously issued on 78: *Ella giammai m'amò*, not too well sung by Tajo, but with the orchestral introduction uncut and marvelously performed by Leonard Rose and an orchestra under Morel. This and *O don fatale*, excellently sung by Blanche Thebom, are the only highlights of the opera in the assemblage—the other arias and duets sung by Thebom, Bjoerling, and Merrill ranging from pretty to banal. The American orchestras under Morel and Cellini are well reproduced, but the London Symphony under Braithwaite is far back, shallow, and brash. No texts.

A London record offers remarkably beautiful singing by the tenor Anton Dermota in the two arias from "Don Giovanni," *Dies Bildnis* from "The Magic Flute," and a long-winded Sonnet from Strauss's "Capriccio" (all with the Vienna State Opera Orchestra under Böhm), and in songs by Schumann, Wolf, and Strauss (with piano). Dermota sounds too close to the microphone, and the orchestra's violins are veiled. Also the usual London space-resonance (which someone in England has called an "echo or pre-echo"). No texts for the songs.

On another London record Ljuba Welitch sings two arias from Tchaikovsky's "The Queen of Spades" (in German) and two from Verdi's "Un Ballo in Maschera" (in Italian), with some excerpts from operettas. This time the voice does not sound like cold steel and is quite lovely, and the singing has its usual impressive dramatic force. The Vienna State Opera Orchestra conducted by Moralt sounds dry and lusterless, its violins veiled; there is the space-resonance again; and again there are no texts.

And on still another London record Ilse Hollweg reveals a soprano voice of extraordinary beauty, range, and accuracy in florid passages, with fine musical phrasing, in Zerbinetta's aria from Strauss's "Ariadne" and a couple of specially written arias by Mozart. The violins of the London Symphony conducted by Krips are veiled; the resonance amounts to a hum; and there are no texts.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Mrs. Crain and CASBO

Dear Sirs: In an excellent letter published by *The Nation* on June 30, "A Port Washington Resident" mentioned his wish that the Public Education Association would assess the qualifications of Mrs. Crain, the editor of the *Educational Reviewer*, as an educational expert and examine her competence to pass on the merits of school textbooks.

Actually, most of the reviews which the Conference of American Small Business Organizations publishes in its *Educational Reviewer* are signed by persons other than Mrs. Crain. Her background, therefore, seems less interesting than the over-all evaluation of the conference by the House Select Committee on Lobbying Activities.

In House Report 3232, Eighty-first Congress, the committee showed that neither members of Congress nor other citizens can rely upon CASBO's reports under the federal Lobby Act.

"The conference and its chairman have registered and reported under the federal Lobby Act. Yet by encouraging contributions of not more than \$499 [not individually reportable under present law], by having large concerns buy membership for their officers and branch managers [whose associations are not reported], and by other means, CASBO avoids making full disclosure of its sources of support.

"... The conference has sought, and in some cases obtained directly or indirectly, financial support from interests that do not fit into any reasonable concept of small business. In appealing for such support the chairman of the conference has emphasized its interest in legislative matters 'in which big business as such cannot come out in the open.' The conference has cooperated or aligned itself with large professional and trade associations. The positions advocated by the conference before Congressional committees, in its literature, and in resolutions adopted at its annual sessions are not readily distinguishable from the conventional views of large business.

"... As for CASBO's claim that it voices the 'deliberated opinion' of small business, its methods of ascertaining and formulating such opinion, sometimes through loaded questionnaires, prepared resolutions, and otherwise, should make the Congress wary of

any figures which CASBO offers as a measure of small business opinion."

Commenting on the textbook reviews in the *Educational Reviewer*, the committee continued, "The review of textbooks by self-appointed experts, especially when undertaken under the aegis of an organization having a distinct legislative ax to grind, smacks too much of the bookburning orgies of Nürnberg to be accepted by thoughtful Americans without foreboding and alarm. It suggests, too, that the reviewers profoundly distrust the integrity, good faith, and plain common sense of the school boards and teachers of the country."

The long-run aim of CASBO, according to the committee report, "is nothing less than the establishment of [its own] philosophy as the standard educational orthodoxy in the schools of the nation."

It is most encouraging to learn that there are people in this community who will not let Mrs. Crain's sweeping charges go unchallenged. We trust that they will be able to strengthen their organization in the coming months so as to be prepared to study educational problems and back their boards of education in the task of getting good schools.

FREDERICK McLAUGHLIN, Director,
Public Education Association
New York

California: There She Goes Again!

Dear Sirs: As a supplement to John Beecher's article on the resistance to the loyalty oath at San Francisco State College in *The Nation* of June 30, it might be noted that when three of the

RESTORE FREE SPEECH

A Public Meeting to Support the dissenting opinions of Justices Douglas and Black in the Smith Act Case.

Hear: Henry Pratt Fairchild,
Columnist I. F. Stone
And Others

At Air-Conditioned
CARNEGIE HALL

Wednesday—July 25th—8 P.M.

Admission: \$1.50 Tax Incl.
Members 85¢ Tax Incl.

Nat'l Council Arts, Sciences & Professions
47 West 44th Street MURRAY HILL 7-2101

RESORTS

SUMMIT LODGE

- ROSCOE, NEW YORK** ■ Elevation 2,500 feet
- Famous for our Viennese Home Cooking
 - The Continental Cafe ■ The Green
 - Spacious, shady lawns
 - Swimming and boating
 - Sports
 - Library, recordings
- Rates \$43 up, semi-private bath \$50
Rooms hot, cold running water
ROSCOE 2-3412
N. Y. Tel: IN 2-5351
or WA 4-1575—
5-10 P.M.

WINDY HILL

ON ORANGE LAKE

A pleasantly informal vacation in friendly atmosphere. Boats, Records, Ping-pong, a two-mile lake for boating, fishing, swimming. Food of excellent quality in generous quantity. Rate: \$50 weekly, \$7.50 daily.

85 Miles From N. Y. C.

JANE C. ARENZ, R. D. No. 1, Walden, N. Y.
Phone: Newburgh 115 ■

A Forest-Farm-Lake-Mountain Paradise
274 Acres ■ 2 Lakes ■ Trout Stream

Evening FORTM, July-August, SPEAKERS

WORLD FELLOWSHIP

CONWAY, NEW HAMPSHIRE

Good FOOD, Room, Bath, \$4 to \$7 daily
Friendly, Informal HOME ATMOSPHERE. Muste
Boating, Swimming, Games, Excursions
Welcoming ALL Races, Faiths, Convictions
Free FOLDER, Photos, Rates, Transportation

FOR SALE

Wonderful Buy in New Jersey One Hour from New York

Lake front, four-year-old, year-round house on wooded 50'x150' plot; fieldstone fireplace, automatic oil burner, refrigerator, screened-in porch, 4 1/2 rooms; schools, buses, trains; a steal at \$9900.

Phone Terhune 5-1870 R, Tues., Wed., Fri., Sun.

PUBLISHING SERVICE

AUTHORS! Sales Department available for your short stories, articles, books and plays. Free booklet, write today! Mead Agency, 419 Fourth Avenue, N. Y. 16 (OR 9-1150).

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING analysis. Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel. WA 4-1575. Cooperating with doctors, psychologists, schools, firms, industries. Lessons by appointment, evenings. Marital, educational, vocational, psychological problems. Fee, \$5.00.

PERSONALS

MIDDLE-AGED GENTLEMAN, very Continental, slightly Victorian, bit Conservative, otherwise considered broadminded, witty, entertaining, coming New York first time this Autumn three months' sightseeing, desires correspondence with independent lady of anywhere around thirty, with view seeing later the Town together, night and day, also excursions. Speaks perfect English, knows American ways; fairly decorative but doesn't dance. Loves operas, operettas, architecture, nature but not concert music, speaking stage, poetry, or sculpture. Admires brains, chic, and savoir vivre above mere beauty. Budget unfortunately and definitely limited to fifty dollars daily. Box 234, c/o The Nation.

BUY U. S. SAVINGS BONDS

discharged teachers applied to the legislature, as representatives of the Federation for Repeal of the Levering Act, for a lobbyists' license, they were first called to a special hearing, at the request of Senator Hugh Burns, Tenney's successor as chairman of the Un-American Activities Committee, and then refused a license. The explanation given was that the federation "had all the earmarks of a Communist Front organization," and that any teacher who would not sign the state loyalty oath was *ipso facto* "of poor moral character."

The state Supreme Court now has under advisement the federation's test cases as well as those arising from the University of California regents' oath. But the record of the recently adjourned legislature as to civil liberties augurs ill for any reversal of the present trend toward a police state in California.

MIRIAM ALLEN DE FORD

San Francisco

The Irish Constitution and the Church

Dear Sirs: This is to correct certain misconceptions about the Irish constitution conveyed by implication in Griffin Barry's article *Medicine, Religion, and Irish Politics* which appeared in *The Nation* of June 23.

It is misleading to state that the constitution "gives" the Roman Catholic church "a special position" because in Article 44 "the state recognizes the special position of the Catholic church as the guardian of the Faith professed by the great majority." There is all the difference in the world between the state giving the church a special position, and the state simply recognizing the special position already held by the church.

Articles 43 and 45 of the constitution give the lie to the charge that in Ireland "laissez faire governs in property relations." In those two articles some basic principles of what is often called the welfare state are codified.

To dispel further misconceptions it should be made clear (1) that the state is barred by the constitution from endowing any religion; (2) that the state finances interdenominational public schools as well as schools under the management of different religious denominations, and such aid has to be given without discrimination; (3) that there is no discrimination in admission to the civil service or national politics. Douglas Hyde, one-time President of Eire, was a Protestant.

New York

WALTER B. SIMON



MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS



VEHICLES

Also

ARCHITECTURE ■ CLOTHING ■ COINS ■ CONSTELLATIONS ■ FISHES ■ FURNITURE ■ HERALDRY ■ INSECTS ■ LABORATORY INSTRUMENTS ■ MACHINERY ■ TOOLS ■ WEAPONS ■ MYTHOLOGY ■ NAUTICAL ■ PLANTS ■ POTTERY ■ REPTILES ■ SHELLFISH ■ ANATOMY ■ TREES ■ ETC.

PICTURE ENCYCLOPEDIA

FOR PUZZLE CONTESTANTS

Largest work of its kind ever published in the United States. Over 24,000 pictures arranged by subjects. A companion piece to the Unabridged Dictionary. Excellent for identifying unusual objects. Order now before the first edition is sold out. Complete for \$25.00.

PICTURE ENCYCLOPEDIA may be bought in three easy payments. Send only \$11.95 with coupon below and \$7 per month for two months thereafter.

To insure quick, safe transit, all encyclopedias are sent immediately by Special Delivery. Return books for refund within 5 days if not satisfied.

Mail Coupon below to: Research Book Co.
80 Church St., New York 7, N. Y.

CLIP OFF AND MAIL

Research Book Co.
80 Church St., New York 7, N. Y.

Please send me immediately by Special Delivery, the PICTURE ENCYCLOPEDIA. I am enclosing \$11.95 with this coupon and promise to send \$7 per month for two additional months.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

☐ Check here to save 95 cents shipping and postage charges by enclosing full \$25 with coupon.

NAT 721



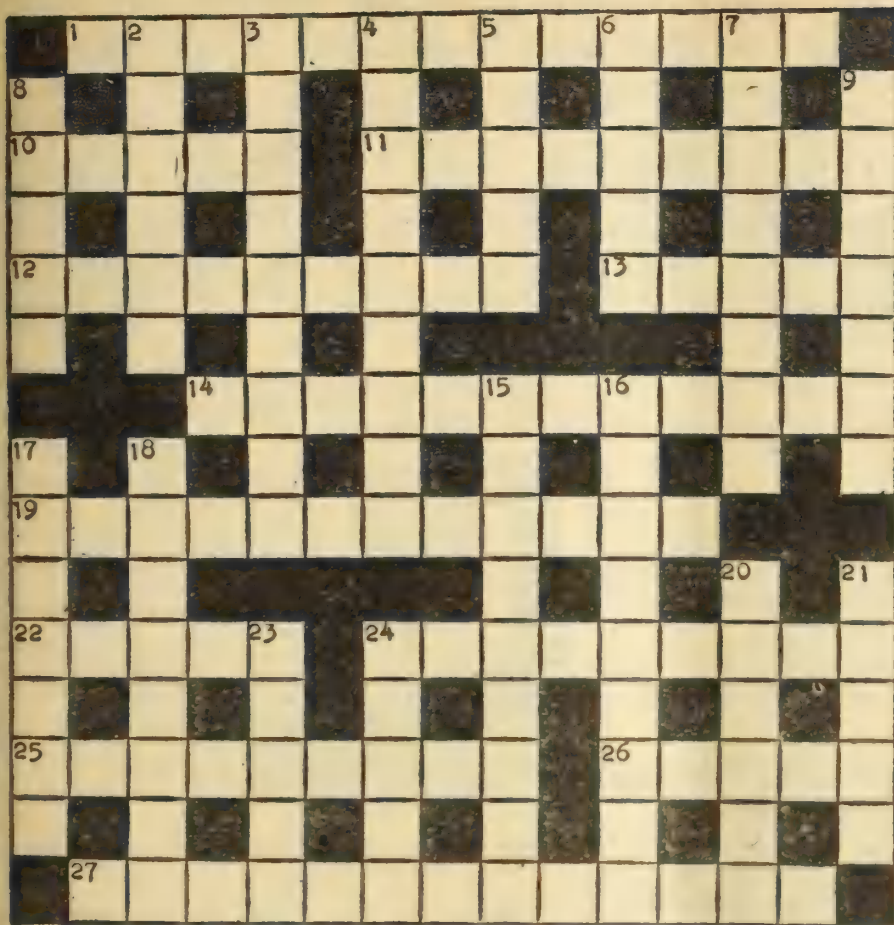
ANIMALS



BIRDS

Crossword Puzzle No. 422

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 Paradise Street in Paris. (6, 7)
- 10 A ring is a ring! (5)
- 11 Superior tiller, in the middle west briefly. (9)
- 12 Did the Tin Woodman complain of being so? (9)
- 13 Part of a lariat, at least! (5)
- 14 For its classic counterpart, a clue might be "Vance came disguised." (6, 3, 3)
- 19 Sounds like good military strategy! (8, 4)
- 22 Those who play in a famous home lose their ante. (5)
- 24 Indian-head in the sea? (9)
- 25 Spider, perhaps. (6-3)
- 26 Helps letters if the flow of Coleridge poetry is restored. (5)
- 27 Toll road? (3, 4, 2, 4)

DOWN

- 2 For one whose doctor has told him to stay away from tobacco? (6)
- 3 You cut 'em first! (4, 5)
- 4 Solid, Jackson! (9)
- 5 Looks like Groucho, perhaps. (5)
- 6 As a farmer, he could be worse! (5)
- 7 Elsa's dream, not a disturbed it might be. (8)

- 8 Merely a tool of the French and English. (5)
- 9 Prohibition means port is restricted. (7)
- 15 Personate language. (9)
- 16 Chief directors, perhaps, at hand when one is on the point of retirement. (9)
- 17 Step up. (7)
- 18 A wild pitch? Try to get three compartments side by side. (8)
- 20 You'll be sorry if you do! (And get locked up again?) (6)
- 21 Notable in the sign a shadow shows. (5)
- 23 Time for a joke and us both to be getting up. (3-2)
- 24 Hugh was King of France. (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 421

ACROSS:—1 MALEFACTOR; 6 and 9 LANDLUBBERS; 10 UMBRAGE; 11 SKATERS; 12 THE SHIP OF STATE; 14 BIGSTRIDE; 15 BRIDGE; 16 NABERY; 18 FORENSIC; 22 SPRING VACATION; 24 TEETERS; 25 ARIADNE; 26 RUES; 27 INTERMENT.

DOWN:—1 MOUNTEBANK; 3 FEATHER-BRAINED; 4 CHEEPED; 5 OSSIFY; 7 ALERTED; 9 TATTERDEMATION; 13 DESCENDENT; 17 PAPEETH; 19 OXALATE; 20 SWINDLE; 21 EGGS ON; 23 and 8 STARDUST.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

RESORTS

Stonegate LODGE

ON THE LAKE
 Internal Resort Estate in the Adirondacks
 Limited to 90 • 14-mile Lake • Pollen-Free
 Tennis • Fishing • Golf • Motor Boating
 Folk-Sq. Dances • Concert Trio • Dance Hall
 Bachelor Club Rate \$60-\$65
 N. Y. Office: 250 West 57th St. Circle 6-6386
 • Louis A. Roth, Dir. •

50 MILES TO FOREST HOUSE

Near enough for easy travel, far enough for an unforgettable vacation. Forest House achieves new levels of gay relaxation in inspiring surroundings, Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality. Two grand lakes, All sports.

FOREST HOUSE

Lake Mahopac, N. Y. • Tel. MAhopac 8-3449

the dream resort you've been looking for
 and looking for and looking for!

THE NEW Glenmere PRIVATE GOLF COURSE

Chester, N. Y. in the beautiful Ramapos

Phones: Chester 2151 - N. Y. REctor 2-5047

MERRIEWOODE

A CAMP FOR ADULTS

HIGHLAND LAKE - STODDARD, N. H.

Where Interesting People Meet for the Perfect Vacation. Enjoy beautiful 10-mile lake. All Land and Water Sports. Interesting hiking objectives thru woodland trails. Arts and Crafts, Square and Folk Dancing Instruction. 4 hours by train from New York.

OLIVE "HATTIE" BARON, Director

Write Dept. N for literature. Tel: Hancock 98-Ring 13

50 MI.
 FROM
 NEW YORK



MAMANASCO Lake Lodge

RIDGEFIELD, CONN.
 Phone 6-7000

A beautiful country estate converted into a delightful retreat for vacations and weekends. All outdoor activities. Mile-long lake. Tennis. Golf nearby. Informal, congenial atmosphere. Television, recordings. Excellent cuisine and accommodations. Moderate rates.

Hathaway Lodge

Year 'round Adult Activities

Formerly the palatial 592-acre Macy estate. Luxurious rooms, many with open fireplaces. Swimming pool, clay tennis courts, handball, badminton. Horseback riding, hiking—magnificent mountain trails. Recordings, library, informal dancing. Delicious American-Jewish food. Easy transportation. Attractive Rates. For reservations or booklet N.

HATHAWAY LODGE

Haines Falls, N. Y. • Phone Tannersville 299

Lakecrest

90 Miles from N. Y. C. on HUNN'S LAKE
 STANFORDVILLE, NEW YORK

A former Dutchess County Estate, a rendezvous for discerning adults. Cool lake breezes, high altitude and comfortable furnishings make a most pleasurable vacation. Sports for the enthusiast, scenery for the artistic and savory meals for all.

CALL OR WRITE FOR RESERVATIONS NOW

Eva Berg, Director Stanfordville 2982-2098

THE Nation

RESORT CLASSIFIED DISPLAY

\$7.42 per inch, one insertion

Generous discounts for multiple insertions. Write or phone today for further information.

ADVERTISING DEPARTMENT

The NATION

20 VESSEY STREET, NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

BARclay 7-1066

IF POLIO COMES...

PUT PATIENT TO BED
DON'T GET
PANICKY



CALL
YOUR
DOCTOR



FOLLOW
HIS ADVICE



FOR ASSISTANCE, CONTACT
YOUR LOCAL CHAPTER OF

THE NATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR INFANTILE PARALYSIS

THE *Nation*

July 28, 1951

Gamble in the East

A Defense Pact for the Pacific

BY W. MACMAHON BALL

✱

Priests vs. Parishioners

Minnesota's School Fight

BY DICK BRUNER

✱

Franco at the Front Door

BY ALEXANDER H. UHL

Important features

When Japan Has a Treaty

Fifty-three countries were at war with Japan, and most of them are expected to send delegates to the San Francisco conference, scheduled for the first week in September, where a peace treaty will probably be signed. *Owen Lattimore*, director of the Walter Hines Page School of International Relations at Johns Hopkins University, will discuss the provisions of the treaty and its probable effects on Japan. A later issue will carry an article on the treaty by a leading Japanese economist. His will be perhaps the one straightforward analysis of the treaty by a Japanese that will appear in the American press before the conference assembles in San Francisco. These articles, with W. Macmahon Ball's examination of the proposed Pacific alliance in the current issue, will provide an excellent background for an understanding of the far-reaching implications of the Japanese treaty.

Portrait of a Boss

A political boss with a well-known name about whom little is known personally is the subject of *James Munves'* article *The Man in the Corner of the Picture*. J. Russel Sprague has been Republican leader of Nassau County, New York, since 1936, and his influence in the G. O. P. today extends far beyond his Long Island stronghold. Sprague is a skilled and seasoned "operator" who directs high-level political dramas from behind the scenes. His unobtrusive rise to power as a boss and the mechanism of his smoothly geared Nassau County machine are engagingly described by Mr. Munve.

Cloud over Germany

Is the rebirth of fascism in Germany merely the "bad dream" that so many American observers insist, or is there reason to believe that Nazism is again on the march? In three articles from West Germany—*The Revival of Nazism*, *Do the Germans Want to Rearm?* and *Boom in the Ruhr*—*Mark Gayn* gives a vivid and highly pertinent account of the social chaos in Germany today. Mr. Gayn was chief of the *Chicago Sun* bureau in Tokyo from 1945 to 1947, and is the author of the widely read "Japan Diary." He has spent the last four years in Europe.

Heretic Hunting Among the Sooners

To tell the story of the Oklahoma loyalty oath—a wild and woolly ideological concoction—*The Nation* has turned to two students, *Jean Lomenick* and *Bruce Johnson*, editor and former editor of the *Daily O'Collegian* of Oklahoma A. and M. Their article not only deals with a crucial educational issue but contains some rare and wonderful Oklahomana.

soon to appear in ^{THE} *Nation*

THE *Nation*

BURLINGAME
PUBLIC LIBRARY
Burlingame, Calif.

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 173

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • JULY 28, 1951

NUMBER 4

The Shape of Things

AN IMPORTANT CHURCH AND STATE ISSUE has been raised in Washington, D. C. Pending federal legislation will give \$2,800,000 to four District of Columbia hospitals which are under religious auspices. The legality and propriety of using public money for this purpose are defended in these terms: (1) the funds will be fairly distributed among hospitals run by four different denominations; (2) the charter of Providence Hospital, the Catholic institution central in the controversy, says nothing about religious activities, and the institution is abiding by its charter; (3) Providence is staffed by doctors and nurses of all creeds and is open to patients of all creeds or none. These facts, which appear to be uncontested, are held sufficient to save the legislation from the prohibition of the First Amendment against the establishment of a religion. The legal defense of the pending bill, H. R. 2094, is based upon an 1899 decision by the Supreme Court in *Bradfield v. Roberts*, which held, in effect, that the operation of Providence Hospital was charitable rather than a religious undertaking so long as the hospital cared for the sick and invalid of all creeds alike. Recent decisions, such as those in the *Everson* and *McCullum* cases, increase our understanding of the relationship of church and state, but *Bradfield v. Roberts* appears to remain prevailing doctrine. The opposing legal argument contends that the operation of a hospital by a religious organization is part and parcel of its ministry and inseparable from motives of propagation of faith. This is excellent logic; however it must be admitted that a different line of reasoning has held the field for fifty years.

★

THE WISDOM OF USING TAX MONEY IN AID of sectarian institutions is another matter, and as national policy is open to serious doubt. This country is under massive and constant pressure to give to Catholic social institutions—and some Protestants are willing to go along for the ride—ever-increasing support from the public treasury. The fact that Providence Hospital is a first-class agency for public service and the fact that other denominational hospitals will also benefit throw only a stronger light on the principle involved. And if Congress chooses to breach the wall of separation at

the level of law-making judgment, we cannot be sure that the Supreme Court will, in the face of the *Smith* act decision, stand immovable in defense of the Bill of Rights. In 1951 Congress might find guidance in the wisdom shown by an earlier Congress when it wrote the 1897 District of Columbia appropriation bill:

And it is hereby declared to be the policy of the Government of the United States to make no appropriation of money or property for the purpose of founding, maintaining, or aiding by payment for services, expenses, or otherwise, any church or religious denomination, or any institution or society which is under sectarian or ecclesiastical control; and it is hereby enacted that, from and after the thirtieth day of June, 1897, no money appropriated for charitable purposes in the District of Columbia shall be paid to any church or religious denomination, or to any institution or society which is under sectarian or ecclesiastical control.

★

UNDER THE HEADING "A JOB UNEXPECTED" *Variety* of Hollywood recently announced that William Mooring, film critic for *Tidings*, the local archdiocesan paper, had been instructed to present Columbia Pictures with an award from the British magazine *Picturegoer* for the film "Born Yesterday." With kittenish glee *Variety* noted that Mooring, who had reviewed the film for the British magazine "without raising any political objections," had conducted a vehement campaign against it in *Tidings*. Piqued at the imputation of "double standards" in reviewing, Mooring replied that "Born Yesterday" had not received *Picturegoer's* highest award of merit, as *Variety* had reported, but was merely a monthly film selection. Rated "objectionable in parts" by the Legion of Decency, the picture had been denounced by Mooring as "Communist propaganda" both in his *Tidings* review and at various meetings. The characters, he said, were actually caricatures of the Capitalist, the Dumb Cluck exploited by the Capitalist, and the Erudite Informer—all stereotypes of the Communist line. In his review for *Picturegoer*, Mr. Mooring predicted that Judy Holliday would win the Academy Award. He added, however, that his vote would go to Gloria Swanson for her portrayal of an aging actress in "Sunset Boulevard." Apparently Mr. Mooring, who was not born yesterday, prefers dissolute movie queens to exploited dumb clucks, which in itself is a double standard of some sort.

■ IN THIS ISSUE ■

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things	61
McCarthyism at the U. N.?	63

ARTICLES

Spain: Bases for Dollars by J. Alvarez del Vayo	63
Cicero Nightmare by Homer A. Jack	64
A Defense Pact for the Pacific by W. Macmahon Ball	66
Priests vs. Parishioners by Dick Bruner	68
Franco at the Front Door by Alexander H. Uhl	70
G. M.'s Economic Tyranny by T. K. Quinn	72

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

"Historic Europe Is Dead" by H. Stuart Hughes	74
Latin American Colonial Art by Martin S. Soria	75
"A. P. H." in Parliament by Thomas P. Peardon	76
Verse Chronicle by Rolfe Humphries	76
Films by Manny Farber	77
Drama Note by Chadwick Hall	78
Records by B. H. Haggin	79

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS	80
------------------------	----

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 423

by Frank W. Lewis	opposite 80
-------------------	-------------

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Associate Editor: Carey McWilliams

<i>Foreign Editor</i>	<i>Literary Editor</i>
J. Alvarez del Vayo	Margaret Marshall

Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison

<i>Drama:</i> Joseph Wood Krutch	<i>Music:</i> B. H. Haggin
----------------------------------	----------------------------

Assistant Editor: Charles R. Allen, Jr.

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside

Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting

Staff Contributors

Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: Mary Simon

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1951, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas. *Subscription Prices:* Domestic—One year \$7; Two years \$12; Three years \$17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1. *Change of Address:* Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: *The Nation* is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

THE UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO REGENTS have now dismissed a teacher on the ground that he "lied concerning the date of his claimed termination" of membership in the Communist Party. Dr. Irving Goodman, assistant professor of chemistry, has been a member of the faculty since 1939. At present on leave, he protested the discharge from Europe but was unable to appear before the Regents. The decision to discharge Dr. Goodman appears to have been based solely on confidential reports submitted by two former FBI agents who were retained by the Regents last February to investigate the faculty's loyalty. According to President Robert L. Stearns, Dr. Goodman had given assurances in 1947, when his contract was renewed, that he had dropped out of the Communist Party in 1945. The report of the investigators apparently indicates that this statement is not true, although no claim is made that Goodman is now a member of the party.

★

COMING ON THE HEELS OF THE REGENTS' courageous decision not to fire another former Communist, Dr. David Hawkins, this new action is somewhat confusing. The decision of the Regents in the Hawkins case indicated that the misgivings expressed in the article *The Case of David Hawkins*, in our issue of March 10, were not entirely warranted. But letters now reaching *The Nation* from members of the faculty more than justify our initial concern. The report of the former FBI agents is said to cast doubt on the loyalty of six or more faculty members, and President Stearns has said that "less than 1 per cent" of the faculty will be under continued investigation. Whether the number is six or sixty, there can be no justification for the use of former FBI agents to pass on the loyalty of faculty members. The longer these agents are permitted to snoop around Boulder, turning in confidential reports to the President, the more the atmosphere will be poisoned by distrust and a sense of insecurity. ★

DOES AN ASSUMPTION OF DANGER BASED upon the likelihood of "mass hysteria" warrant a suspension or curtailment of liberties otherwise protected by the First, Fifth, and Fourteenth Amendments to the Constitution? This is the issue that the Supreme Court will have to decide if it consents to review the case of Professor George B. Thorp, who was dismissed from the faculty of the Newark College of Engineering in February, 1950, for his refusal to sign the New Jersey teachers' oath. The oath requires the usual renunciation of the use of force or violence to overthrow the government and, for good measure, requires each new teacher and college professor to swear that he or she does not "believe in" any change in the government by "unlawful means." Unable to cite any factual evidence of a "clear and present danger" that would warrant the oath, the

New Jersey Supreme Court sought refuge in the notion that the legislation might have been concerned about improper instruction in the schools. But as Thorp's counsel points out, the legislature made no findings of this character, and the record of the case is barren of any suggestion to this effect. Thus the case would seem to turn on the question of whether the courts are willing to take judicial notice of "mass hysteria" as evidence of the existence of a clear and present danger.

McCarthyism at the U. N.?

THE meeting of the Administrative Tribunal, the top judicial authority of the United Nations, to hear the case of the six employees appealing the decisions to terminate their employment, discloses a dangerously unhealthy conflict between staff members and top administrative officials in an organization that should be a model of democratic employment practices. The Staff Association, an elected body representing the employees, claims that employees are being intimidated in an effort to convert the association into a "company union" and to enforce conformity of thinking among staff members. Further, it contends that the administration is using the threat of discharge, refusal to promote members active in the Staff Association, and withholding permanent contracts as part of this campaign of intimidation. Of the six employees discharged, three are officers of the association—the presiding officer, the secretary, and the assistant secretary—whose tenure of employment ranges from two to five years and whose efficiency records are beyond dispute.

Administration spokesmen dismiss these allegations by charging that the officers of the staff council are disloyal and self-seeking. But the following facts will not be denied: (1) that 70 per cent of the employees of the United Nations, six years after its founding, still lack permanent contracts, although it was originally intended that all employees should be given permanent contracts after short probationary periods; (2) that the Secretary General claims unrestricted power to terminate the employment of those who lack permanent contracts; (3) that the Secretary General claims the right to withhold his reasons for their dismissal from staff members whose employment has been terminated; (4) that the six employees, in their first appeal, were denied the right to counsel of their own choice; (5) that although the six employees technically had the right to have a representative of the secretariat appear in their behalf, in their first appeal before the Joint Appeals Board no member of the secretariat with legal qualifications would serve for fear of reprisal (in an earlier case a member of the secretariat who had successfully defended certain members was denied further employment with the U. N. although he had been employed since 1947 and had

received the normal promotions and commendations); (6) that to represent the staff interests the association has now been compelled to secure outside counsel.

Further evidence in support of the contentions of the Staff Association is to be found in the open warnings issued to members of the staff by their superiors that activities in the staff council might endanger their promotions and even their employment. Whether true or not, many employees believe that telephones in the U. N. have been wired to record conversations. And few members of the staff today care to run the risk of being seen talking to a newspaper correspondent.

It is hard to believe that Trygve Lie, himself a former trade-union official, can be aware of how far employment practices have deteriorated in recent months. The facts here recited are alone sufficiently startling to call for a thorough investigation of employment policies and practices. The leadership of the U. N. should be of one mind in insisting that the secretariat should conform to the best democratic practices in all relations with staff members and employees. The Administrative Tribunal should check the evident intrusion of McCarthyism at the U. N. and vindicate the democratic rights of the employees whose appeals it will hear.

Spain: Bases for Dollars

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

THE comedy of the democratization of the Spanish regime is worthy of the great American movie tradition—a beautiful comedy with a happy ending. Everyone should read the news from Madrid with a sensation of joy. By a stroke of genius Admiral Sherman has presented his country with a brave new ally, Francisco Franco, together with the Generalissimo's splendid naval and air bases, his army, and his fine record that provides such invaluable support for the Voice of America when it calls to the people behind the Iron Curtain: "Here we are, the whole united democratic coalition."

Happy, too, the Spanish people, whose dictator, thanks to the magic effect of American dollars, suddenly becomes the paternal head of a government newly staffed with fine, democratic Monarchists and clericals.

Such, more or less, is the picture offered to Americans by the Administration's willing helpers, the big press and radio. Fortunately for historical truth the distortion is not unanimous. The day after the new government was announced Sam Pope Brewer reported in the *New York Times*: "The Cabinet as revamped does not imply any change in basic policies." To reach that conclusion it is necessary only to consider the man Franco has chosen as his new Minister of War, General Augusto Muñoz Grande. No doubt the files of the *New York Times* contain a picture of the General being

Decorated by Hitler with the Iron Cross with palms for his service to the Nazi regime as commander of the Blue Division which fought against the Allies on the Russian front. This intervention was one of the outstanding facts taken into consideration by the United Nations when Franco was ruled out of the community of nations. Now the general in charge is at the head of the army in Franco's democratic Cabinet.

Competing in liberalism with General Muñoz Grande is the new Minister of Information, Gabriel Arias Salgado, who during World War II directed the entire propaganda of the Falangist State and from whom we could quote full pages of tirades in honor of Hitler and against the Allies, including the United States.

In the two other key posts there are Blas Pérez, as Minister of the Interior, who in recent years has been in charge of the repression and terror exercised against Spanish dissidents of all degrees, leftists and liberals, Free Masons and Protestants, even Monarchists; and in the Labor Department, José Antonio Girón, the man against whom Spanish labor has rebelled in the memorable strikes of recent months.

A few insignificant Monarchists like Count Vallellano, who certainly does not represent the Pretender Don Juan, and Ruiz Jimenez as representative of the church have been added to give a semblance of sincerity to Franco's announcement that he intends to restore the monarchy. But he has said this many times in the last three years, and the real Monarchists are the first to recognize that he has not the least intention of stepping down voluntarily from his seat of power.

Something very important has nevertheless taken place in Spain. The process of disintegration of the Franco regime is spreading. The loose thread in the worn suit has been pulled, and the whole thing is going to pieces. That is the great lesson to be drawn from today's events in Madrid.

Franco has carried out the farce of "liberalizing" the regime to facilitate the exchange of bases for dollars, allowing American propaganda to say to the British and French that it is with a different Spanish government the West will henceforth have to deal. But he would not need to make these embarrassing gestures were it not for his own growing insecurity and the increasing pressure from within the country. Today, for the first time since he seized power, Franco faces open, spreading rebellion. To counter it he needs American money and guns. He also needs to make a pretense of broadening the base of the government, throwing a political crumb or two to the conservative elements in the opposition.

At such a moment, when the Spanish people saw a real chance, the first good chance since 1945, to get rid of their fascist oppressor, America has come to the rescue of Franco. It is a performance that forbids this country to pretend that the cold war is being waged for

democracy and freedom. But even if it postpones the day of Spain's liberation, the American pact with Franco will not, in the end, save the regime. Nor will the United States gain the advantages it seeks. For this country has not, in spite of its desire, bought an ally. Those courageous Spaniards who last Thursday went to the American embassy in Madrid to protest against the Sherman deal expressed the feeling of 90 per cent of the people: "The United States will buy a dictator but they will not be buying a people in any of its aspects. The majority will rule." The foreign policy of the big powers in the post-war period is not lacking in blunders. One of the greatest is the American notion that Spain can be induced to fight under Franco.

Cicero Nightmare

BY HOMER A. JACK

Chicago, July 18

FOR the first time in more than three decades the National Guard has been used to quell a race riot in the Chicago area. The Cicero outbreak was not like other race riots; 10,000 suburbanites went berserk, but not a single Negro was within miles of the scene.

Once the base of Al Capone's operations, Cicero with a population of 70,000 is today a city of many small homes, owned largely by second-generation Americans of Czechoslovak, Polish, Italian, and Dutch ancestry. Thousands of Negroes work in the great factories of the area, making Western Electric telephones, Hot Point stoves, Thor washing machines, and so on, but none of them live in Cicero. For years "the race issue" has been a convenient gimmick for Cicero politicians. The present political machine defeated an attempt to overturn it in 1948 by distributing a fake notice the night before the election which read: "The town board of Cicero has denied us the American right to live in Cicero for more than eighty years. Vote for the City Government [the reform group] next Tuesday, so that we colored people may enjoy the privilege of living in the town of Cicero."

Early in June, Harvey E. Clark, Jr., a twenty-nine-year-old Chicago bus driver recently graduated from Fisk University, rented an apartment in a twenty-unit building in northwest Cicero. Clark did not expect any more violence than Negroes usually encounter in "new" areas, but when he arrived at the apartment he was greeted by policemen, who prevented him from moving in. An hour or so later Cicero's Chief of Police appeared. Shoving Clark and the rental agent into a car, he is said

DR. JACK is minister of the Unitarian Church of Evanston and former secretary of the Chicago Council Against Racial and Religious Discrimination. He was an eyewitness of the Cicero riots.

to have threatened them, "Get out of Cicero and don't come back."

For this clear violation of the federal civil-rights statutes, the Chicago National Association for the Advancement of Colored People promptly filed suit in behalf of Clark against the city of Cicero, demanding \$200,000 damages. On June 26 Federal Judge John P. Barnes issued a preliminary injunction restraining the city's officials from interfering with Clark's plans to occupy the apartment he had rented. Judge Barnes warned the Chief of Police: "If you don't obey the order, you're going to be in serious trouble. You are going to exercise the same diligence in seeing that these people move in as you did in trying to keep them out."

On Tuesday, July 10, the Clarks, protected by a small police detail, moved their furniture into the apartment. While they were away from the apartment in the afternoon, a crowd of some 500 persons gathered in front of the building unmolested by the police. Vandals then broke every window in Clark's third-floor apartment while the crowd cheered. The police did nothing.

On the following day nine white families, tenants in the building, moved out. That evening at least 2,000 people gathered around the premises, benignly watched by details of Cicero and Cook County police. Hoodlums again went into action. Breaking into Clark's apartment, they tossed the furniture and the family's possessions, including Clark's honorable discharge from the air force, out of the third-story window. One of the vandals swaggered out of the building with the Clarks' marriage certificate. The police looked on as the crowd burned the furniture but again made no arrests.

On Thursday afternoon the remaining ten white families moved out of the apartment building, and Governor Adlai Stevenson, at the request of Sheriff John Babb, ordered five companies of the Illinois National Guard into Cicero. Several hundred soldiers had arrived by 7 p. m., but owing to a misunderstanding did not reach the scene of the rioting until 10 p. m. They then waited an hour or so longer before making an attempt to disperse the angry crowd of more than 5,000 people. During that time a gang of fifty or so young toughs, in full view of Cicero and Cook County police and only a few yards from soldiers standing shoulder to shoulder with drawn bayonets, threw bricks and stones over the heads of the crowd, the soldiers, and the police at the apartment building. One member of the gang used the spotlight of a police squad car to light up their targets. Every time crashing glass marked a successful hit a roar of approval went up from the crowd. During the lulls one could hear kids breaking bricks on the sidewalk so they could have three "heaves" instead of one.

Mingling in the crowd was Joseph Beauharnais, head of the White Circle League. Telling everybody who would listen that the community must be kept "white,"

he passed out cards which described the White Circle League as "dedicated to safeguarding and maintaining the Dignity, Social Edicts, Customs, Heritage, and Rights of the White Race in America." One of its aims, the cards said, was "to preserve white neighborhoods for white people and to bring about complete separation of the black and white races."

At 11:30 p. m. the soldiers slowly pushed the crowd back, out of stone's-throw distance. Then another section of the crowd surged forward to within fifty feet of the building and threw "Molotov cocktails" and other incendiary flares into the upper-story windows. Several times the building caught fire, but firemen extinguished the flames. By 12:30 an uneasy "cease-fire" had been obtained, the crowd having been pushed back two blocks or more. Four police cars had been overturned, and nineteen persons had been injured. Seventy persons were arrested, ten charged with assault to kill. Of those arrested, more than half were under twenty-five years of age and about half came from Cicero and neighboring suburbs.

On Friday evening, July 13, the 500 soldiers and 120 Cicero and Cook County police for the first time demonstrated professional policing techniques. Barbed wire was erected for a block each way around the apartment; an area thirty blocks square was declared under martial law, and people who did not keep moving were arrested for unlawful assembly. Although no great crowds gathered that evening, forty-seven persons were arrested. Today Cicero is quiet, but there is talk that "the building will be razed forty-eight hours after the troops are withdrawn."

Various citizen groups are demanding federal and Cook County grand-jury investigations. The Chicago N. A. A. C. P. has sent a representative to Washington to demand federal prosecutions, and large damage suits will be pressed against the city of Cicero. In Chicago the Church Federation issued a statement praising the restraint of 500,000 Negroes in the area. "As leaders of the churches of Cook County," it said, "we hang our heads in shame." The leaders of the estimated 10,000 Protestant and 30,000 Roman Catholic church members in Cicero remained silent for the most part. One churchman privately admitted that the god worshiped in Cicero is the unencumbered deed and that the town's real churches are its savings-and-loan associations.

The Chicago N. A. A. C. P. is raising \$6,000 to compensate the Clarks for the loss of their furniture and personal effects, accumulated through many years. Clark intends to return to Cicero; public opinion in Chicago holds that anything less would be a complete victory for lawless racism. But it is anybody's guess how soon Clark or any other Negro will find it safe to live in Cicero. The war there might last longer than the war in Korea.

A Defense Pact for the Pacific

BY W. MACMAHON BALL

Melbourne

THE idea of a Pacific alliance has been more popular in the countries of the western Pacific than in the United States. But last April, in response to the persistent pleas of the Australian government, President Truman announced that Washington was working toward a defense pact with Australia and New Zealand. It has been suggested that this is the first step in an attempt to build a wider alliance of "free nations" in the Pacific.

The idea has manifest attractions, particularly for those nations which, like Australia, have lately come to depend so much on American friendship. There is no doubt about Australia's desire to maintain and strengthen its friendship with the United States, but friendship is not always fostered by an effort to translate it into specific mutual commitments. The time seems opportune to look carefully at the likely consequences of new pacts in the Pacific.

The practical value of a pact will usually depend on how far it has been designed to meet a specific threat. Hence, before nations can agree on what to put into the pact, they must agree on the probable nature of the danger. In the United States most people seem to believe that the Soviet Union and communism are the only sources of danger in the Pacific. But in Australia many people feel that a rearmed Japan is more to be feared.

It seems clear to Australians that the pressures that pushed Japan's rulers to aggression in the past are even more powerful today. In the 1930's Japan felt the need of more living room than was available in its own islands for the million yearly increase in its population. In 1936 the population of Japan proper was only about 70,000,000; today it is more than 84,000,000, and the rate of increase is greater, too. Even if the birth rate should be rapidly reduced, Japan would have to find work for more than 8,000,000 additional male workers—boys already born—in the next twenty years. In the 1930's Japan's leaders felt it necessary to win military control of neighboring territories in order to obtain the basic raw materials, the markets, and the food supplies on which its economic life depended. Its need for overseas markets and sources of supply is much more acute today. And despite the fate of Tojo and a handful of his colleagues who were unlucky enough to be hanged be-

fore they were depurged, the men who rule Japan today have fundamentally the same outlook and the same interests as those who planned the attacks on Manchuria, China, and Pearl Harbor.

Owing to the poverty of its material resources, Japan can protect its vital interests only by allying itself with one of the two great power blocs. It may be argued that its fear of Russia and communism and its respect for American power assures its reliability as an ally of the West. For my part, I think this is highly doubtful. The Japanese are acutely nervous about the risks of alliance with the United States, though they are cautious about showing their feelings. They know how exposed their cities are to bombing from the mainland, and their sea lanes to Soviet submarines. Like the Germans, they fear that in a general war their role might be to fight a delaying action in behalf of the Western democracies. They do not want to be expendable. Despite Western military intervention in Korea, the Japanese know that the United States had decided to give priority to Western Europe. Though American power is immense, it is not unlimited, and many Japanese doubt that the United States would be able to put up effective initial resistance in both East and West. In addition, Japan, as an American ally, must surrender the raw materials and markets of the mainland, though it cannot withdraw from the military menace. Economically, Japan is part of East Asia. The United States may be prepared, for military reasons, to continue to sustain the Japanese economy by adventitious aids, but these can never provide the conditions of stability and growth.

No doubt Soviet Russia and China also court Japan as an ally, and they might be able to make it a tempting offer. They might offer food and raw materials and markets on the mainland. They might offer a free hand in the South Seas. In the past, ideological differences have never prevented the Soviet Union from making working agreements with other nations. It seems reasonable to suppose that Moscow would be even more anxious to win a rearmed than a disarmed Japan as an ally. Hence, it may be that in rearming Japan we are at once improving its bargaining position if it wants to play us off against Russia and weakening our power to reassert control if it should try to double-cross us. In a word, I doubt that the United States has enough continuing inducements to offer, or enough power at its disposal, to insure that a rearmed Japan will remain a reliable ally.

It is in the shadow of these thoughts that the proposed defense pact for the United States, Australia, and New

W. MACMAHON BALL, a professor at the University of Melbourne, served as the British Commonwealth member of the Allied Council for Japan. He is the author of "Japan: Enemy or Ally?"

Zealand must be considered. In fact if not in form the pact is tied up with a peace treaty that will rearm Japan. The question for Australia is whether the safeguards in the pact will balance the dangers in the treaty.

IN MY opinion it is unlikely that they will do so. If Australia were in grave danger I believe that the United States, as in 1942, would give all the aid in its power, with or without a pact. But Australia would only be in danger in a general war, and in such a war the forces that the United States could spare for the south-western Pacific would depend on the demands of its global strategy. Australia had considerable strategic importance in the last war because the Japanese-mandated islands barred the direct east-west approach to Japan. Now that these islands are controlled by America and that the northern Pacific air routes have been developed, Australia has much less strategic importance.

It may be urged that danger from Japan is, at worst, still hypothetical, while danger from the Soviet Union is actual, and that defense pacts with the United States will strengthen all nations in the Pacific that are resolved to resist Soviet aggression. But even this proposition must be viewed with caution. It is easy to assume that if an Atlantic Pact is good for the West, a Pacific Pact will be good for the East. The analogy is dangerous. It is one thing to use military force to protect a particular country against external attack and another thing to use military force to protect a particular regime against domestic revolution. In East Asia it is hardly possible to do the one without doing the other. Moreover, it is hardly possible for the West to use force anywhere in East Asia without becoming involved with another powerful revolutionary movement, the revolt of the East against domination by the West.

In practice, wherever the United States has found it necessary to carry on military activities in East Asia, either to maintain its own bases, as in Japan and the Philippines, or to give aid to an anti-Communist regime, as in China, Korea, and Indo-China, it has felt compelled to ally itself with conservative groups whose primary political interest is to resist radical social change. Hence a Pacific alliance under American leadership would presumably require all who entered it to give military support to reactionary regimes.

The official American view, as I understand it, might be summarized as follows: We have the deepest sympathy with East Asian movements for national independence. We have repeatedly given practical expression to this sympathy. We took the lead to abrogate the unequal treaties with China; we used our good offices to help India and Indonesia to win political freedom; we honored our undertaking to give independence to the Philippines in 1946. We are also in sympathy with social-reform movements. We tried our hardest to persuade

Chiang Kai-shek to introduce reforms before it was too late; we have introduced land reform in Japan and in South Korea. We are continuing to press the government of the Philippines to face up to its social responsibilities. But if a nationalist movement comes under Communist leadership, we must fight it—for two reasons. We must fight it to prevent the extension of Soviet power which any increase in Communist influence certainly implies. And we must fight it in the interests of the local population, to save them from tyranny. Nationalism is a spontaneous movement for independence; communism is an imposed movement which is prepared to subordinate national independence to the needs of the Soviet Union.

I DOUBT that this description of the political forces in East Asia takes enough account of their complexity. I doubt that it is possible to distil "pure" nationalism from the present revolutionary ferment; that it is sound sense to cheer the passage of the first wave, the demand for political independence, and to try to build a wall against the second, the demand for social change, for both are part of the same tidal movement. I think we must recognize that in many countries in East Asia the choice is not between democracy and dictatorship but only between a left and a right dictatorship. Indeed, I think we must go farther and recognize that in at least some countries a left dictatorship has today much the better prospect of winning popular support. I believe that this is true in China, Indo-China, and Korea.

If this view is accepted—and I know that many will reject it with disdain—will the West still use military force to prevent the success of Communist-led movements, such as the Vietminh? To do so would be to assume an immense military and moral responsibility. In June of last year I believed it was right for the United Nations to resist the attack by North Korea, for at the time it seemed that the clear act of territorial aggression outweighed the other political factors involved. Later experience in Korea has shown not only the military difficulties that face expeditionary forces in East Asia but how easy it is, once fighting begins, for the initial cause of conflict to become compromised and distorted. It is difficult to fight against communism in some parts of East Asia without fighting against social change, and difficult to fight against social change without fighting against history.

If we are anxious to avoid military operations in East Asia, does that mean that we abdicate to the Soviet Union? I think not. It is true that Communist leaders like Mao Tse-tung and Ho Chi Minh are at present loudly protesting their solidarity with the Kremlin. Yet it is surely too soon to conclude that they desire to become an integral part of the Soviet bloc. The alignment may express a temporary coincidence of national interests, not a permanent ideological unity. It is not surpris-

ing that Mao and Ho should welcome support from any quarter. It would, I think, be surprising if they were prepared to pay for Soviet sympathy and support by subordinating the independence of China and Indo-China to the strategic interests of Russia. How long they will collaborate with the Kremlin is likely to depend in large measure on Western policy toward their regimes.

It is nearly certain that neither India, Pakistan, Burma, nor Indonesia would be a party to any Pacific pact which might commit them to joint military action with Western powers to sustain unpopular anti-Communist governments. For the West to pursue policies that might widen the gulf still separating the West from the great nations

of East Asia would have unfortunate consequences, especially for Australia, an island lying off the coast of Southeast Asia. But I feel there are wider considerations which make a Pacific alliance inopportune. It is psychologically a bad moment to put the accent on military means of achieving security in the Pacific. Such emphasis tends to make us think of East Asia as a territory in which it may be necessary for Western soldiers to fight instead of as the home of new nations with whom it is certainly necessary for us to learn to live. It tends to obscure the fundamental truth that in the long run military security for the West can only be built on social security for the East.

Priests vs. Parishioners

BY DICK BRUNER

Mankato, Minnesota

THERE is tumult in the village of Pierz. Henry Gau, a lifelong resident, was excommunicated from the Roman Catholic church on May 6. Coming as the climax to a struggle for a public high school for the area, this first public excommunication in the history of Minnesota has raised an issue of paramount importance to the future of American democracy. Stated briefly, the issue is: who is to control education in a predominantly Catholic community, the priests or the parishioners? Or, put another way, can the hierarchy tell the people what kind of schools they shall have?

Some background is necessary to an understanding of how the issue arose. Pierz, a village of 851 people seventy-five miles northwest of Minneapolis, is the trading center for a dairy-farming district in which most of the farms are "marginal," the land having little value except as pasture. Some 95 per cent of its residents belong to the Roman Catholic church. The nearest public high school is in Little Falls, twelve miles distant. High-school students from Pierz have commuted to this school for years, often spending two or more hours a day getting to and from school by bus. In December, 1949, the voters of twenty-eight rural school districts approved a plan for consolidating them, with Pierz as the logical center. This consolidated district covers 200 square miles and is one of the largest in the state. The major purpose in forming it was of course to bring into being a high school. In the following January the new district elected a school board of six members, who then chose a superintendent. The next order of business was the approval of a bond issue, and it was at this point that the trouble began.

DICK BRUNER is a reporter for the Mankato Free Press.

Before the consolidation some of the rural districts had operated schools and some had sent pupils to schools in neighboring districts or to the parochial schools in the area. One of the two parochial schools is operated by St. Joseph's Parish, in Pierz, of which Monsignor Edward M. Mahowald is pastor. Since the early 1930's the parish has had a unique arrangement with the state and the local school district. It has rented to the local school district one or two classrooms in the parochial school, in which non-Catholic students have been taught by two Catholic lay teachers. Classes in the other rooms of the parochial school are taught by nuns. Not long after the parish in Pierz adopted this arrangement, St. Michael's Parish in Buckman, six miles south of Pierz, also began to rent a room to the local school district.

The new school board and superintendent favored the construction of a public high school, but Monsignor Mahowald insisted on a "dual" set-up under which academic instruction would be handled by the parish and vocational instruction by the school district. The parish would build the "academic" high school, the school district the "vocational," but the two structures would be adjoining and students could attend both. And both schools would receive state and district aid. This plan was clearly illegal—as an assistant attorney general has ruled in an informal opinion—since the Minnesota constitution provides that no tax money shall be used for a school teaching the "doctrines, creeds, or tenets" of any religious sect.

The superintendent and three board members therefore opposed the dual system as not only impractical but illegal. It should be noted at this point that the superintendent and all six members of the board were Catholics and were not in any manner opposed to the

Catholic scheme of education. On the other hand, the church authorities were not at all disinclined to receive state aid. In fact, the pastor of St. John of Nepomuk's Parish in Lastrup, just north of Pierz, announced that his parish intended to rent two rooms to the school district in order to qualify for state aid. Before long the virtually all-Catholic community of Pierz was divided into two warring factions—those favoring a public high school and those favoring the dual system, which was characterized by its opponents as "a farce to collect state aid."

The proposed \$575,000 bond issue for the public high school was to be voted on March 9, 1951. No sooner was the election announced than the Catholic clergy launched an active campaign to defeat the bond issue. Priests spoke against it at every meeting called by the school board to explain its purpose. Catholics who favored the public high school were accused of being "anti-Catholic" and opposed to Catholic education. The *Pierz Journal*, whose editor is a devout Catholic, came out in favor of the public high school and was promptly labeled a "Communist" sheet. The former editor of the diocesan newspaper, recruited by Monsignor Mahowald to support his cause, bombarded the *Journal* with letters demanding that the schools should be "liberated from the inadequacy and blinding hindrances of the neutrality now impeding true education." The school board, in an effort to win over Monsignor Mahowald, offered to allow priests to teach religion in the proposed public high school, but the suggestion was not acceptable. As one priest put it, "This is not enough. Every idea and every subject has to be presented from a Christian point of view."

The result of the election, in the whole district, was 575 votes for, 887 against the bond issue. In the village of Pierz, however, the vote was 254 to 142 in favor of the issue and a public high school.

THE hierarchy had won through clever strategy. To get the votes of the inhabitants of the outlying districts the priests promised that if the bond issue were defeated, the entire cost of the "academic" or parochial high school would be borne by the parish of Pierz, St. Joseph's. Monsignor Mahowald announced also that the parish had between \$80,000 and \$100,000 in its treasury which might be applied toward the cost of the school. Since there are 400 families in the Pierz parish and 550 families outside, Monsignor Mahowald was apparently planning to have the cost of the parochial high school borne by less than half the families which would benefit by it. He told the Associated Press that the estimated cost of the academic part of the dual system would be \$225,000 and that of the vocational structure \$350,000. It is clear, therefore, that he was determined to keep the

district from building a public high school regardless of how the cost was shared.

On March 30, after the defeat of the bond issue, Monsignor Mahowald announced from the pulpit that the parish would proceed to build a new parochial high school. Thereupon forty-nine men from the parish of Pierz went to St. Cloud to discuss the school problem with Bishop Peter W. Bartholome. The Bishop refused to see them but offered to discuss the matter with three members of the delegation if he might name the three. Not liking this proposal, the delegation returned to Pierz, organized the Independent School Committee, and elected as its chairman Henry Gau, a sixty-three-year-old insurance salesman.

At one of the first meetings of the committee Gau proposed that a "straw vote" should be taken on whether St. Joseph's Parish should build and pay for the parochial high school. Several members of the committee thought that the straw vote should not be limited to parishioners, but Gau insisted that since they were to pay the bill they should make the decision. Notices were placed in the paper that the straw vote would be taken on April 27. Monsignor Mahowald then went to see Gau and asked him to call off the straw vote. Gau refused, but nothing was said about the possibility of excommunication. On the Sunday before the vote was to be taken an announcement was made at mass that the plan had been canceled, and later Monsignor Mahowald told his parishioners to have no part in it. The straw vote, however, was taken, and 339 parishioners voted against building and paying for the parochial high school to 20 who voted for it.

On Sunday, May 6, one of Gau's friends, returning from seven o'clock mass, informed him that the priest had read a letter from the bishop announcing Gau's excommunication. This was the only notice of his punishment Gau received. He attended mass later that morning but heard nothing about the excommunication or the letter. Newspapermen were told that Gau had not been excommunicated because he opposed the position of the priests but because he had usurped "the authority of the bishop in calling the election on his own initiative." Recently Gau was informed that the excommunication would be lifted if he would apologize. "I'm not going to apologize," he said to a reporter; "I didn't do anything wrong. I was opposed to our collecting money illegally and then trying to teach our children to be honest Catholics."

IF THE excommunication was intended to intimidate the parishioners of Pierz, it failed in its purpose. Several of Gau's friends withdrew their names from the parish roster and are now attending other churches, and the villagers have again asserted their preference for a public high school. On June 26 school-board elections

were held throughout Minnesota, and the three board members in Pierz who favored the public high school were up for reelection. The priests made every effort to defeat them. In rural districts outside Pierz the promise used earlier to defeat the bond issue was repeated—that the entire cost of the parochial, or academic, school would be borne by St. Joseph's Parish. In Pierz it was claimed that a parochial high school could be operated much cheaper than a public school because nuns were used as teachers. The argument, of course, overlooks the fact that a "dual" school means a "dual" tax burden: besides supporting the parochial school, residents of the district are taxed to pay state aid and also the tuition and transportation of every student who wants to attend an accredited high school.

Sermons were preached on the necessity of defeating the three pro-public-high-school candidates; in Buckman a list of candidates favoring the dual system was placed on a sign in front of the parish church. One priest told his parishioners that they would be committing a mortal sin if they voted for any of the three men opposed by the church. Once again the parishioners outside Pierz supported the church's position, and by means of their votes the candidates indorsed by the church were elected. In Pierz, however, two of the candidates who favored a public high school received twice as many votes as those opposed, and the third, though a Protestant, received 197 votes as against 136 for his opponent.

Although Monsignor Mahowald has won out thus far, the final victory may go to the Pierz parishioners. It is almost a certainty now that the superintendent, who

has always favored a public high school, will be dismissed. But the State Board of Education is scheduled to meet on August 7, and Commissioner of Education Dean M. Schweickard has said that he will recommend that the board discontinue state aid to the Pierz parish grade school on the ground that the two "public-school" classes are indistinguishable from the regular parochial-school classes. Ninety-seven students attend classes in the two segregated public-school rooms. For seven months of the 1950-51 term the Pierz school board paid to the St. Joseph parochial school \$200 a month for each of the two classrooms, \$974 a month for the transportation of the ninety-seven students, and \$115 a month for use of the cafeteria, library, and gymnasium. This money, totaling about \$18,000 a year, will not be paid if the state board sustains the Commissioner.

Regardless of how the immediate question is decided when the board meets on August 7, the tumult in Pierz will not subside, and it is likely to be echoed in many other communities before long. The dispute is not between Protestants and Catholics or even between advocates of secular and ecclesiastical schemes of education; it has its origin in an issue of deeper significance, one that is inherent in the conflict between the American concept of democracy and certain phases of Roman Catholic teaching. Must the parishioner, under threat of excommunication, vote as the priest tells him to vote? That is the issue. The answer has practical meaning for Pierz, where it already seems clear that the financial burden of a dual school system is insupportable and will eventually be rejected by the Catholic laity.

Franco at the Front Door

BY ALEXANDER H. UHL

Washington, July 20

WITH the help of Senator Pat McCarran, the Franco government in Spain is being bailed out of the economic and political crisis in which it found itself a few months ago as a result of the strikes against the high cost of living in Catalonia and the Basque country.

Unfortunately for the United States' prospect of ever being repaid for the loans it is now making to Madrid, much of the money is in short-term, essentially stop-gap aid. Thanks to Senator McCarran, Spain is

ALEXANDER H. UHL has been writing on foreign affairs for many years. As chief of the Madrid bureau of the Associated Press he covered the Spanish civil war and has since followed Spanish developments closely.

getting credits for such commodities as wheat, cotton, coal, and fertilizers; these are all desperately needed, but their purchase can have only a temporary effect on the Spanish economy. When they have been consumed, Spain may have weathered today's economic storm but will have done little to enrich its long-term productive capacity. Then it will need more help. And from all indications Senator McCarran intends to see that Franco gets it—to the tune of some \$100,000,000 in the fiscal year 1952—out of the \$8,500,000,000 foreign-aid appropriations now before Congress.

Here is the story of what has gone over the dam so far and what is still on the way. The McCarran rider to last year's appropriations bill "authorized and directed" the Administration to lend \$62,500,000—McCarran had asked for \$100,000,000—to the Spanish government.

The vote was a slap in the face for the State Department, which had been insisting that Spain ought to make "substantial advances in such directions as increased civil liberties, religious freedom, and freedom to exercise the elementary rights of organized labor." Meanwhile, the department said, Spain could ask the Export-Import Bank for loans "covering specific and economically justifiable projects," which would be considered "in accordance with the Bank's regular policy, not only on the basis of the need for the credit and the suitability of the particular purposes to be served but also on whether there is a reasonable prospect of repayment."

OF COURSE loans to Spain were in no such sound category. Spanish approaches to the Export-Import Bank in 1949 had disclosed that from \$700,000,000 to \$1,250,000,000 would be needed to put Spain on its feet financially. Chances that the Franco government could repay such a sum were so slim that the Export-Import Bank would not take the risk. If Franco was to be helped, some other method must be found, and Senator McCarran provided it last August by attaching a rider to the appropriations bill virtually ordering the Administration to come to Franco's aid. President Truman, forced to sign the bill if the government was to be kept running, remarked sourly that he regarded the rider as an "authorization" rather than a "directive." But, whatever his interpretation, it was clear that the battle to keep Franco's hands out of the American Treasury was practically over.

The McCarran rider said that the credits should go through the regular channels of the Economic Cooperation Administration. The E. C. A., embarrassed at the idea of Spanish emissaries waiting in its reception rooms with those of countries which have no use for Franco, deftly got off the hook by appointing the Export-Import Bank as the "operating agency" to handle the loans. Franco's financial agents, with Ambassador Jose de Lequerica at their head, thereupon turned up at the Export-Import Bank with a long list of what Spain wanted—\$62,500,000 worth. The list consisted largely of "consumable" commodities, and the Export-Import Bank took the position that it should include more capital goods. Last February, however, it agreed to grant \$12,200,000 under four separate credits—\$5,000,000 for cotton, \$3,500,000 for fertilizers, \$3,000,000 for tractors and spare parts, and \$700,000 for machinery to complete a nitrogenous fertilizer plant in Spain. The bank had been persuaded that the Catalonian textile mills must be kept in operation so that Spain could earn some foreign exchange and that the fertilizer would help Spain grow more food and thus reduce its food bills abroad.

A little over a month later the bank granted a \$5,000,000 credit for wheat to "ameliorate the tem-

porary shortage of wheat prevailing in Spain prior to the harvests." This loan caused considerable comment in Washington, since it was clearly not a long-term productive credit. The State Department was doubtful that it met the conditions of the American aid program but apparently decided to wash its hands of the whole business on the ground that it could not afford to fight Congress on the issue. The Export-Import Bank reluctantly approved the loan when the Spanish pleaded that hungry men could not work.

New loan agreements calling for about \$40,000,000 are now in the works. These are somewhat more in line with the bank's wishes, for they will be used for coal and other mining equipment, railroad repair, and development of hydroelectric and steam power. There will also be an additional credit for wheat; how large has not yet been announced.

Technically these loans run for about twenty years, but any idea that they will be repaid is a pleasant fiction. They are not part of the bank's portfolio of strictly commercial loans—those that meet the rigid standards the bank enforces when it handles funds appropriated for its specific use—but are carried in a special portfolio of E. C. A. loans to Marshall Plan countries. Such loans now amount to something over a billion dollars and in the end may simply wind up as gifts. The best that can be said for the loans to Spain is that while the country's present economic situation permits little expectation of repayment, hope persists that Spanish recovery may come tomorrow.

The loan negotiations are being largely carried on by the Spanish commercial attaché in Washington assisted by officials sent from Madrid. Thus far the United States has no plans for an economic mission to Spain, although the Export-Import Bank intends to send a few of its experts over to check on how the loan agreements are working out. Nobody will admit it, but there is a certain amount of justifiable concern lest the wheat to be purchased ends up in the notorious Spanish black market.

For a short time last month McCarran was worried that the full \$62,500,000 might not be assigned before the fiscal year 1951 ended on June 30 and that the remaining funds might lapse. But several weeks ago the E. C. A. issued notes for the amount still remaining and placed them at the disposal of the Export-Import Bank. McCarran is now taking steps to assure that Spain is not omitted from the President's \$8,500,000,000 foreign-aid program.

The Administration bill avoids mention of specific countries to be helped: it speaks of "regions," giving Europe the lion's share of \$3,293,000,000 for military aid and \$1,675,000,000 for economic aid. Although it is designed especially to help the countries belonging to the North Atlantic Pact, it leaves the way open to the

President to help any other European country which he feels "to be of direct importance to the defense of the North Atlantic area and whose increased ability to defend itself the President determines contributes to the preservation of peace and security of the North Atlantic area and is important to the security of the United States."

It is clear that the Administration, despite its long reluctance to force the Spanish dictator on an unwilling Britain and France, considers Spain as coming within this category. A few weeks ago General Marshall told Congress that it would be advantageous to have Spain in the Atlantic defense set-up, but that it would be unwise to press the issue in view of the opposition of our allies. Since then the Administration has surrendered completely to the McCarran forces in Congress and is now in the midst of negotiations with Madrid for air and naval bases. Apparently Spain will not be integrated into the Atlantic Pact for the present but will be dealt with separately. There is much doubt at the Pentagon as to the wisdom of spending the fantastic sums that would be necessary to modernize the Spanish army. The development of Spanish air fields as bombing bases, however, has long been the desire of the armed services.

McCarran and the friends of Franco are now sitting pretty. McCarran will undoubtedly push for additional E. C. A. aid to Spain. The foreign-aid bill gives the President discretionary power to help such countries as Spain, but McCarran is expected to demand iron-clad directives that Spain, as he has put it, "gets its share" in 1952. In this he will receive powerful support from such Senators as Chavez, O'Mahoney, Brewster, Cain, and presumably Taft, all of whom supported his Spanish-loan rider last summer.

The Spanish lobby which did so much to get that rider through is keeping pretty well out of sight this year. Its activities are really not needed now, for Congressional opposition to more aid for Franco has all but collapsed. Senators who opposed the Spanish loan last year are not too keen about sticking their political necks out again. They were beaten sixty-five to fifteen last August, and some of them confess that the fight seems hopeless. They feel that the recent disorders in Spain, far from discouraging future aid to Franco, will only spur McCarran and his supporters to new efforts on the ground that the United States cannot afford to have the regime collapse.

The loans now being made to Spain are supposed to open the way to the acquisition of strategic materials by the United States, but nothing of this kind has as yet been accomplished. In fact, official Spanish speeches hint indirectly that help for Spain was delayed far too long and that the current loans are in the nature of "reparation" for a past wrong. While this is annoying to the State Department, it is little more than that. Apparently

McCarran does not mind, and it is McCarran right now who counts.

For a time it looked as if Franco might be kept waiting at the back door of the Treasury, but he is certainly at the front door now. No one knows just what price he asked for the bases which have been made available to us, but there can be no doubt that it was steep. Unless the American people react strongly against having him brought gradually into full membership in the Western bloc, he is likely soon to be sitting in the parlor.

G. M.'s Economic Tyranny

BY T. K. QUINN

THE recent history of the General Motors Corporation shows an interesting curve of steadily increasing sales: in 1946 sales totaled \$1,900,000,000; in 1947, \$3,815,000,000; in 1948, \$4,701,000,000; in 1949, \$5,700,000,000; in 1950, \$7,531,000,000. As an associate of small manufacturers, I wonder where and how General Motors was able to get the enormous quantities of steel necessary for this production in a period of alleged shortage, when the little fellows were not able to get it. How ridiculous, how dishonest it is to say that all the people of the country have equal opportunities! What is meant is that equal opportunities are open to those who have the power to force themselves into advantageous positions and obtain preferment.

The thousands of tons of steel gobbled up by General Motors might have kept alive many fine smaller companies which were forced to the wall. The situation was so bad that General Motors itself, shamefacedly conscious of its advantage, joined the government in demanding more production from the steel companies, though it continued to hog what steel there was.

Automobile manufacturers are not the only ones who have suffered. Before the war General Motors had very little stove, or range, business. Now, because of their inability to get steel during the shortage, a number of the small pre-war manufacturers are no longer with us. Electromaster of Detroit felt obliged to sell out to Philco; Globe-American of Indiana sold out to Maytag; Glenwood of Massachusetts discontinued; Crown Stove of Illinois has barely hung on; Robertson of Tennessee went broke; Monitor of New York had to go through financial reorganization. There were other victims. But Frigidaire—hardly a descriptive sales name for a cook stove—produced in sufficient quantities to become one of the leaders in volume of sales. General Motors' financial power was more than enough to get steel for unprece-

T. K. QUINN is president of the T. K. Quinn Company, a management corporation, and a director and officer of other corporations.

dented automobile production—it could also get steel for stoves.

The claim is often made that big business must be as big as it is to be efficient. But just how General Motors becomes a more efficient producer of automobiles by also producing ranges, refrigerators, washing machines, electric appliances, and diesel engines has never been and cannot be explained unless efficiency and financial power have come to be synonymous—as morality and legality are coming to be.

And this is not the whole story, by any means. General Motors' last report contains no breakdown of its figures by department or division. For all we know it was able to attain its new position in the range business by subsidizing prices out of its automobile profits. It could easily afford to give away at cost all its refrigerators, ranges, and washing machines in order to eliminate most of its competitors. The few million dollars lost would not be noticed in its one billion seven hundred million dollars of profits, before taxes. General Motors could invade any fabrication field it chose and eliminate competitors in just this way; thousands of small manufacturers may be said to be living on the sufferance of General Motors.

Think, too, of the thousands of small manufacturers who supply parts to General Motors and are dependent upon its patronage for their existence. They had better do as the corporation says if they expect to continue to get the orders to keep their factories running.

There are many more thousands of automobile dealers whose costs, selling prices, investment requirements, and policies and practices are dictated by General Motors. They all have one-sided contracts which can be canceled on thirty-to-sixty-days' notice, with or without cause. Any slight independence they may boast is purely imaginary.

Historically, political freedom has never long outlived economic freedom. Giant corporations like General Motors can present glowing reports, figures, and curves, but they are signs of danger to the nation. The cost to the rest of society becomes intolerable when it is known. The General Motors report for 1950 is another milestone on the way to socialism; another nail, to change the metaphor, in the coffin of free enterprise. The stockholders have actually no more voice in the corporation than Russian peasants have in Soviet industry. Management and control rest entirely in the hands of a little group of self-perpetuating officers and directors.



TRAFFIC IRREGULATION

London Daily Herald

BOOKS and the ARTS

"Historic Europe Is Dead"

THE POLITICAL COLLAPSE OF EUROPE. By Hajo Holborn. Alfred A. Knopf. \$2.50.

IN THIS compact little volume Professor Holborn has tried to summarize and interpret those aspects of modern European history that are relevant to an understanding of Europe's significance in the world today—to establish a "clear distinction between the forces and ideas of former ages that continue to be alive and those that have ceased to be issues in our time or, perhaps, forever." As narrative and exposition "the book is a determined attempt to condense . . . the international political history of modern Europe to the essentials." On a more elusive level it tries "to recover the knowledge about the day before yesterday that has slipped from living memory" and has not yet "been caught by the professional historian." And on the plane of large generalization it offers a continuous argument in support of the author's major thesis—that "'historic Europe' is dead and beyond resurrection."

With so ambitious a program Professor Holborn's book can scarcely fail to fall into some of the traps to which this type of literature is peculiarly exposed. Scholars will inevitably find many of its pages tame and over-familiar. The general reader will complain that personalities and events make their appearances and departures without adequate explanation. Both will quarrel with the author's selection of those episodes that receive a fairly full treatment and those that are dismissed in a sentence. To this reviewer Professor Holborn's account of the diplomatic history of the nineteenth century seems too detailed: surely such matters as the "Polish-Saxon problem" at the Congress of Vienna and Bismarck's fragile Three Emperors League fall in the category of things that have "ceased to be issues in our time." On the other hand, the analysis of overseas imperialism is too condensed. If, as Professor Holborn very correctly argues, Lenin and the Marxists offered an oversimpli-

fied explanation, a convincing refutation requires more than the meager ration of four or five paragraphs allotted to it.

These criticisms, however, largely apply to the first third of the book. Beginning with the turn of the present century, Professor Holborn's writing gathers momentum and his major thesis appears in clearer outline. And it is here that the author's "knowledge about the day before yesterday"—admirably bridging the gap between journalism and conventional scholarship—first comes into play to enliven and enrich his account. More particularly, he establishes a relationship between the problems of Europe and the new world-awareness of the United States that gives coherence to the whole latter part of his book.

"Until 1917, or at least till the last years of the nineteenth century," Professor Holborn argues, "two separate political systems existed, one in the New World, the other in the Old." The disintegration of the Chinese Empire first brought them together. The First World War finally fused them. But the imperative necessities of national interest that forced the United States into the war remained obscure. "Many Americans conceived of America's participation . . . as an exclusively idealistic venture, and after the fighting was over many concluded that American foreign policy under Wilson's leadership had attended to esoteric ends rather than to genuine American needs."

Hence the fateful withdrawal of the United States from European concerns in the 1920's. On this, as on the related problem of enforcing the Versailles settlement, Professor Holborn displays a sure sense of historical realities and a nearly unparalleled fairness of mind. In judging the peace treaty itself he rises above the well-worn arguments of the revisionist and anti-revisionist schools. Indeed, his chief criticism of the peace conference is its failure to discuss the "common problems concerned with Europe as a whole"—an omission that was later to bear a large responsibility for the piecemeal and haphazard fash-

ion in which the revision of the treaty came about. The Allied powers, Professor Holborn argues, might well have behaved more generously toward the new German democracy. "But it was absolutely essential for Britain and France to keep control of any changes in Germany's position in Europe." Particularly shortsighted was Britain's failure to appreciate the importance of Eastern Europe and its implied toleration of German expansionism in that area. This was a course that by a series of illogical twists and false starts was to lead to the unprecedented diplomatic abdication of Munich. Here the "Western European powers voluntarily surrendered their influence over Eastern Europe"—never to regain it.

This conclusion comes as a welcome corrective to the currently fashionable contention that President Roosevelt and his advisers "sold out" Eastern Europe to the Russians. Such an accusation, Professor Holborn soberly reminds us, lacks historical foundation, since that area of the world was not ours to sell. "The decisions of the Moscow, Teheran, Yalta, and Potsdam conferences," he concludes, "were on the whole . . . logical and inevitable. . . . If one wants to criticize them, one should direct criticism not so much against the actual results . . . , as against the expectations entertained at the time . . . with regard to the future of Western-Russian relations."

The foregoing selection can give only an inadequate sampling of the intellectual richness of Professor Holborn's concluding chapters. In these—by far the best part of his book—he offers a much-needed analysis and integration of the mass of new material on the Second World War that has been appearing over the past five years. On such disputed issues as the timing of a second front, the feasibility of a Balkan campaign, the essentials of German reconstruction, the origins of the present cold war, and the basic desiderata of European unity, he offers a series of balanced and eminently sensible conclusions. In the end he amply proves his point that Europe as a political entity

has collapsed—indeed, that this collapse came as early as the First World War. Yet the conclusion he draws from it is the reverse of defeatist.

Far from advocating the abandonment of Europe to its fate, Professor Holborn argues that alliance with Europe is more than ever indispensable to American survival. "The European political system," he contends, "has been replaced by an Atlantic system." On any rational grounds the paragraph or two in which he summarizes the material and spiritual resources of present-day Europe should dispose forever of the claim that the United States can go its own way without allies. But in this summer of political bitterness and wilful ignorance the chances of rational political argument are even more remote than customary. In such an atmosphere Professor Holborn's wise and calm little book can perform an invaluable function of intellectual clarification.

H. STUART HUGHES

Latin American Colonial Art

BAROQUE AND ROCOCO IN LATIN AMERICA. By Pál Kelemen. The Macmillan Company. \$16.50.

AFTER the conquest of the Americas the impact of European culture on that of the Indian inspired a blend in art which, especially in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, found expressions of unparalleled originality. Until now few books have appeared on this subject, and these have presented only one or another country's colonial production. In his "Baroque and Rococo in Latin America," Pál Kelemen surveys the whole field, from the Rio Grande to the Rio de la Plata, offering a most inviting introduction to the subject.

His first chapter acquaints the reader with the colonial scene, bringing out the secular and religious elements that conditioned the life of the Spanish colonist in America. In the next he discusses the artistic conditions of contemporary Europe, then flowering into the baroque, and relates them to the peculiar situation prevailing in the New World. There follows the metamorphosis into the rococo, a style that in eighteenth-century Latin America reached an extravagant and ardent climax. The subsequent chapters present

the highlights of colonial achievements in architecture, sculpture, and painting, selected with a discriminating eye—a panorama of the entire epoch. These three major branches of the visual arts are not separated in strict academic fashion but mingle in stimulating variety. Only a handful of our educational institutions devote any courses to this vast subject, and except for the architecture, libraries in the United States have collected few significant photographs in this field. Representative selection can be expected only from experts working on the spot and endowed with taste, knowledge, good humor, patience, and an understanding of Latin temperament. All of these qualities Mr. Kelemen seemingly possesses in rich measure.

He has grouped his plates for subtle contrasts or similarities, and it is refreshing to see side by side statues from Ecuador and Guatemala, paintings from Peru and Mexico, architecture from Colombia and Brazil. Brazil's rococo proves to be an architect's art, modeling space in a most theatrical fashion. Among the sculpture illustrated are finely carved statues inspired by European models and grippingly expressive Christs and saints that reflect the special flavor of Indian psychology. Naive charm and fresh design distinguish the anonymous paintings of Cusco, Peru. Possessing an intimate familiarity with European iconography, the author traces the influences which affected the New World. Artistic stimuli came not only from the Iberian Peninsula and Italy but also from Flemish and German sources. Dutch and British traders brought in their goods, and from the Far East via the Philippines were introduced the wonders of an exotic world. All this was molded by the ancestral talent and skill of native craftsmen, overwhelmingly Indian and mestizo.

The book points up regional differences in the work of the various colonies. Churches in Central America had to be built especially sturdy to resist the frequent tremors. An "earthquake baroque" resulted, chiefly in Guatemala, but also in out-of-the-way places of Nicaragua, Honduras, and El Salvador. Ecuador is famous for its eighteenth-century Indian artists who were imitative of European styles. Here Mr. Kelemen's brilliant discovery of the

hitherto unknown or misunderstood image of the winged Virgin as the Vision of the Fifth Seal is exciting reading. "Viceregal Peru," embracing the vast area from Quito to Buenos Aires, presents such spectacular survivals of colonial art as Lima, Arequipa, Cusco, Potosí, and Sucre. Almost in the center of this realm lies that fabulous region, as yet hardly explored, which stretches south of Cusco to Copacabana, along the shores of majestic Lake Titicaca. The concluding chapters bring out the splendor of colonial organs and the virtuosity of the wood-carvers and gilders in altars, choir stalls, and pulpits.

Mr. Kelemen's "Medieval American Art," published in 1943, is generally accepted not only as the most important book yet written to show the art of pre-Conquest America as a whole but also as a fresh departure in the writing of art books in general. Now he has done it again. As in the previous book, he apparently spent years in assembling the graphic material with utmost care. Most of the excellent photographs are credited to Elisabeth Kelemen, who accompanied her husband on his travels. The text was written only after each page of

FREE "THE AGE OF REASON"

By Thomas Paine

Write for your copy of Thomas Paine's masterpiece, "The Age of Reason." 190 pages; complete and unexpurgated. No obligation on your part; sent free as part of an educational campaign, only one, but please add 10¢ to cover cost of postage & handling.

THE THOMAS PAINE FOUNDATION
Dept. N7, 370 W. 35th St., New York 1, N. Y.

BOOKS AND PERIODICALS from the U S S R

Just Arrived! VLADIMIR POPOV
STEEL and SLAG

Novel, Prize Winner 1948

In English — 648 pp. — \$1.25

Latest Soviet Records, Sheet Music, Handicrafts

1951 SUBSCRIPTIONS OPEN FOR ALL

SOVIET NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES

Ask for Complete Catalogue P-51

FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.

W. 28th St. N. Y. 10 Murray Hill 8-2660

PUBLISHERS' OVERSTOCK

Original Editions, New—Order Now!

Presidential Sweepstakes: H. L. Stoddard.....	1.00
Scottsboro Boy: H. Patterson & E. Conrad.....	1.00
The Devil in Massachusetts: M. L. Starkey.....	1.00
Newman's European Travel Guide (1950).....	1.00
The Nine Young Men: Wesley McCune.....	1.00
D. H. Lawrence Manuscripts: E. Todlock, Ed.....	1.00
Two Adolescents: Alberto Moravia.....	1.00
Maupassant, Lion in Path: P. Stegmüller.....	1.25
Celebrated Case Fitz J. Porter: O. Blaschnschmidt.....	1.25
Copernicus and His World: Hermann Keston.....	1.50
Universe of G. B. S.: William Irvine, Ill. list.....	1.75
This I Saw (Goya): Antonina Valentini.....	1.75
James Joyce, 2 Decades of Criticism, \$5 list.....	2.00
Dissenting Opinions of Mr. Justice Holmes, foreword by Dr. George W. Kirkway, \$5 list.....	2.50
Library of Living Philosophers Series, Reissue at \$6.00 list, P. A. Schilpp, Editor—	
Alfred N. Whitehead, George Santayana, John Dewey, each volume.....	4.50
Mexican Heritage: 116 photographs, H. Hueno.....	3.00

Postpaid U. S. A.

DOWNTOWN BOOK BAZAAR

212 Broadway, corner Fulton, New York 7, N. Y.

the illustrations had been arranged. Thus each paragraph of the text is related to the figures. The reader cannot help looking at them with the author's enthusiasm and understanding. The result is a book which is fascinating to art students, scholars, and the general public. Very high standards of printing are evident in both text and illustrations.

In his book Mr. Kelemen has provided a sensitive introduction to the human values in an art which has been nearly completely neglected. Here at last is struck a balance between research and broad interpretation. Here is effective communication with the world outside scholarship. Here is a worthy presentation of the fabulous wealth of our neighbors' colonial heritage in art.

MARTIN S. SORIA

"A. P. H." in Parliament

INDEPENDENT MEMBER. By A. P. Herbert. Doubleday and Company. \$5.

IN 1935, after some preliminary brushes with politics in the pages of *Punch* and elsewhere, Sir Alan Herbert (he was knighted after World War II) sought election to Parliament from the University of Oxford. Since 25 or 30 per cent of the electors were clergymen and Sir Alan made no secret of his intention to seek an easing of the divorce laws, his success in this campaign was a great surprise. His reluctant colleague was Lord Hugh Cecil, a very High Churchman, and his predecessor the learned historian Sir Charles Oman, a holdover from the Victorian Age who was a great authority on the Dark Ages and who had written among other books a history of the Peninsular War in six volumes. Perhaps the graduates of Oxford University decided that the time had come to change the mixture.

If such was their aim, they certainly succeeded. Unlike most new members Mr. Herbert delivered his maiden speech on his second day in Parliament. "A brazen hussy of a speech," Winston Churchill called it with a chuckle, and, indeed, it did display very little of the trepidation of the inexperienced, whatever its author may have felt. For fourteen years thereafter Mr. Herbert added greatly to the enjoyment of the House and sometimes to their enlightenment

by his interventions in debate and by the bills he introduced. One of these proposed to amend the laws of England concerning "the sale or supply of wine, beer, spirits, and the like" by adopting the laws of France on this subject, a suggestion that will commend itself to many as representing a high form of statesmanship. Another was drafted in verse, but unfortunately seems to have been presented in *Punch* rather than in Parliament.

However, Mr. Herbert was not in Parliament just for the fun of it. He fought seriously for amendments in the liquor laws and in the regulation of gambling, and actually succeeded in liberalizing the divorce laws. He fought especially hard against the treatment of Newfoundland and the bill to authorize its union with Canada, but this battle he lost.

From the point of view of legislation, indeed, Mr. Herbert accomplished very little. Even his divorce bill passed only because the government finally provided some of its own time for it. But usefulness in Parliament is more than adding to the statutes. To have enlivened debates and been the spokesman of causes that party machines would not take up was something. And Parliament is not over-supplied with outstanding personalities. Even those who did not agree with Sir Alan's politics, which were anti-Labor when they were not merely personal, probably felt some regret that the abolition of university representation deprived him of his seat.

"Independent Member" is, among other things, the record of these years at Westminster. It contains witty, fascinating, and informative descriptions of the atmosphere of Parliament, its rites and ceremonies, the terror and exhilaration of parliamentary speaking, the opportunities and frustrations that come to private members.

Even more interesting than the chapters on Parliament are the author's memoirs of the war. For five years he and his little Water Gipsy were members of the River Emergency Service patrolling some sixty miles of the Thames through blitz, doodle-bug attacks, and V-2 raids. From 1940 to 1944 they were actually a part of the navy, the ship starting out grandly as H. M. S. Water Gipsy, coming down to "H. M. patrol vessel," and ending

somewhat ingloriously as a "naval auxiliary boat," while its commander sank from second hand to petty officer (small craft only). But through all vicissitudes of rank the little craft—weighing six-and-one-half tons without load and driven by two nine-horsepower engines—clattered (the word is the author's) up and down the Thames on the miscellaneous missions of a patrol boat. The river was both a part of the show of war and a grandstand seat from which to view it. Indeed, it was better than a seat, it was a whole grandstand in which one could move about, catching the spectacle from different angles. The author's descriptions of London during the war are a contribution to history both because of this unique perspective and because of their vividness. We can almost smell the smoke of burning docks and buildings and hear the crackle of the flames.

While Petty Officer Herbert was defending his country and A. P. Herbert, M. P., helping to make its laws, "A. P. H.," father of both of them, continued to add to its quiet gaiety by his writings in *Punch* and the *Sunday Graphic*. Some of these are included here, augmenting the charm of a book that belongs in the line of "Holy Deadlock" and "Uncommon Law."

THOMAS P. PEARDON

Verse Chronicle

WHEN "North of Boston" was published, nobody, apparently, had any idea of the author as anything but a mature person—if not exactly mellow or venerable, at least full-grown. Today so much has life-expectancy increased, or emotional development slowed down, there is a tendency to present the work of a man of forty as that of a kid, with emphasis, both in the content and the publicity, on his youth and growing pains. "Of our living poets of greatest distinction," observed the late Mr. Matthiessen, "all but a handful are now over fifty, and many are well beyond that."

These reflections are prompted not only by what looks like a general trend but more particularly and recently by the publication of Paul Engle's "The Word of Love" (Random House, \$2.50). It is altogether to the credit of

Mr. Engle's growth that he has turned his back on the easy praise for the cheap sentiment of his "American Song" to face the more difficult task of expressing personal emotion. The lyrics in this collection have the impact of a direct, almost desperate, and at times embarrassing urgency and immediacy of feeling; where they fail is in the writer's lack of command of his medium, his innocence of the art of verse. Touching and naive as this may be it is a matter whose correction is demanded, however boring and exhausting the process, by the courage and virtue of growth. I am not urging that nakedness of emotion be veiled in the deencies of phrase. On the contrary: but that Mr. Engle's dance, however naked, may not stumble and halt, may not embarrass by its unintended awkwardness and blundering. He has so much to learn about prosody.

He could find out much to his advantage from a study of the "Selected Poems" of Robert Farren (Sheed and Ward, \$2.50). Mr. Farren is a most uneven writer; just when you begin to think he is no good except when translating from the Gaelic he comes up with something, apparently original, with all the dash and surprise in the world. The most interesting thing about this collection is the way in which it illustrates a weakness in our own and British poetry now—the tendency to depend for effect on epithet and image. We know the difference between a long poem and a short one all right, I guess, but we do not distinguish so well between loud and soft, between swift and slow; and in such matters as the rush, the pause, the retard, the lift, the linger, the echo, the weight, the space, or even the use of a good sound spondee, we are babes in the wood in comparison with the Irish. Of course, we haven't the tradition, never having had a crop of bards so voracious they nearly ate kings out of keep and castle. Using these hallowed resources Mr. Farren can show you how to make quite good poetry when the language, as such, is more conventional than distinguished.

In addition to a title-poem of some 600 lines, "The Mills of the Kavanagh's," by Robert Lowell (Harcourt, Brace, \$2.50), contains five other longish pieces, and a brief six-stanza imitation of Werfel. My surprise, or disap-

pointment, in this collection would be greater if my expectation of Mr. Lowell were as high as it presumably ought to be. I am sorry, I find him dull and I cannot make out what he is getting at; I am willing to take the blame for lacking whatever key is necessary to unlock the barriers of understanding and communication.

"A Change of World," by Adrienne Cecile Rich (Yale University Press, \$2.50), is the forty-eighth volume in the Yale Series of Younger Poets, which "is designed to provide a publishing medium for the first volumes of America's coming poets" and "is open to men and women under forty who have not previously had a book of verse published." (Why forty, why not thirty? Was this always the figure?) The roster of poets previously printed in the series is a little saddening: how few of the coming poets seem ever to have arrived, to have persisted, how many to have faded out, or become diverted! I think it is a pity also, for the sake of the record, to omit from the list those volumes which have gone out of print; some, perhaps, might be worth reissue.

Well, anyway, here we have the work of a real young poet, Miss Rich being twenty-one and a senior at Radcliffe. Very nice work, too; Mr. Auden, as editor, rather understates the case for her merit, sending her off with almost too avuncular a pat on the head. His foreword (he is now editor of the series) also contains, in very brief compass, some very sensible remarks indeed. To get back to Miss Rich, "Five O'Clock Beacon Hill" seems to me an excellent fusion of the sensuous with the ironic; as in other poems, including those where she is taking after Frost, Miss Rich has a talent for combining imagination and reserve. And of course no male could resist, however commonplace, the homily in

AN UNSAID WORD

She who has power to call her man
From that estranged intensity
Where his mind forages alone,
Yet keeps her peace and leaves him free,
And when his thoughts to her return
Stands where he left her, still his own,
Knows this the hardest thing to learn.

The best news is that now, and about time, we have complete "The Collected Poems of William Butler Yeats" (Macmillan, \$5). Let an Irishman make the

comment; here, in the words of Robert Farren, we are bidden

Open the bolted gates,
let in old lilt and murmur
and death-recovered shout
with newer cry and chorus
on the march of the speaking mouth;
melody of mouths talking,
strictly, as worlds spin,
lit, lofty, reeling
out of the sun and in.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

Films

MANNY
FARBER

A STATE of uncertainty, generally accompanied by a feeling of anxiety or fear; indeterminateness; indecision." This, according to Webster, is the meaning of suspense—probably the best single theme for movies in an anxious era like this, when we are all sweating out something—from A-bombs, bullets, or furloughs to pregnancies, ironclad marriages, or high prices. But this theme has been misconstrued and bastardized by both Hollywood and its critics. One director in particular has made his living by subjecting the movie audience to a series of cheap, glossy, mechanically perfect shocks, and for this he has been hailed as the High Boojum of Suspense. The name of this artist is, of course, Alfred Hitchcock—who has gone farther on fewer brains than any director since Griffith, while cleverly masking his deficiency, and his underlying petty and pointless sadism, with a honey-smooth patina of "sophistication," irony, and general glitter.

Having vented this long-pent-up gripe, I hasten to add that Hitchcock's latest film, "Strangers on a Train," is fun to watch if you check your intelligence at the box office. It is too bad that this director, who has the observing eyes of a Dos Passos and the facility of a Maupassant, does himself the disservice of intercutting rather good naturalistic scenes with so much old hoke. His forte is the half-minute visual uncertainty—a murderer's hand straining through a sewer grating for a symbolically decorated cigarette lighter. Hitch not only shows the fingers straining forward with slow, animal cunning but throws a

white, metallic light over them, thus turning a dirty black hole into Grauman's Chinese on opening night. The whole thing is done in a boxed close-up, so that one can't help feeling the camera man could have cut the nonsense short by handing the Ronson up to the villain. The late-twenties Hitchcock, devoted to the fairly credible style of John Buchan and Belloc Lowndes, would have rejected all such intrusive, romantic, metronome-timed schmalz and no doubt fired the script writer for lifting the gesture and locale from a film—"The Third Man"—made by his former shadow, Carol Reed. However, like so many transplanted foreign aces who consider American audiences more childish, gullible, and slow-witted than those in the Marshall Plan countries, Hitchcock has gone so soft that he makes even the average uninspired native director look comparatively non-commercial. His only really punchy Hollywood job was "Lifeboat." "Strangers on a Train" ranks somewhere between that effort and mushy gab-fests like "Sabotage," "Under Capricorn," "Spellbound," and—though it had its merits—"Rope."

Because chases and homicides and Pearl White escapes clutter his pictures, no one notices the general emasculation Hitchcock has perpetrated on the thriller. Brittle, soft-checked, petulant pretty boys (Dick, Dall, Todd, Donat,

Cummings, Granger) are projected into high melodrama. These characters seem to disappear like clothes dummies within their tweedy, carefully unpressed Brooks Brothers jackets and slacks, thanks to a director who impregnates costume and décor with so much crackling luster, so much tension and latent evil, that the spectator expects a stair corner or tie clasp to start murdering everyone in sight. Hitchcock did a lot of harm to movies by setting off a trend toward investing backgrounds, architecture, and things like cigar bands with deep meaning. Finally, he takes all the bite out of his stories by whipping quickly but delicately down various "artistic" détours. In "Strangers on a Train" he cuts away from a brutally believable strangulation to the concave image cast up by the lens of the victim's fallen spectacles. At once the onlooker loses interest in the murder as such because he is so entranced with the lush, shadowy choreographic lyricism with which Hitchcock shows the life being squeezed, fraction by fraction, out of a shallow, hateful nymphomaniac.

The movie, by the way, is built around the travestied homosexuality of the murderer. Robert Walker provides the role with a meatier, more introverted, unhealthier savor than the stars usually give a Hollywood production. This is partly the result of Hitchcock's mechanical and spurious use of the new close-up style of camera work, which is evidently aimed at fetishists who like to study pores. Here he has given Walker an oily, puffy face and made him skitter his tiny eyes back and forth horizontally until it appears that the actor looks at everybody as if he were reading a book. But somewhere in the past two years Walker has picked up an aggressive jump style of acting; so that he seems to bull his way through the action—even when quietly waiting around a carnival for the sun to go down—like a thoughtless, savage two-hundred-pounder about to plunge for a touchdown. The heavy blanket of twisted melancholia which Walker spreads over this film is beautifully counterpointed by the work of Laura Elliott in the role of the victim. She seems to swish up into the picture like a sexy bespectacled baby whale. All the best things in "Strangers" have to do with the playing of these two.

Drama Note

BERT LAHR, whose humor is as broad as his portly figure, and Dolores Gray could make a hit out of anything, and have, although with one or two exceptions the skits are pretty lame in "Two on the Aisle," which opened at the Mark Hellinger last week. Some of the ideas are all right, but they don't come off, and the audience is left with the feeling that it got a Tom Collins without the gin. One scene rises on twenty bare diaphragms; there are other scenes in which the girls stay clad a little longer, but the show relies too heavily on this sort of business. The lyrics are awkward and help to account for the poor quality of the tunes. What makes the show a success is Mr. Lahr's grimaces, gestures, and noises, Donald Reid's imitations, and Miss Gray's ability to put a song over despite the awful lyrics. There is a skilful delay in Mr. Lahr's timing which must have something to do with his reputation of being the best clown in town.

The dancing is good, although some of the routines are like a G.O.P. national convention with everyone going his own way. Occasionally the dancers are allowed to get into a jam which can only be straightened out by stopping the show and taking a new tack. When Colette Marchand and J. C. McCord get the floor, the dancing is excellent.

The brasses and the drum get a lot of attention, and for this reason the music often sounds as though it were being played by a Salvation Army band.

"Two on the Aisle" is entertainment for visiting firemen, which means the show could go on forever if it were not for the fact that Mr. Lahr and Miss Gray, and very likely Mr. Reid, will get tired and leave, and the rest of the cast will get tired but stay. The enthusiasm of the cast has made "Two on the Aisle" something of a hit. But once the smiles get a little grim and the timing careless the same fate will overtake it that forced "Kiss Me, Kate"—or Slow Death at the Shubert—to close this week.

The costumes, according to the Playbill, were by Joan Personette, but as perhaps you have gathered by now, they were not much in evidence.

CHADWICK HALL

Buy Your Books through THE *Nation*



Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C.O.D. No C.O.D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to

Miss Le Pach

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
20 Vesey Street New York 7, N. Y.

B. H.
HAGGIN

RCA Victor's LP record Highlights from "Così Fan Tutte" does give several marvelous excerpts—including the first-act quintet, the aria *Come scoglio*, the duet *Fra gli amplessi*—and gives them complete. Nevertheless, torn out of the context in which, as Professor Dent says in the observations quoted on the envelope, they are arranged with such skill, they are like the "bleeding chunks" torn out of Wagner's operas. And instead of Dent's observations the envelope should provide the words, so the listener may know what the music is about. The performances by singers of the Glyndebourne Festival—Sena Jurinac, soprano, Blanche Thebom, mezzo-soprano, Richard Lewis, tenor, Erich Kunz and Mario Borriello, baritones—and its orchestra conducted by Fritz Busch are superb; the recorded sound of the orchestra is excessively sharp.

Mozart's little opera "Bastien et Bastienne," composed when he was twelve, is very charming. The performance by German singers and the Ton-Studio Orchestra of Stuttgart conducted by Rolf Reinhardt is good; the orchestral sound is not clear and agreeable (Period).

His "La Finta Giardiniera," composed six years later, is a succession of many short pieces without much development which might be enjoyable in their dramatic context in the opera house but get to be wearisome by themselves. The singing by the German soloists with the Ton-Studio Orchestra under Reinhardt is good (Period).

"The Impresario," a little entertainment composed for Josef II in 1786, is in Mozart's matured style. The Mercury record gives us its delightful overture played fairly well by the Silvertone Orchestra under Leinsdorf, then its two arias and trio, framed in spoken dialogue, excellently sung (in English) by Edith Gordon and Lois Hunt, sopranos, and Luigi Velucci, tenor, with a chamber orchestra under Hermann Herz.

Victoria de los Angeles's singing of *Porgi amor* from "Figaro" on a Victor 78 begins beautifully but ends with too much monkey business in voice produc-

tion and phrasing. And her singing of Wagner arias on another 78 is something to skip.

Italo Tajo's singing of Figaro's fourth-act aria on a Victor 45 is good; the orchestra under Cellini is muffled.

Marian Anderson is not absolutely on pitch in Handel's "Come to Me, Soothing Sleep" on another 45; but otherwise her singing in this piece and in Handel's "O What Pleasure" and "The Trumpet Is Calling" is good.

Mordecai Bauman's performances of arias by Handel and Alessandro Scarlatti are something to skip (Allegro).

Dvorak's Symphony No. 2, a good work though one not as rich in inspired invention as No. 5, is well performed by the Berlin Philharmonic under Ernst Schrader. Treble must be stepped up for clarity of sound (Urania).

Engaging small-scale pieces similar to the Slavonic Dances are Nos. 1, 3, and 4 of the six of the ten Dvorak Legends Opus 59 that are well performed by the Symphony Orchestra of Radio Berlin under Fritz Lehmann; the symphonic poem "The Wood Dove" Opus 110, on the same record, I find uninteresting. When treble is stepped up sufficiently for clarity the sound is strident in loud passages (Urania).

A good performance of Strauss's "Till Eulenspiegel" by the Berlin Philharmonic under Fricsay is on a record with a performance of "Don Juan" by the Amsterdam Concertgebouw Orchestra under von Karajan that is occasionally slow and over-emphatic (the solo oboe plays with excessive vibrato). Treble must be stepped up (Decca).


The Ormandy-Philadelphia Orchestra performance of Tchaikovsky's Fifth is something to skip (Columbia).

RCA Victor has issued LP dubbings of some older 78 rpm recordings—allegedly on the ground of historic and artistic importance, which some of them definitely do not have (e.g., the atrocious Caniglia-Gigli "Aida," as against the old Giannini-Pertile version, which would have historic and artistic importance); actually on the ground of sales figures. Among the recordings which satisfy Victor's rigorously high standards in the latter respect and do have historic and artistic importance are those of Toscanini; and I have heard the LP versions of his 1936 recording of Beethoven's Seventh with the New

York Philharmonic and his 1938 recording of Haydn's No. 88 with the N. B. C. Symphony. With treble, bass, and volume stepped up, the first, second, and fourth movements of the Beethoven are good approximations of the originals, though lacking their spacious fullness; but the third movement is very poor. The Haydn too is a good approximation of the original—in, among other things, its unresonant dryness—which hasn't all its fullness of volume and brilliance. And what performances!

I have also heard the LP version of the 1942 Schnabel-Chicago Symphony recording of Beethoven's Piano Concerto No. 5. With bass and treble stepped up the piano sound in the first and last movements is distant, shallow, and brash; in the slow movement it is nearer and rounder and altogether better. But Schnabel's playing makes this the one to acquire of available LP versions.

Excellent is the LP version of the superb post-war recording of the Monteux-San Francisco Symphony performance of Berlioz's *Symphonie Fantastique*.

 * from "Bach-Gesellsch."
† from "Urtext" ed.

Pocket-Sized, Low-Priced Editions


BACH* Well Temp. Clavier, 11 vols., each.96
BEETHOVEN† Violin Sonatas, 11 vols., each.98

■ MANY OTHERS—WRITE FOR FREE CATALOG

Order From Your Dealer, or Direct From

LEA P OCKET SCORES Dept. W, Box 136
New York 32, N. Y.

SUMMER SPECIAL
For July and August
SELECTED LIST OF L. P.'S
33 1/3% OFF
Send 15¢ for catalog
DISCOUNT RECORD CLUB
DEPT. N-28
Box 533, Grand Central Station, New York 17, N. Y.



PULITZER PRIZE AND CRITICS' AWARD
RICHARD RODGERS ■ OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd
present in association with
LELAND HAYWARD ■ JOSHUA LOBAN

ROGER RICO
MARTHA WRIGHT

South Pacific

Music by **RICHARD RODGERS**
Lyrics by **OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd**
Book by
OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd & JOSHUA LOBAN
 Adapted from **JAMES A. MCHENNER'S Pulitzer Prize Winning "TALES OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC"**
Directed by **JOSHUA LOBAN**
Scenery ■ Lighting by **Jo Mielziner**
 with **WYRON M. ... ■ DIOSA ...**
MAJESTIC, 44 SL. W. of B'way ■ Air-Cond.
 Evenings 8:25. Matinees Wed. ■ Sat. 2:25



a resort
that is
"different"

Pottersville, N. Y.

On Schroon Lake

OSCAR BRAND & Complete Staff in
a Season-Long Festival of POLK SONGS, ARTS,
DANCE MUSIC & DRAMA
ANITA & JULES ADOLPHE, Folk Dancers,
All Sports—Private Beach, Boating—Canoeing,
5 Championship Clay Tennis Courts,
Dance Orchestra—Cocky Bar—Excellent Food
CAMP PHONES CHESTERTOWN 2830
City Office: 142 Montague Street, Brooklyn 2, N. Y.
Phone: MAin 4-8570 or MAin 4-1230
LEAH OKUN, Director

MERRIEWOODE

A CAMP FOR ADULTS

HIGHLAND LAKE - STODDARD, N. H.

Where Interesting People Meet for the Perfect Vacation.
Enjoy beautiful 10-mile lake, All Land and Water Sports,
Interesting hiking objectives thru woodland trails, Arts and
Crafts, Square and Folk Dancing Instruction, 1 hour by
train from New York.

OLIVE "HATTIE" BARON, Director
Write Dept. N for literature. Tel: Hancock 98-Ring 13

the dream resort you've been looking for
and looking for and looking for!

THE NEW
Glenmere
PRIVATE GOLF COURSE

Chester, N. Y. in the beautiful Ramapos
Phones: Chester 2151 - N. Y. REster 2-5047

Hathaway Lodge

Formerly the palatial 592-acre Mary estate. Luxurious
rooms, many with open fireplaces. Swimming pool,
clay tennis courts, handball, badminton, Horseback
riding, hiking—magnificent mountain trails. Recor-
ding, library, informal dancing. Delicious American-
Jewish food. Easy transportation. Attractive Rates.
For reservations or booklet N1

HATHAWAY LODGE

Haines Falls, N. Y. Phone Tannersville 299

Beautiful HARBOR HILL

COLD SPRING-ON-HUDSON, NEW YORK

The country Inn you've dreamed of find-
ing. Beauty, Peace, Good Food, Good Talk.

30 Guests - 30 Acres - Swimming - Golf
4 Stone Cottages. Open Fires. Ice Box Raids.
11 miles N. Y. Circulars. Tel: Cold Spring 5-2174

LEAD A DOUBLE LIFE—Walk to
Tanglewood for the concerts—or fish for
bass in our two lakes. Write MUSIC INN,
Lenox, Mass.

FOR RENT

BRENTWOOD, L. I., 4-room furnished
cottage, complete, piano, fireplace. Also,
10-room house, complete, grand piano and
two fireplaces. Share with doctor's widow.
Low rental. Mr. Rucker, 4th Ave. & Brent-
wood Rd. Suitable for professional couple
seeking gracious living. Telephone Brent-
wood 7100 week-ends or after 8 P.M.

REAL ESTATE

FOR RENT OR SALE, attractively fur-
nished secluded houses on beautiful country
place of woods, meadows, orchards and
beach on GUEMES ISLAND, eight min-
utes ferry from Anacortes, in San Juan sun-
shine belt. Each house two bedrooms, elec-
tricity, running water, open fireplaces, gar-
dens. Ideal for economical year-round resi-
dence, mild climate, bathing, fishing; mag-
nificent view of islands and Mt. Baker.
Gordon Dunthorne, Box 540, Guemes
Island, Anacortes, Washington.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

The C. O. in Double Jeopardy

Dear Sirs: In the Nürnberg trials
some of the accused pleaded not guilty
on the ground that they were personally
innocent of the atrocities charged
against them because they were only
obeying the orders of their superiors.
The American judges ruled that such
a plea did not exonerate the defendants,
who should have acted in accordance
with the dictates of their conscience.

In this country when a man who fol-
lows his conscience refuses to become
part of a machine organized for the
express purpose of murdering his fel-
low-men, American judges operate on
a different principle and sentence him
to prison.

And one term in jail for refusing to
join an organization set on destroying
mankind is not enough. After a con-
scientious objector has served the sen-
tence imposed for non-registration un-
der the Selective Service laws, he is
often brought to trial again and sen-
tenced a second time. Recently, a young
Quaker who had served a sentence for
non-registration was tried again for
failing to report for physical examina-
tion (part of the formalities of register-
ing) and sentenced to five years on each
of three counts for a total of fifteen
years—the same sentence given one of
the atomic spies! The subsequent out-
cry over such an unjust sentence finally
led the judge to allow the three five-
year sentences to run concurrently.
There are many other conscientious ob-
jectors now in the same situation.

Braintree, Mass. HELEN S. EATON

Anti-Union Conspiracy

Dear Sirs: I read with interest Aleine
Austin's informative summary of the
majority report of the Senate Subcom-
mittee on Labor-Management Relations
[*The Nation*, July 7]. The article, how-
ever, creates the mistaken impression
that the bane of the union organizing
drive in the Southern textile industry is
the Taft-Hartley act. I would not deny
that this law has weakened the or-
ganizing drive in a number of ways,
but it is not the fundamental cause of
the unions' failure.

What the unions faced in the or-
ganizing drive was a closely knit
conspiracy of the mills, the local legis-

latures, the courts, and the constabulary.
For example, many of the strikes were
broken by court injunctions which for-
bade or at least severely limited picket-
ing. In most Northern states little Nor-
ris-LaGuardia acts preserve the right to
picket peacefully in labor disputes. These
acts were first passed in the 1930's,
but no Southern state has ever enacted
them. Thus, long before Taft-Hartley
the Southern judiciary was encouraged
to vent its hostility against unions and
picketing.

At the same time the local police have
been derelict in their duty. Little at-
tempt has been made to check violence
by management-inspired hoodlums. The
police have been efficient only against
the strikers.

In this atmosphere the original Wagn-
er act, with its slow and protracted
procedures, would have been of little
avail to the unions. Any redress ob-
tained under it would have come too
late.

JACK M. PERLMAN

New York

CONTRIBUTORS

H. STUART HUGHES, assistant pro-
fessor at Harvard University, is the
author of "An Essay for Our Times."

MARTIN S. SORIA specializes in
Spanish and Latin American art. He
teaches art at Michigan State College
and is at present visiting professor at
Columbia University.

THOMAS P. PEARDON is professor
of government at Barnard College.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES, *The Nation's*
poetry critic, has just published a verse
translation of Virgil's "Aeneid."

PERSONALS

exit loneliness

Somewhere there is someone
you would like to know.
Somewhere there is someone
who would like to know you.
We can help you find a richer,
happier life through discreet,
dignified "social introductions."
Write for booklet, or phone
MAY RICHARDSON
Dept. TN, 111 West 72 Street
New York City EN 2-2033



PUBLISHING SERVICE

AUTHORS! Sales Department available
for your short stories, articles, books and
plays. Free booklet, write today! Mead
Agency, 419 Fourth Avenue, N. Y. 16
(OR 9-1150).

Crossword Puzzle No. 423

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1, 24, and 5 across. Subcutaneous sort of 23 down? (7, 5, 3, 4)
- 5 See 1 across.
- 9 Things that come back are best broken. (7)
- 10 Nouveau-riche, but you gripe when your car won't. (7)
- 11 A proper ingredient of scorbutic acid. (5)
- 12, 26, 17, 15, 17, 26, 12. If you change them thus, gone stalls become symptomatic. (3, 3, 3, 3, 3, 3)
- 13 Another appellation for Mr. Parker? (5)
- 14 Look at the leaf, if you want to see how things leak out. (7)
- 16 Detains what is marked. (7)
- 18 Rent like 24. (7)
- 21 Without the soft part, this would cut things up rather than put them together. (7)
- 24 See 1 across.
- 26 See 12 across
- 27 See 25 down.
- 28 Late Red, now under foot. (7)
- 29 See 3 down.
- 30 Habitual duties? (7)
- 31 Rests on British benches. (7)

DOWN

- 1 Danced to the unstable stars around us. (7)
- 2 Calm down! It's not a regular team! (7)
- 3 and 29 across. Ties often go into them. (5, 7)

- 4 One of the things responsible for a beating heart. (7)
- 5 They take the place of locks. (7)
- 6 Just the place to eat in Germany. (5)
- 7 Mink has been altered ---- quite a blow to the Egyptians! (7)
- 8 Somewhat irritated --- perhaps by getting stung in a beach venture. (7)
- 15 and 17. See 12 across.
- 18 Under-water contraction ----- (7)
- 19 ----- while this is sort of under (yet on top of) the boat. (7)
- 20 The song implies they might be ringers up in Maine. (7)
- 21 Works hard at making music. (7)
- 22 French sleeve, if English. (7)
- 23 See 1 across. (7)
- 25 and 27 across. Sent with set weight? (10)
- 27 One form of small Spanish horse is related to the civet. (5)

.....

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 422

ACROSS:—1 CHAMPS ELYSEES; 10 ATOLL; 11 OVERWHELM; 12 HEARTLESS; 13 RIATA; 14 BEWARE THE DOG; 19 MARSHALL PLAN; 22 LOPES; 24 CARIBBEAN; 25 FRYING-PAN; 26 ABETS; 27 THE PATH OF DUTY.

DOWN:—2 HOOKAH; 3 MILK TEETH; 4 STONEWALL; 5 LEERS; 6 SOWER; 7 EMERALDS; 8 LATHE; 9 EMBARGO; 15 ESPERANTO; 16 HEADBOARD; 17 AMPLIFY; 18 TRIPTYCH; 20 REPENT; 21 GNASH; 23 SUN-UP; 24 CAPET.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

RESORTS

Lakecrest

90 MI. from N. Y. C. on HUNN'S LAKE

STANFORDVILLE, NEW YORK

A former Dutchess County Estate, now a rendezvous for discerning adults. Cool lake breezes, high altitude and comfortable furnishings assure a most pleasurable vacation. Sports for the enthusiast, scenery for the artistic and savory meals for all.

CALL OR WRITE FOR RESERVATIONS NOW

Eva Berg, Director Stanfordville 2982-2098

CARISBROOKE INN

Schroon Lake, New York

Private Beach on Paradox Lake

All Sports

Families Invited — A Children's Paradise

C. A. HARGREAVES Telephone 140 J 1

Stonegate LODGE

Informal Resort Estate in the Adirondacks
Limited to 90 • 14-mile Lake • Pollen-Free
Tennis • Fishing • Golf • Motor Boating
Folk-Sq. Dances • Concert Trio • Dance Band
Bachelor Club Rate \$60-\$85
N. Y. Office: 250 West 57th St. Circle 6-6386
Louis A. Roth, Dir.

50 MILES TO FOREST HOUSE

Near enough for easy travel, far enough for an unforgettable vacation. Forest House achieves new levels of gay relaxation in inspiring surroundings. Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality. Two grand lakes. All sports.

FOREST HOUSE

Lake Mahopac, N. Y. • Tel. MAhopac 8-3449

OAKWOOD

marvelous food
53 MILES Informal, charming colonial estate. Pvt. lake. Sports. Golf nearby. T.V. Excell. Amer. Jewish cuisine. Instruct. in folk social dancing. Accom. 60 adults.
New Windsor, N. Y. NEWBURGH 4477

50 MI. FROM NEW YORK MAMANASCO Lake Lodge

RIDGEFIELD, CONN.
Phone 6-7000
A beautiful country estate converted into a delightful retreat for vacations and weekends. All outdoor activities. Mile-long lake. Tennis. Golf nearby. Informal, congenial atmosphere. Television, recordings. Excellent cuisine and accommodations. Moderate rates.

Attention Please!

Train Leaving on Track 31 for

Are they calling out the location of your resort?

Those vacationers are heading for two weeks of rest and fun. Do they know what good times they can have at your place?

Tell them about it through the resort advertising pages.

\$7.42 per inch, per insertion
Generous discounts for multiple insertions.

Write or phone today for further information

ADVERTISING DEPARTMENT

The NATION

20 VESSEY STREET, NEW YORK 7, N. Y.
BARclay 7-1066

For Your Convenience

^{THE} *Nation* with

☐ Harper's Magazine..\$9.50

You Save \$2.50

^{THE} *Nation* with

☐ Consumer Reports.\$10.75

You Save \$1.25

These club combinations are for one year and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses. Remittance must accompany all combination orders.

^{THE} *Nation* by itself:

☐ One Year \$7 ☐ Two Years \$12

☐ Three Years \$17

SERVICEMEN'S RATE \$5 A YEAR

Canadian and Foreign Postage \$1 a year extra

The NATION

20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

- ☐ I want to subscribe to *The Nation* for _____ years.
☐ Remittance enclosed. ☐ Bill me.
- ☐ I enclose my remittance for the following *Nation* combinations as listed below.

NAME _____

STREET _____

CITY _____ ZONE _____ STATE _____

7/28/51

SPECIAL NOTICE

TO NATION READERS:

To Subscribers:

We are asking subscribers who wish to change their address to give us at least three weeks' notice, indicating the old as well as the new address.

If you will renew your subscription on receipt of the first notice of expiration, your cooperation will be much appreciated. It will help us simplify our record-keeping, saving us time and expense, and shield you from further renewal letters. At the same time you will avoid interruption in receiving *The Nation*.

To Newsstand Readers:

Since *The Nation* is distributed on key newsstands only, you may have difficulty in obtaining your copy. Therefore, the only certain way of getting *The Nation* regularly is to enter a subscription. By doing so you will not only be sure of receiving your copy promptly every week but save considerable money.

Egyptian Blackmail—An Editorial

THE *Nation*

August 4, 1951



Between Two Giants

When Japan Has a Treaty

BY OWEN LATTIMORE

✱

Principles or Politics?

Truman vs. Douglas

BY ELMER GERTZ

✱

'The Tenney Committee' - - - - - Francis Biddle
Luxemburg: Steel and Socialism - - - Alexander Werth
Franco and the Bevan Thesis - - - Keith Hutchison
Colorado's Main Street Educator - - - Robert L. Perkin

MONEY-SAVING MAGAZINE COMBINATIONS

For Your Convenience

THE *Nation* with

☐ Harper's Magazine..\$9.50

You Save \$2.50

THE *Nation* with

☐ Consumer Reports.\$10.75

You Save \$1.25

These club combinations are for one year and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses. Remittance must accompany all combination orders.

THE *Nation* by itself:

☐ One Year \$7 ☐ Two Years \$12

☐ Three Years \$17

SERVICEMEN'S RATE \$5 A YEAR

Canadian and Foreign Postage \$1 a year extra

The NATION

20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

- ☐ I want to subscribe to *The Nation* for _____ years.
☐ Remittance enclosed. ☐ Bill me.
- ☐ I enclose my remittance for the following *Nation* combinations as listed below.

NAME _____

STREET _____

CITY _____ ZONE _____ STATE _____

8/4/51

SPECIAL NOTICE TO NATION READERS:

To Subscribers:

We are asking subscribers who wish to change their address to give us at least three weeks' notice, indicating the old as well as the new address.

If you will renew your subscription on receipt of the first notice of expiration, your cooperation will be much appreciated. This will simplify our records, save us time and expense, and prevent us from further renewal at the same time you will continue to receive *The Nation*.

To Newsstand Readers:

Since *The Nation* is available at key newsstands only, it is with some difficulty in obtaining a copy. Therefore, the only certain way of getting *The Nation* regularly is to enter a subscription. By doing so you will not only be sure of receiving your copy promptly every week but save considerable money.

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 173

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • AUGUST 4, 1951

NUMBER 5

The Shape of Things

IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IF THE NEWSPAPERS and radio, and for that matter high government officials, would quit making suspicious and gloomy predictions every time the Korean peace talks run into disagreement. The long argument over the Communist demand for immediate withdrawal of foreign troops as a condition for an armistice generated a flock of prophecies that the talks would collapse on that issue, but the three-day recess requested by the Communists brought instead a reasonable compromise proposal and the prompt adoption of an agenda. The question of troop withdrawal was omitted but the final item allows unspecified "recommendations to the governments concerned on both sides." As this week began another dispute had arisen, this time over the demarcation; the Communists were insisting that the cease-fire should be established along the 38th parallel—politically the only logical line—while the U. N. representatives argued for their own present battle line which is a considerably better defense position. Again the gloom-mongers were predicting failure and wondering audibly whether the Communists were acting in good faith or merely using the talks as a breathing space in which to rebuild their broken military forces. (But U. N. forces were being strengthened too and were pressing the fighting while the talks continued.) Obviously anything could happen, but a dispassionate observer would discount omens of disaster keeping firmly in mind the fact that the Communists, especially the Chinese and the Russians, quite evidently want an end to the war. *

A "CLEAR AND PRESENT DANGER" HAD BEEN building up for months in the Missouri Valley but Washington failed to get excited about it or even notice it. Brigadier General D. G. Shingler, reporting on the causes and extent of the recent flood, pointed out that "this flood—like all great floods on our major rivers—was the culmination of a long buildup. The stage setting started early in May." The storms that precipitated the flood were not in themselves "spectacular." The Kansas and Missouri rivers were so swollen with the water collected upstream that only a minor downpour was needed to touch off floods that resulted in the death

of twenty-seven people, the loss of a billion dollars in property, the inundation of more than two million acres of farm land, the destruction of 16,000 head of livestock, and the displacement of thousands of home-dwellers. The Senate and House promptly voted \$25,000,000 for relief but not without the usual political sniping. "If we can build power plants in Italy and steel plants in Colombia," said Senator Malone, "and can't take care of our own welfare, Congress should reexamine the whole matter of foreign expenditures." But Congress might more profitably examine the necessity for an integrated development plan for the valley. "Whatever the ideological faults of a TVA plan may be," one Missouri newspaper confessed, "it has one great virtue. It works."

★

OUR NEW ALLY, DICTATOR FRANCO, HAS installed his new "democratic" Cabinet, the main purpose of which is to quiet the conscience of those Americans who still hold that principle should rule our decisions. The *New York Herald Tribune*, which, surprisingly, has embraced Franco's cause, and various other papers predicted the speedy restoration of the monarchy, but that story lasted exactly five days. In a blast directed at both Franco and his American supporters Gil Robles, the former Minister of War and Catholic leader who is the Pretender's leading political adviser in Lisbon, denounced Franco's "democratization" of his regime as a complete fraud. This view was even more vehemently expressed by an official spokesman of Don Juan. "The reorganization of the Cabinet undertaken by General Franco," he said in an exclusive interview published by the Agence France-Presse, "is an act of defiance to Spanish public opinion and to world opinion, since Franco has never presided over a more totalitarian government." The Monarchist spokesman indignantly rejected the suggestion that the change was carried through with the approval of the Pretender. "Those self-styled Monarchists who consented to serve in the new Cabinet may represent themselves but certainly they do not represent us." The perpetration of this fraud, he declared, was sufficient reason for the United States to call off negotiations with the Spanish dictator, whose new government contains six members "representing the most ferocious tendencies of the Falange."

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things	81
The Japanese Treaty: Will It Stick?	82
Egyptian Blackmail	83

ARTICLES

Franco and the Bevan Thesis <i>by Keith Hutchison</i>	84
Truman vs. Douglas <i>by Elmer Gertz</i>	86
When Japan Has a Treaty <i>by Owen Lattimore</i>	88
Colorado's Main Street Educator <i>by Robert L. Perkin</i>	90
Luxemburg: Steel and Socialism <i>by Alexander Werth</i>	92

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Pattern of Hysteria <i>by Francis Biddle</i>	94
Basic German Issues <i>by Philip E. Mosely</i>	95
The Sea Evoked <i>by Charles Spielberger</i>	96
"As France Goes . . ." <i>by J. Salwyn Schapiro</i>	96
New Deal Financier <i>by Charles E. Noyes</i>	97
English Novel of Italy <i>by Harvey Swados</i>	97
Music <i>by B. H. Haggin</i>	98

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 99

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 424 *by Frank W. Lewis* opposite 100

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Associate Editor: Carey McWilliams

Foreign Editor

J. Alvarez del Vayo

Literary Editor

Margaret Marshall

Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch

Music: B. H. Haggin

Assistant Editor: Charles R. Allen, Jr.

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside

Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting

Staff Contributors

Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: Mary Simon

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1951, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$7; Two years \$12; Three years \$17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: *The Nation* is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

THE KU KLUX KLAN, HANDICAPPED BY THE "anti-mask" statutes that were recently enacted in a number of Southern states and communities, has evidently decided to mask its bigotry in the guise of politics. On July 21 the Grand Dragon of the Florida Klan, one Bill Hendrix, spoke in Jacksonville's Hemming Park not as Dragon but as a candidate for governor. The fact that Hendrix had not qualified as a candidate—the filing date is far in the future—did not deter Mayor Haydon Burns from roping off the park and nearby streets for the meeting. Significantly, the request for authorization to hold the meeting was made through a local attorney who is chairman of the Democratic Party for Duval County. A "fiery summons" sent to neighboring "klaverns" resulted in an impressive "klavalklade." Robed but unmasked Klansmen paraded through the streets protected by a permit from the mayor and a police escort. Public attention was successfully focused on the meeting by a flurry of "fiery K's" touched off a week earlier in Jacksonville, Miami, and other cities. In Miami cards used to advertise the meeting carried the familiar Hitlerian thesis: "Behind every Communist is a Kike Jew." Copies of *Common Sense*, a virulently anti-Semitic sheet published in New Jersey, were also distributed. While the Klan has frequently participated in politics, this is the first time in recent years that an admitted Klan Dragon has campaigned for the governorship of a Southern state. The Klan may have been unmasked, but its post-war growth has been continuous if not spectacular; scarcely a week goes by without some Klan "bombing" or other outrage being reported in the Negro press.

The Japanese Treaty: Will It Stick?

THE Japanese peace treaty, patiently worked out by John Foster Dulles through bilateral negotiations with several of the nations concerned, has been justifiably hailed as a model of conciliation, an example of how a generous victor can treat a defeated enemy. The document which is to be signed on September 4 in San Francisco bears no traces of vindictiveness. No limitations are placed on Japan's political sovereignty or economic revival. No reparations—except the free manufacture by the Japanese of raw materials from the Philippines—are to be charged. The recent past, when Americans were told that the Japanese were bestial people, is mercifully wiped out, and Japan is bidden to join the United Nations. The Germans, and even more the Italians, might well feel that the Japanese, who unlike the Axis powers of Europe actually attacked territory under United States control, have received the best deal of all the enemy states. And some of our Filipino friends dourly point out that it is more profitable to be a war-

time enemy of the United States than a war-time friend.

How explain this preferential treatment of a nation which ten years ago seemed bent on our destruction? In part American leniency is due to the widespread belief that half a decade of General MacArthur's rule has fundamentally altered the Japanese people—that we have democratized them and thereby shorn them of any propensity to conquest. It is conceivable that the Japanese may in the future view military expansion without enthusiasm. But if they do, it will be less because they have become good democrats on the American pattern than because they have a great gift for realism. Having learned from experience that war does not pay, they may now make as drastic a change in their external policy as they did in their internal affairs in the 1860's, when they decided to discard feudalism and become a modern industrial nation.

The most decisive reason for our attitude of reconciliation toward Japan, however, is that we need our recent enemy as an ally in Asia and a bulwark against Russia. No other Asian nation fulfils this purpose so effectively. Japan alone has a modern economy and does not need to be rebuilt by us from the ground up. Because of the remarkable discipline of its people it is least vulnerable to the strains and stresses of Asia's revolutionary ferment. Having achieved national independence long ago and preserved it through the period of colonialism, it need not go through the birth-pangs of nationhood. Nor is our preference for Japan a new phenomenon inspired by fear of communism. One need only recall the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-05, when Theodore Roosevelt welcomed Japan's victories over czarist Russia, which had been infiltrating into Manchuria at the turn of the century, and intervened only when it began to look as if these victories would prove so easy as to strengthen Japan in a way disturbing to the United States.

Granted that we have solid reasons to establish close ties with Japan, will the peace treaty stick? There are at least three aspects of the treaty which raise doubts about its durability. First, because of Washington's understandable determination to avoid wrangling with Russia and Communist China, the treaty does not reflect the existing power situation in Asia but only the power situation of the Western nations and the two Pacific dominions, Australia and New Zealand. This gives it an air of unreality—the air of a plant carefully nurtured in the antiseptic and orderly atmosphere of a laboratory which may find it hard to survive when exposed to the turbulent microbe-laden air of actual world affairs. How long will it prove possible to keep up the pretense that Russia and Communist China have no direct interest in the future of Japan? How long can we keep Japan isolated from mainland Asia, under the glass bell of American military protection?

Second, the treaty, for the moment at least, is a white man's treaty with an Asian nation. The Filipinos, to put it mildly, are not enthusiastic about it. India has raised the question of Formosa and other issues. The nations of the Asian mainland that were overrun and devastated by the Japanese have not been heard from. The French, sensing this omission, have suggested for reasons of their own that Indo-China should be brought in as a signatory; but the situation in that guerrilla-torn colony is so complex as to raise doubts about the effectiveness with which it could represent Asia. Communist propaganda is already playing on the theme of Southeast Asian opposition to the Japanese peace treaty. And how will Australia, dedicated to a policy of white immigration, fit into a partnership with Japan?

Third, and perhaps most important of all from our point of view, what will political and economic sovereignty on paper avail Japan unless its eighty-million industrious people can find raw materials for their factories and markets for their products? Are we planning to integrate Japan into our economy? If not, how do we hope to keep it for any length of time from trading with Communist China and recognizing Peking? Or do we plan, as has been suggested by Charles E. Wilson, to develop Japan into a workshop of manufactures—perhaps of armaments—for ourselves and our allies? If we do, will not this make Japan a target for attack by Russia and Communist China? And would not the resulting insecurity jeopardize the economic recovery on which we are counting to stabilize the Japanese economy and thus reduce Japan's urge for militant expansion?

It is certainly a noble dream to hope that Japan may become an oasis of peace and prosperity in Asia. But the present treaty may merely prove this dream to be a mirage.

Egyptian Blackmail

THE Security Council of the United Nations should issue an unequivocal directive to the Egyptian government to end its blockade against Israel. Only in its immediate sense is the issue limited to Israel. What is ultimately involved is the supremacy of international law over the rule of anarchy; more specifically, whether the purposes and provisions of the armistice agreements are to prevail in the Middle East or war is to be resumed.

The issues were sharply drawn by the Egyptian delegate, Fawzi Bey, in his initial appearance before the Security Council. First he denounced the Constantinople Convention of 1888, which provides that "the Suez Maritime Canal shall always be free and open in time of war as in time of peace to every vessel of commerce

or of war without distinction of flag," and further provides that "the canal shall never be subjected to the exercise of the right to blockade"; and then he proceeded to repudiate the concept of the armistice agreements which Dr. Ralph Bunche, the U. N. mediator who negotiated the armistice, and General Riley, chief U. N. supervisor of the armistice arrangements, have consistently affirmed. Under the armistice, according to both officials, the state of war between the Arab states and Israel was ended; and "the entire heritage of restrictions" which had developed out of the undeclared war was done away with. Dr. Bunche declared in 1949 "that there should be free movement for legitimate shipping, and no vestiges of the war-time blockade should be allowed to remain, as they are inconsistent with both the letter and the spirit of the armistice agreements." In June, 1951, General Riley stated: "It is quite clear to me that the action taken by the Egyptian authorities in interfering with the passage of goods destined for Israel through the Suez Canal must be considered an aggressive action . . . and a hostile act."

Repudiating these interpretations, Fawzi Bey insists that a state of war still exists between Egypt and Israel; that an armistice, though it ends hostilities, is not even a temporary truce; and that the condition of war remains between the belligerents themselves and between belligerents and neutrals on all points beyond the mere cessation of hostilities. On these assumptions he argues that Egypt has the right to visit and search neutral merchantmen and that it could if it chose blockade and capture neutral vessels on the high seas which were attempting to break the blockade and could also seize contraband of war. He contends that the Egyptian Royal Decree of April 3, 1950, under which the Egyptians authorized open fire on any ship endeavoring to avoid the procedures of search, is not a violation of the armistice agreements. Conveniently overlooked, for the purposes of this argument, is the fact that Egypt never declared formal war against Israel.

The Security Council cannot have it two ways. It cannot have peace in the Middle East and also blockade. Failure to issue a clear-cut directive to Egypt to end the blockade will undermine the armistice arrangements. And it would be naive indeed to believe that the Arabs would not take advantage of the failure of the Security Council to hold them to the Bunche-Riley interpretation of the armistice; or that the Israelis would fail in self-defense to retaliate. New unrest if not outright hostilities would become inevitable in the Middle East. Moreover, should the Security Council fail to uphold the principle of the freedom of the Canal Zone, it would establish a most important precedent, giving Egypt at its whim the right to stop and search vessels of any government against which it had a real or fancied grievance.

The outcome of the U. N. discussions will depend largely on the willingness of the United States to come to grips with the problem. Until now the United States has delayed discussion in the Security Council in the forlorn hope of a settlement without the necessity of a decision by the Council.

If the Security Council adopts a resolution directing the end of the blockade, it will achieve a threefold purpose. It will strengthen the rule of international law; it will strengthen the armistice agreements and help protect the area against encroachments on its peace; and it will open the door to negotiations between Egypt and Israel. It might be pointed out, too, that once the freedom of the Suez Canal is upheld, oil tankers could proceed to the Haifa oil refinery in Israel, the second largest in the Middle East, thereby serving the interests of Europe and the United States. Without such a resolution none of these ends can be realized.

In the past the Arabs, when they have had no case, have shown themselves masters of the art of throwing everything into the hopper as a kind of "legitimate" blackmail. Fawzi Bey indicated that this was to be his course as well. The Arab refugee question and the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty may be legitimate problems, but they have no relevance to the Suez Canal case. In the past the State Department has displayed a curious responsiveness to such tactics. It is to be hoped that this time self-interest will put an end to equivocation. Strong American support of a resolution calling for an end to the blockade will insure its passage. The Egyptians have no case; the Israelis have an impeccable case. The U. N. has a clear duty.

Franco and the Bevan Thesis

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

London, July 26 (by cable)

TEN days ago the Tories caught the government off-guard and had a chance to win a vote in the Commons which might have forced Prime Minister Attlee's resignation. The failure to seize this opportunity suggests that many Tories are hesitant about precipitating an election. And well they may be, for the indications are that an election now would not substantially change the relative position of the parties; if the Tories won at all, it would be with the same kind of inadequate majority as Labor obtained in February, 1950.

What the Tories are hopefully awaiting is a split in Labor's ranks; this explains why any sign of dissension among the government's supporters is disproportionately blown up by the opposition. The Bevan pamphlet, "One Way Only," which appeared a few weeks ago, received large headlines and inspired innumerable highly critical editorials. The preliminary agenda for the annual Labor

Party conference, to be held at the beginning of October, includes a large number of resolutions asking for drastic changes in government policy and has caused a new outburst of wishful thinking. Thus today's *Daily Mail* sees a "fundamental cleavage in Socialist ranks" and comments, "That's the trouble with all so-called progressive parties. Just as revolutions consume their first-born, so do such parties invariably split and splinter."

Experienced political observers take such predictions with a large pinch of salt, remembering that they appear every year prior to the Labor Party conference. There are always many resolutions on the agenda critical of official policy, mostly emanating from constituency Labor parties run by members who tend to be left of the executive. However, the bulk of voting power at the conference is in the hands of the trade unions, which, generally speaking, are far more conservative, and any revolts against the platform must attract important trade-union support to be successful.

It is true that this year the left opposition at the conference promises to be stronger than usual, for the Bevan thesis that the magnitude of Britain's rearmament program is endangering the social and economic gains of the past six years expresses widespread fears. Thus all the

thirty-seven resolutions touching on rearmament which have been sent in are in a critical vein, and so are most of the much greater number which deal with wages, profits, and prices as affected by rearmament. A real division exists between the government, which stresses the risks of unpreparedness, and those who think there is a greater risk in diverting so large a proportion of the national resources to arms production.

As a result Aneurin Bevan has a potentially large following. His problem is to rally it in such strength as to influence government policy and reinforce his claims to leadership without provoking open schism. At the moment he is walking warily. Today the National Executive of the party adopted a policy statement which is not yet published but is understood to give full support to the government on rearmament while putting forward drastic new fiscal proposals. It was passed against strong protest by Bevan and three of his colleagues on the executive—Tom Driberg, Ian Mikardo, and Barbara Castle—but under the principle of collective responsibility which rules executive procedure they cannot openly attack a policy statement. There has been a good deal of speculation that these four might resign from the executive in order to free their hands, but for the



HEAT-WAVE FRIVOLITY

London Daily Herald

time being they appear to have decided to remain and exert what pressure they can from the inside. It would not be surprising, however, if they stepped down just before the conference so that they could defend their own policies and attack the official position from the floor before standing for reelection. Their decision may well depend on whether the government agrees to new and stringent economic measures to cope with the present strong inflationary trend, which is disturbing trade unions no less than left-wingers.

The American approach to Madrid comes at a particularly embarrassing moment for the government, which has staked much on maintenance of full partnership with the United States. The Bevan pamphlet called attention specifically to the danger of American demands to bring Spain into the orbit of the North Atlantic alliance. "It would not be the first occasion," the pamphlet declared, "on which the exigencies of American domestic

politics have weighed more heavily in the balance than the realities of the democratic stand against communism in Europe. Thus would the Kremlin be presented with another victory. And why not? If Stalin is offering Chiang as his best ally in Asia, why should he not be given Franco in Europe?" If this forecast should prove correct, the Bevanite influence in the Labor Party will be strengthened. Among British workers memories of the Spanish civil war remain fresh; and the aid and comfort given by Franco to Hitler when Britain had its back to the wall has not been forgotten. Any attempt to bolster the Spanish dictator will be bitterly resented by the party's rank and file and will add to the government's difficulty in obtaining support for its rearmament policies. On grounds both of principle and expediency, therefore, the Labor government must stand firmly opposed to the kind of deal with Franco which Washington seems to have prepared.

Truman vs. Douglas

BY ELMER GERTZ

Chicago, July 27

MORE than a year ago the Chicago area (Northern District of Illinois, Eastern Division) became entitled to three additional United States District Court judges. Thereupon Senator Paul H. Douglas, the senior Senator, began to sift "available" candidates, with the help of Governor Adlai E. Stevenson, National Committeeman Jacob M. Arvey, and former Senator Scott Lucas. Douglas is more impatient of organizational methods and tests than most men in office, but he has a high regard for Arvey, with whom he served in the Chicago City Council. Contrary to the prevailing impression, Douglas was not trying to find the very best men available, for it might easily have turned out that the best men were Republicans. What he actually sought was the best men as measured by the ordinary rules of politics determining "availability."

In Chicago this meant that one of the appointments had to go to a Protestant—because there is only one Protestant on the federal bench in this division; one to a Jew—because no Jew has been appointed since the distant days of Judge Alschuler; and the other place to a Catholic—despite the fact that the Catholics, politically dominant in Chicago today, are already heavily represented. Taking more time than is usual, Douglas submitted his choices to the Attorney General on Janu-

ary 26, and the Department of Justice approved the names he submitted. Despite protests from all the sitting judges about the accumulation of work, Mr. Truman let the recommendations lie on his desk and failed to consult Senator Douglas about them. Finally, on July 13, the President forwarded his nominations to the Senate.

On only one choice were the President and Senator Douglas in agreement, on Joseph Sam Perry—which was really more of a tribute to Scott Lucas than to Douglas. For Judge Benjamin P. Epstein, veteran of eighteen years' service on the Circuit Court of Cook County, Mr. Truman substituted Joseph J. Drucker, Municipal Court judge and nephew of Representative Adolph J. Sabath, chairman of the Rules Committee. For William H. King, Jr., former president of the Chicago Bar Association, Truman substituted Judge Cornelius J. Harrington, a pal of one of his cronies. The appointments were, of course, "personally obnoxious" to Senator Douglas, who announced that he would ask the Chicago Bar Association and the Cook County Bar Association (made up of Negro lawyers) to conduct polls on the preferences of members.

Cook County has a crazy-quilt pattern of nationalistic, racial, and religious bar associations—Jewish, Lutheran, Catholic, Negro, Nordic, Polish, Lithuanian, and Italian. Indeed, it is doubtful that any city in the world has a greater variety of professional groups. Not long ago Negroes were not admitted to membership in the Chicago Bar Association. Frank McCulloch, Senator

ELMER GERTZ has practiced law in Chicago for many years and is active in several Cook County bar groups. He is the author of a biography of Frank Harris.

Douglas's administrative assistant, was one of the handful of white lawyers who led the successful fight to make it possible for Negroes to join the Chicago Bar Association. Most Negro lawyers, however, belong to their own association. This may account for the fact that the Negro association was asked to poll its members but that the nationalistic groups were ignored. At the same time Senator McCarran asked the Illinois State Bar Association to conduct a poll of its members, and finally the Chicago *Sun-Times* stepped into the fray and sent ballots to the entire bar of the area.

The membership of the Chicago Bar Association, even more than the legal profession as a whole, is conservative by inclination and Republican by affiliation. It is not surprising, therefore, that the brochure which went to members with their ballots contained a statement by the president of the association welcoming this chance to ballot on preferences for judicial appointments and a statement by Senator Douglas which amounted to an argument for his appointments.

THE principle of "senatorial courtesy" in the selection of federal judges, which is the issue between President Truman and Senator Douglas, was involved in a historic controversy between President Roosevelt and Senator Carter Glass. In March, 1938, newspapers carried the story that federal judicial appointments in Virginia would have to be "cleared" by the Governor. Carter Glass, then senior Senator from Virginia, immediately wrote to Roosevelt to learn whether the stories were true. President Roosevelt told Glass to submit recommendations but added that he would reserve the right to consult with other persons, including "Nancy Astor, the Duchess of Windsor, the W. P. A., a Virginia moonshiner, Governor Price, or Charlie McCarthy." Senators Glass and Byrd then submitted two names for an existing vacancy, one man being recommended by every bar association in the area, and asked the President to take his choice. But Roosevelt sent to the Senate the name of a third man, Floyd H. Roberts. Neither Glass nor Byrd objected to Roberts on the score of integrity or competence, but both declared him to be "personally obnoxious." According to Roosevelt, this was the first time such an objection had been raised since 1913. The Senate, as might have been expected, rejected the Presidential nominee by the overwhelming vote of seventy-two to nine, Senator Truman supporting Senator Glass in this important test.

Just why, then, has President Truman ignored the principle of "senatorial courtesy" in this instance? It seems that President Roosevelt had promised Representative Sabath to appoint Drucker to the federal bench "the next time," saying that Drucker was then "too young." But having said this to Sabath, F. D. R. turned around, at the behest of Bishop Sheil, and

appointed William J. Campbell, who was even younger than Drucker! Sabath bided his time and later got Truman to promise the next appointment to Drucker; this promise is now being kept.

The arithmetic of the situation is simple. The President cannot prevail if the Senate upholds "senatorial courtesy," but he may feel that the maverick Douglas will not receive the same support that Senator Glass received. On the other hand, Douglas cannot force the President to accept his nominees. This means that either the President or the Senator must yield, or compromise, and in the meantime Chicago will be without much-needed judges. There is talk now of a deal whereby Judge Harrington, who is close to an important element in the Democratic Party and the chancery office, may be confirmed with Mr. King, leaving the Jewish minority without representation on the federal bench. At the risk of giving offense, it may be said that the Republican Party in Cook County is largely the vehicle of the Protestants, while the Democratic Party is the voice of Catholics, Jews, and Negroes. Although Douglas is a Protestant, he is sensitive to the nuances of the situation. His first public address in Chicago after returning from military service was under the auspices of the Catholic Labor Alliance.

Douglas professes to have no Presidential ambitions, but he has conducted himself in the present situation with the caution, cunning, and resourcefulness of a man who is playing for high stakes. A fight on the appointments will dramatize the fact that Douglas is not a party "hack," that he has important differences with Mr. Truman, and that he favors appointments based on "merit" rather than on political or personal pull. But the issue is really political, a test of power rather than of principle. Mr. Truman is well aware that Douglas has been widely mentioned for the Presidency, and this feeling, more than any concern about his prerogatives, probably accounts for his position.

The contest between Truman and Douglas, however, does conceal a basic issue—namely, partisanship in the selection of judges. At the end of the Wilson Administration federal judgeships were almost equally divided between Democrats and Republicans, but twelve years of Republican rule created an imbalance of 172 Republican to 57 Democratic judges. Since 1933 the situation has been reversed: the federal courts now have 59 Republican and 240 Democratic judges. It is no answer to the problem of judicial selection to ask conservative, and largely Republican, bar associations to poll their members. A better expedient would be to create some means by which a panel of lawyers, representative of various points of view and familiar with the competence and integrity of candidates, might make recommendations. The Northern Illinois lawyers recently voted that all the candidates were qualified except Drucker (the

vote on him was 594 "yes," 1,948 "no"), and the Chicago Bar Association has given overwhelming support to Senator Douglas's nominees. To get a clear-cut decision, the rival choices were directly pitted against each other, with these results: Epstein (Douglas nomi-

nee) 3,656, Drucker (Truman nominee) 553, King (Douglas nominee) 3,003, Harrington (Truman nominee) 1,310. But the polls will not settle the issue between the President and Senator Douglas. The vote on this issue will not be taken until 1952.

When Japan Has a Treaty

BY OWEN LATTIMORE

WHEN Japan has a treaty and has recovered full responsibility in domestic politics and full freedom of action in foreign policy, what kind of politics can we expect in Japan, and what kind of behavior in Japan's relations with other countries? The Dulles-drafted treaty is, in its main outlines, one of the most statesmanlike treaties ever offered to a recently powerful but overwhelmingly defeated country. No annexations, beyond what Japan has already lost; no drain of reparations extending into a dreary and uncertain future. The assumption is that bygones are to be bygones and that Japan has become the kind of country with which America can have mutually profitable relations—a country that America need no longer fear and that might become a valuable and trustworthy ally.

Within limits, the assumption is valid. There are some liberals who are afraid, perhaps because the proposed treaty has been associated with the name of a Wall Street lawyer, that one of its principal results will be a dangerous rehabilitation of the strength of the Zaibatsu, the great business combines of Japan whose directing magnates profited so handsomely by their association with the militarists in the days of Japan's imperialist expansion. There is a fear that MacArthur's administration was "soft" with these merchants of death, and that as soon as the last nominal American controls are withdrawn, they will be able to impose on Japan once more a dangerously reactionary government.

I doubt it. These men were at their most dangerous when Japan ruled Korea and Formosa and when, in spite of the effort made by the United States while Hoover was President and Stimson Secretary of State, it proved impossible to rally an international coalition that would prevent Japan from taking over the Manchurian provinces of China. They were dangerous then because their relationship with Japan's militarists was symbiotic. In spite of all that has happened, the nature of this symbiosis is rarely stated as simply and clearly as

it should be. Korea, Formosa, and Manchuria together gave Japan an extraordinarily complete range of raw materials for war industry, except for oil; and oil could always be got, in those days, by hinting that Japan's real purpose was to get ready to fight Russia. Making use of these raw materials the Zaibatsu equipped Japan's militarists. The militarists produced war scares. The war scares produced larger contracts for the Zaibatsu. The Zaibatsu therefore played ball with the militarists in Japan's home politics. The Zaibatsu were anti-militarist in only one restricted sense: they hoped that the spiral of war scares and armament contracts would ascend forever without collapsing in the outbreak of a "real"—or as we would now say, "total"—war.

The danger of a Japan set free by treaty to resume the planning and execution of its own policies does not lie in this direction. The business men of Japan represent private capital and are hostile to communism, but they cannot act as if they still controlled Korea, Formosa, and Manchuria when in fact they no longer control any one of those territories. They are afraid of the close neighborhood of an increasingly powerful Russia, but they will plan and act as "have-not" business men and not as "have" business men; and that, as we shall find if we look up the Kipling section in the thesaurus of the imperial age in Asia, is a different story.

The danger in the post-Japanese-treaty situation in Asia lies in a quite different direction. It lies principally in the fact that American public opinion has been inadequately prepared to understand just what can and cannot be done by a treaty with Japan. The expectation has been aroused that the treaty will prove to be a great triumph of American diplomacy, that it will perhaps decisively alter the balance between the United States and Russia in eastern Asia and the western Pacific in favor of the United States.

Except for a very few on the extreme right and a very few on the extreme left, it can already be confidently forecast that no Japanese are going to act on such an assumption. Let us try not to consider theories about Japan. Let us try to see through the eyes of Japanese of most conditions of life and most shades of political opinion. To these Japanese, the overwhelming majority,

OWEN LATTIMORE is director of the Walter Hines Page School of International Relations of Johns Hopkins University. In an early issue *The Nation* will print an analysis of the treaty by a distinguished Japanese economist.

the draft treaty is extremely welcome. But the deadlocked, implacable hostility between the United States and Russia is a permanent condition which they will have to face when, as free agents, they take over the handling of their own international relations. Japan is already in the squeeze between these two giants. Most Japanese cannot see how any treaty, no matter how cleverly worded, can change the balance so decisively that the squeeze is removed. And unless the squeeze is removed, the change is not, for the Japanese, decisive.

WHEN Japan has a treaty, therefore, the men who handle Japanese policy will feel they are moving in a situation in which there are two constants, the United States and Russia. They will feel that it is not within the power of Japan to bring about any important change in either of these two constants within any foreseeable time. To the extent that this is true, the only kind of policy Japan can pursue with any prospect whatever of modifying the situation is a policy that more or less takes the constants for granted and concentrates on the variables.

These variables are, for Japan, the Asian countries all the way from China to the Arab Near East; Britain, France, and Holland; and among countries that are not in Asia but hold a position in the Pacific, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. The interests of these countries are not identical, and because they are not identical they offer Japan the only field of maneuver in which, by many alternative combinations, Japanese policy may be able to improve opportunities, take initiatives, and strengthen the position of Japan.

We must certainly count on a Japanese policy that will try to deal with China not as a constant, like Russia, but as a variable. From the point of view of Japanese policy-makers, China, even under a strong Communist government that continues to be a close ally of Russia, is not identical with Russia. China and Japan have more to offer each other than can be offered between Japan and Russia. The industries of Japan were largely designed to consume the raw materials of China, especially Manchuria and North China but also the Yangtze valley, South China, and the iron of Hainan island. Machinery made in Japan from Chinese raw materials offers the cheapest kind of capital goods that China can obtain from any source; and Japan can deliver goods to China at all the seaports instead of over the one railway line that enters China from Siberia.

This potential relationship will exercise a steady pressure on the policy-planning and policy-thinking of the Chinese, even if they are Communists, and of the Japanese, even if they are old Zaibatsu executives. It is reported that the wording of the proposed treaty with Japan is aimed at making it difficult for Japan to sign a treaty with the Communist government of China; but

it is difficult to see how a lawyer's wording that might be quite good enough to keep two cartels from merging can permanently override the pressure, inherent in the situation, making for "deals" between Japan and China. It should not be forgotten that it was a "powerless" Germany, after the First World War, that was the first country to deal on a large scale with Soviet Russia.

In the rest of Asia, Japan made friends during the war, as well as enemies. Japanese troops behaved brutally, and Japanese carpetbaggers got away with quick fortunes; but from Indo-China to Pakistan it is not forgotten that it was also the victories of Japan over the European empires that opened the way, after the defeat of Japan itself, to nationalism and independence.

Nor are the doors of diplomacy barred to Japan in dealing with Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Britain, France, or Holland. Japan was defeated and these countries were victors; but Britain, France, and Holland suffered losses as crippling as those of Japan, and Japan since the war has been supported as generously by the United States as have our war-time allies. None of these countries can be expected to look on, without twinges of jealousy, at an American policy that seems to be doing as much or more to restore the power of Japan as to restore their own power; and to the extent that this jealousy is not assuaged by American policy, it can be exploited by Japan.

The advance publicity on which the treaty with Japan is to be floated emphasizes the prospect of a close Japanese-American association. The situation in which Japan is placed foretells, rather, an effort on the part of Japan, cautious perhaps at first, but persistently sustained, to create an independent policy something like India's but—because of Japan's high level of industrialization—resembling in some ways that of Britain.

The tendency toward an independent policy is likely, in turn, to foster a trend in Japanese politics at home that has not even been hinted at in the advance publicity. A few conservatives will advocate complete subordination to American policy. The Communist left will stridently demand reconciliation with Russia and hostility to the United States. Given conditions within Japan and the possibilities of a Japanese foreign policy that emphasizes the "variable" countries rather than the two "constants," Russia and the United States, it is not likely that either extreme pro-Americanism or extreme pro-Russianism will roll up the biggest vote in Japan. It is more likely that we shall see both a considerable growth of the Socialist vote—though not, in the near future, on a scale to make a Socialist government possible—and the emergence, perhaps, of one or more parties representing the kind of capitalist private enterprise that is willing to accept a large measure of nationalization and government control in the planning of domestic production and the allocation of foreign trade.

Colorado's Main Street Educator

BY ROBERT L. PERKIN

Denver

ABOUT five years ago the editor of the *Independent* in semi-suburban Littleton, a dozen miles south of Denver, wanted to establish a well-baby clinic for the community. So he induced one of Denver's leading pediatricians to agree to drive out to Littleton on a regular schedule several times a month and give the town's small fry a once-over—free. The big-city baby specialist made one trip: Littleton's leading physician froze him out. Littleton's babies are quite well and happy in the care of our own doctors, he was told; there is no need for a well-baby clinic, but thank you for your trouble.

A few months ago a permanent well-baby clinic with a whole staff of doctors and nurses opened its doors in Littleton. Greeting the well-wishers and accepting their congratulations was the same doctor who had thrown cold water on the project earlier. But now things were different; he had been permitted, even encouraged, to believe that he had invented the idea.

The encouragement had been supplied by the editor of the *Independent*, Houstoun Waring, who is not only that *rara avis* a liberal in a small town but a man with an extremely active and able mind. Houstoun Waring publishes one of the most respected weeklies in Colorado. During his twenty-five years on Main Street there have been eight brief attempts to take his measure. The *Independent* remains Littleton's only newspaper. And it is a money-making little paper, well buttressed by advertising and dealt out each Friday to 2,700 of the 3,300 men, women, and children in the community. The circulation manager of the New York *Daily News* could learn things about saturation from the *Independent*.

Waring was Nieman Fellow at Harvard in 1944-45. He has received many awards for editorial writing and community service. He founded the school of journalism at the University of Denver. He contributes to the New York *Times*. When he wants to "magnify our voice" he sends clippings of his editorials to the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* or the *Christian Science Monitor*, and they are usually republished.



Houstoun Waring

Sellgren

A short time ago Waring was deep in a new enterprise—making a film to use as propaganda in foreign countries. One of his contributions to the *Times* had caught the eye of a documentary film producer in New York. The State Department was consulted. A few months later a troupe of writers, directors, and camera men descended on Littleton. The story of Waring and his *Independent* has been filmed to tell the world—in twenty languages—about democracy in operation on Main Street, U. S. A. The film is to be released in this country later this summer.

Waring chuckles about the film. "Just when you get them thinking you're a Communist for sure, then something like this movie happens, or we pull down some new award. It confuses the opposition no end."

The movie-making and the story of the well-baby clinic would be misunderstood if they were taken to mean that Waring is a slick operator. Guile is not his forte. Take the clinic, for instance. The tactic of letting the opposition steal your idea and develop it as theirs is not new, but because pride must be sacrificed, it is seldom used. Waring happens to be one of those uncommon individuals who bear out the observation that there is no limit to the good a man can do if he doesn't care who gets the credit.

"I've never catalogued myself as a liberal," Waring says. "But I expect I take a 'liberal' position 98 per cent of the time. Most people here in Littleton, and I suspect elsewhere as well, don't have ideologies. They raise a family and try to keep the roof from leaking. The *Independent* is edited for them. If I have such a thing as a philosophy, it starts with the basic welfare of man in general rather than with Americanism, Protestantism, or any other ism."

Waring may not call himself a liberal, but he is a better one than many and more effective than most. And he is a practicing liberal, not simply a liberal on the theoretical plane, where "the people" are revered in the abstract and disdained in the sweaty flesh. But he is not a firebrand. He is just the alert, intelligent, responsible, and independent citizen we all are supposed to be in the folklore of liberalism.

The *Independent*, he will tell you, has no formula. "We push 'em as hard as we can short of rebellion. That

ROBERT L. PERKIN is a member of the staff of the Rocky Mountain News of Denver. He was a contributor to "Rocky Mountain Cities."

involves knowing your community, and I certainly don't want to give the idea we're fearless." Waring is willing to make haste slowly. He takes a long view of his little town, and what he sees counsels him against screaming urgency, the often self-defeating occupational ailment of progressives. He believes, as Borah did, that controversies yield more clarification when they are conducted around principles, not personalities. He reads a lot and tries to maintain an open mind. "Pet beliefs handicap you."

During the winter months Waring conducts "fireside forums" for his town in his home, bringing in some distinguished university professor and picking out a live topic for discussion. The forums have been attended by as many as sixty-five persons—butcher, baker, retired rancher, C. I. O. shop steward, Episcopal rector, banker, madam chairman of the Parent-Teachers' Association. "It helps everyone," he feels, "to let people see how you reason. Finally it begins to dawn on them that you actually are trying to reason about things and not acting on instructions from Moscow."

SOME of Waring's observations on the practical problems of journalism are pertinent everywhere. He advises country editors to be less apprehensive about advertiser pressure. In twenty-five years, he says, only one advertiser has pulled out of the *Independent*, "and we've made our share of them mad." Even the one who pulled out came back. Public officials, the county commissioners and such, are more important. They decide who shall publish the legal notices, tax lists, and official proceedings which many small papers need to survive. And they are not above putting on the heat. Waring has a healthy regard for their economic power but is not awed. He defines the two purposes of the *Independent* as the solution of social problems and keeping public officials honest. "We had two or three crooked men in office at first—but none lately."

Like most country editors, Waring concentrates on local news and discusses state, national, and international news from the local angle. The *Independent* has no rules about news coverage: "we just try to cover the things other papers don't." For example, he thought the big papers were afraid to present the Arab side in Palestine, and so he presented it. Many papers never print constructive labor news, but he does. He is a believer in schools of journalism, "especially as critics of the press." The trouble with most weekly editors, he says, is that they are "printers and business men, more concerned with the back shop than with editorial policy. They need some training in journalism and the social sciences."

The *Independent* publishes Lippmann instead of Pegler, reviews books as well as crop conditions, and goes out of its way to get the opposition to speak up. Waring feels a sober concern over the common man's inarticulate-

ness. "I don't like it when they won't talk back to me," he says. "Why, I'd like to be able to pay \$5 apiece for letters to the editor."

During the war Littleton became a haven for the Nisei. The Methodist minister gave the newcomers use of his church one night a week. At the first hint of a grumble the *Independent* backed him up plainly and forcefully and began publishing pictures of Nisei soldiers on page 1. Recently Waring "had to call down" the town's law-enforcement officers for the strong-arm way in which they arrested some Mexican American wrongdoers. Actual brutality was not charged, but Waring thought the methods used implied two sorts of justice in Littleton. So he said sharply, "Our Mexican Americans, unfortunately, quite often deserve to be arrested. But they must be arrested like anyone else."

The *Independent's* comments on the Hawkins case at the University of Colorado (reported in *The Nation* for March 10 and May 26) are a good illustration of how this uncatalogued liberal writes:

Worse than the probe of Hawkins at Boulder was the employment of two former FBI agents to snoop on all the C. U. professors. How should we like it in Littleton if the patriotism of every business man were questioned and his private life investigated by two detectives? We should regard it as an affront to our honor as loyal Americans, and that is the reaction of the faculty at Boulder. Some not too bright student may have spread tales that Professor X or Y is a Communist, but when the student is pinned down he finally admits he cannot distinguish Communist dogma from the by-laws of the Royal Order of Flying Squirrels.

No intelligent American feels that national security is involved in the classroom discussions at Boulder. The reason for these attacks on universities is hidden. The opponents of social reform have always kept things as they are by name-calling. They have been beating people with the Communist stick hard for many years, harder in recent months. They are pitting Americans against Americans, leaving the Russians to continue their evil aggression.

Waring went on to quote the Supreme Court in the Barnette flag-salute case: "Compulsory unification of opinion achieves only the unanimity of the graveyard." A week later, after President Stearns of Colorado University had issued his statement on academic freedom, Waring wrote:

In his remarks about communism in the universities, President Robert L. Stearns has said that "unfortunately, there are today political views which are not consonant with the freedom of inquiry." This sounds fine when the president is talking about communism, but the observation would be unpopular if someone suggested that "freedom of inquiry" were an ideal that many non-Communists oppose. Freedom of inquiry is the thing

about liberal-arts colleges which most conservative political thinkers and the adherents of several major religions dislike.

This uncommon editor, who is also chairman of Rotary's program committee and member of the state board of Americans for Democratic Action, summed up his aspirations concisely in the sixtieth-anniversary edition of his paper:

The Littleton *Independent* has carved out for itself two purposes beyond the reporting of and commenting

on local events. It attempts to represent the unrepresented, and it seeks to reveal those facts which the giants of the communications industry prefer not to mention. Its voice is small, but it is unmuffled. In combination with hundreds of other similarly resolved small-town papers, we trust that it is performing a worthy function.

That was in 1948. Editor Waring of the *Independent* says today, "I'm very optimistic after the first twenty-five years."

Luxemburg: Steel and Socialism

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Luxemburg
ON THE face of it, Luxemburg—forty miles one way and twenty the other—is hard to take seriously. One is tempted to be either facetious about this blast-furnace Ruritania or rapturous about the lovely Moselle Valley, the haunted castles, and the reminders of Shakespeare's lovers in the Forest of Arden, part of which is spread across the northern half of the grand duchy.

Yet in reality Luxemburg is no dreamland. It is a small but active member of Western Europe with post-war problems much like those of its neighbors. It had 10,000 killed in the war, a high figure for a population of 300,000, and the Rundstedt offensive at the end of 1944 caused great destruction. But thanks to the sums put into the country's iron-and-steel industry, Luxemburg is today the fourth-largest producer of steel in Western Europe—after Britain, Germany, and France—with an annual output of more than three million tons of steel and three million tons of pig iron. In the early part of 1950 the Luxemburg steel industry was threatened with a slump, but the Korean war caused business to look up, and now there is a waiting list of orders. The number of unemployed in the whole country is thirty-eight! Esch and other steel towns in central and southern Luxemburg have a standard of living far above that of the industrial towns of French Lorraine and a little above those of Belgium.

But the Luxemburgers know that this temporary boom in the steel mills is no answer to long-term problems. Wedged between France, Belgium, and Germany, the grand duchy signed the Brussels treaty, the Atlantic Pact, and the Schuman Plan, is a member of the Council of Europe and a recipient of Marshall aid. Its Foreign Minister, Joseph Bech, has been called "the greatest Benelux statesman," but many of his countrymen would question this. Although in some ways

Bech is very independent—he insists, for instance, on keeping in Moscow an extremely able but by no means orthodox minister who provides him with information that is often quite different from the routine facts supplied by other Moscow embassies—the Luxemburg Socialists think him much too conformist in dealing with the bigger Western allies, especially the United States, and are determined to "keep him in order."

During my stay in Luxemburg the Socialists, having won a notable election victory on June 3, consented for the first time in several years to enter the government. As a result of the elections in half the Luxemburg constituencies due for renewal, they now have 19 instead of 16 seats in the Chamber, the Social Christians 21 instead of 22, the Liberals 8 instead of 9, the Communists 4 instead of 5. With their position greatly strengthened by the three extra seats, the Socialists were able to lay down some stiff conditions for entering the Cabinet, the six posts of which are now equally divided between them and the Social Christians. This Socialist advance in Luxemburg is unique in the recent history of Western Europe.

On the day the new government was formed, I had a long talk with Michel Rasquin, the Socialist leader, who holds the important post of Minister of Economic Affairs. Very tall, with a bony, almost ascetic face, Rasquin struck me as being as hard as nails; he is clearly going to be the strong man of Luxemburg. Characteristically, he began with some uncomplimentary remarks on the French Socialists, who were ruining the very idea of democratic socialism in Western Europe by cooperating unconditionally in any government. Altogether he took a gloomy view of France, where nearly half the electorate had declared themselves "against the parliamentary republic." For the Belgian Socialists he showed rather more respect, and thought they had handled the Leopold crisis admirably. As for the British Labor government, its sur-

vival was "a matter of life and death to European democracy."

On most questions M. Rasquin's view differed from those professed by the previous Catholic government of Luxemburg. He was opposed to "independent" German rearmament, which might well prove a double-edged weapon; he didn't see very clearly what the "European army" meant except, obviously, the surrender of national sovereignty. Indeed, he had grave doubts about all "supra-national authorities," not least about the board that would administer the Schuman Plan. On this subject he said:

The steel industry is the lifeblood of Luxemburg, and I am very hesitant indeed about transferring to people of whom we know nothing the power to decide on the living standard of our people. I fear this all the more as our standard of living and our wages are high, our transport problems difficult, and our home market almost non-existent. For these reasons we are very vulnerable. We have no coal; our reserves of iron ore will barely last us another generation; in short, the risks are so great that distrust is justified. Although we produce ten times more steel per head of population than the United States, our production is still only a small fraction of the pool, which can, if it wishes, do without us. There is our tragedy.

We must ask for a minimum of safeguards—for the very existence of our people, not just for the good of the steel companies. I am sure that we can get these safeguards if we fight hard enough. The present text of the Schuman Plan must undergo a lot of amending.

We shall, in any case, probably be the very last to ratify it, and not without a big fight.

When I suggested that M. Bech had already obtained for Luxemburg a number of concessions under the Schuman Plan, M. Rasquin declared that these were paper concessions and quite inadequate.

HE HAD equally strong views on conscription. With present methods of warfare, he said, the Luxemburg army could be wiped out in a day. This might not be a serious blow to Allied man-power, but for Luxemburg it would mean the loss of a whole generation of young men. Britain was pressing for a uniform system of two-year conscription in all Western Europe, but the Luxemburg Socialists were dead against it. Under the agreement reached with the Catholics, in forming the new government, the present one-year service, plus two three-month training periods, was on no account to be exceeded; moreover, negotiations were to be started with the Allies for authorization to contribute to the general defense effort more than the country's share in terms of industrial output and less in terms of man-power. There is no doubt that the Socialists' anti-conscription and "anti-militarist" election slogans won them more votes than anything else.

Among other conditions they laid down when they consented to enter the government were the fixing of the minimum wage at 4,030 francs a month—about \$80 as against the previous \$65—the reduction or abolition of numerous taxes on lower-bracket incomes, and higher taxation of corporate profits, including an excess-profits tax on the "abnormal" earnings of the "Korean" period. These measures will bring a net increase in revenue which is to be used for food subsidies to keep the cost of living down. As practical socialism all this should make many a French and British Socialist envious.



Perle Mesta

The Luxemburg Socialists place great emphasis on sovereignty and have accepted comparatively little Marshall Plan aid; they are reluctant, as M. Rasquin put it, to see their little country "dissolved in the European purée." They are staunch supporters of the Grand Duchess Charlotte, whom they regard as a valuable bulwark against "the wrong kind of internationalism." The contrast between the dignified and reserved Grand Duchess and Mrs. Perle Mesta, the American ambassador, known as the Mistinguette of the diplomatic corps, causes a good deal of amusement here. Mrs. Mesta entertains on a grandiose scale; one day she invited to a reception every mayor of every community in the country, which is more than the Grand Duchess has ever done.

With the Socialist leaders "Madame" has had her tiffs. The most famous occasion was when the industrial city of Esch, which was just then running a *Luxembourg au Travail* exhibition, planned an "American Day." Mrs. Mesta insisted on having an American military parade. The war in Korea had just begun; people were jumpy and nervous; and M. Rasquin, as mayor of Esch, refused to allow the parade, which he said would only play into the hands of the Communists. "Madame" was furious, but in the end compromised on having an American military band play in front of the City Hall. The all-Negro band was a great success, and everybody was happy except the Coca-Cola Company, whose offer to mark the occasion by a mass sale of Coca-Cola and turn the proceeds over to the Luxemburg Red Cross was flatly turned down by the Mayor—out of regard perhaps for the local brewers and wine merchants.

BOOKS and the ARTS

Pattern of Hysteria

THE TENNEY COMMITTEE. Legislative Investigation of Subversive Activities in California. By Edwin L. Barrett, Jr. Cornell University Press. \$5.

THE Tenney committee has now been investigating subversive activities in California for about ten years, almost as long as the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities, and generally with the same approach. Each committee has tacitly assumed that its function was, that of a criminal trial, with the committee acting as prosecutor, jury, and court, but subject to no restraint or review. The assertion that "every Communist in the United States is a potential traitor, saboteur, and espionage agent of Soviet Russia" soon took the form that "unfriendly witnesses" and critics of the committee were Communists, and should be treated as traitors. At a hearing in September, 1948, a lawyer for some of the persons who had been subpoenaed to testify asked for an opportunity to cross-examine. "We are familiar," said Senator Tenney, "with the technique of these Communist attorneys. I move the motion be denied." When Judge Yankwich testified before the committee that he would talk to any group, whether he agreed with its views or not, just as he was talking to Senator Tenney, although he didn't agree with him, the audience applauded. Senator Tenney directed that anybody who applauded should be ejected from the hearing. "We know that we have a large number of Communists here," he said. On another occasion when Dr. Clarence H. Dykstra, provost of the University of California at Los Angeles, was testifying, the audience laughed and applauded. Tenney again flared back: "I admonish the audience that at another outbreak I will clear the room. . . . You are Communist sympathizers and you can't do this."

The Tenney committee might have performed a useful job if it had inves-

tigated the actual activities of some of the organizations alleged to be subversive. But it made almost no attempt to find out how they operated, and was content to publish the names of individuals whom it found guilty of being "Stalinist sympathizers," usually without giving them any opportunity to explain their association. When they did occasionally get a hearing, their testimony was disregarded, and only information gathered from the accumulating files of the national and state investigations was used. Membership in an organization is, as Professor Barrett points out, evidence of a belief in the purposes of the organization. But the purposes were invariably brushed aside by the committee as camouflage, and the association was used to show that the particular individual believed in the aims of other members. In this non-sequitur lies the chief vice of the whole guilt-by-association test.

Indeed, the theory of listing organizations to show the subversive quality of their members is highly questionable. The practice tends increasingly to fix and harden an equivocal standard. Membership in a doubtful organization in the federal program is but "one piece of evidence"; two years later it becomes *prima facie* cause for disqualification in New York; and finally, in the Ober law of Maryland, membership is a crime. The United States Supreme Court in the Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee case held that the designation of the organizations by the Attorney General without a hearing had been "patently arbitrary"; and Justice Black spoke of these listings as "officially prepared and proclaimed governmental blacklists [which] possess almost every quality of bills of attainder." It is to be hoped that since this decision the President will reconsider the use of this kind of evidence before the loyalty boards; it is frankly based on the theory of guilt by association, which was once thought to have no place in American justice.

Professor Barrett gives an instance of the effect of the committee's listings.

In 1947 Bartley Crum, a distinguished San Francisco lawyer, who had never appeared before the committee but had been named by the committee as affiliated with two organizations considered subversive, was dropped as a Chico Community Forum speaker on a protest by a chapter of the Veterans of Foreign Wars based on the committee listing. Similarly, in 1951 Marquis Childs's engagement to speak at the centennial celebration of Miner Teachers College in the District of Columbia was canceled by Hobart M. Corning, the superintendent of Washington schools, on receiving a report from the House Un-American Activities Committee that Childs's name was "listed" in the committee's files, although he had never been charged with anything by the committee and had never appeared before it. It would be safer, as Martin Dies stated in clearing Fredric March and his wife, Florence Eldridge, "never to participate in anything in the future without consulting the American Legion or our local Chamber of Commerce."

"The Tenney Committee" is the second volume of a series of studies—made possible by a grant of the Rockefeller Foundation to Cornell University—of the impact on civil liberties of governmental programs to insure internal security and expose subversive conduct. Professor Robert E. Cushman is director of the whole undertaking. Professor Walter Gellhorn's admirable "Security, Loyalty, and Science" was published last year. Professor Robert K. Carr is making a study of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and Miss Eleanor Bontecue is examining the federal loyalty program. Several scholars are doing a survey of state programs. A final report will summarize all the findings.

Mr. Barrett's book suffers from diffusiveness; the author has lacked discrimination in selecting his material so as to illustrate and sharpen the issues. In his eagerness to be objective he lays a mass of detailed evidence before the reader with little illuminating comment

except for the final Appraisal, an admirable summary of the assumptions, objectives, and standards of evidence of the committee. But even in this conclusion he suggests that "there are no scales that can tell us accurately whether in the balance the activities of the Tenny committee were of service or disservice to the state." Yet the conclusions that follow leave little doubt where he thinks the balance lies.

Not content with mere exposure [he writes], the committee sought to punish alleged subversives and their sympathizers. . . . Once it had established to its satisfaction that a particular individual was a Communist or fellow-traveler . . . it sought literally to banish him from all normal community life . . . to prevent association with him, to forbid lawyers to defend him . . . and to cause his employer to discharge him and his union to expel him. People were warned that they should not rent him a hall for a meeting, or join any organization of which he was a member, or read any book or attend any play or motion picture written by him, or even espouse any cause espoused by him. . . . The threat of investigation and exposure was used much like the threat of criminal prosecution in attempts to compel adherence to committee standards. . . . A county assessor was officially requested to remove the tax exemption of a church that continued to permit meetings by allegedly subversive groups on its premises after committee protests. . . . The state bar association was called upon to investigate "conduct of those attorneys who consistently represent persons and organizations suspected of un-American activity." . . . The proof rested almost wholly upon the associations of the individual. . . . Most of the people listed by the committee . . . were never given an opportunity to explain their associations. . . . In the few instances where the committee did permit a witness to testify . . . this testimony was disregarded.

This is a sad and tragic picture. I suspect that it is not untypical of the country at large—the creeping fear, the obsession with Russia distorting and confusing our purpose and our direction, the resort to methods usually identified with Star Chamber and the Inquisition. All these things mark an immature mind that lives in a world of terrifying phantoms. The problems of the real world are too actual to permit us to resort to the false luxury of adolescence. One of these problems is the discovery and punishment of spies and saboteurs. But this is not accom-

plished by hunting down and "exposing" those who happen to disagree with some obscure and chauvinistic brand of "Americanism."

FRANCIS BIDDLE

Basic German Issues

GERMANY AND THE FUTURE OF EUROPE. Edited by Hans J. Morgenthau. The University of Chicago Press. \$3.50.

CAN Western Germany be reintegrated with the Western world on mutually livable terms? This is the basic question which has been asked, and answered diversely and thoughtfully, by fourteen students of German problems represented in the volume of Harris Foundation lectures for 1950. All the participants, it should be mentioned at the start, assume an indefinite continuance of armed truce between East and West and hence a prolonged division of Germany into two increasingly divergent parts. The underlying impressions which emerge are a qualified optimism concerning the political and intellectual reorientation of Western Germany and a qualified pessimism over its ability to cope with the problems of economic and social reconstruction. Although a year has elapsed since the discussions held at the Harris Foundation, the statement of basic issues is fully valid today, for it draws upon an unusual range of expertness and of first-hand concern with post-war German developments.

Reinhold Niebuhr has given in a few words an excellent statement of the moral and intellectual difficulties Americans face in seeking Germany's partnership against Soviet totalitarianism. It would be very helpful if his sensitive analysis, which is also a call for action, could be widely known and appreciated by Germans. Niebuhr concludes that full American participation in defending Europe is the only safeguard for sincere cooperation between Germany and its recent victims. With Calvin B. Hoover he points to the contradiction which has arisen from our pressing upon Germany a laissez faire policy which goes beyond what we are prepared to practice at home, under far more auspicious conditions.

No one can quarrel with Sigmund Neumann's description of the social and

political impact of nine million dispossessed and uprooted Germans, but he should have said something about the Germans' own attempts to do something about this vast problem. Neumann correctly points out the absurdity of trying to absorb these displaced masses in the regions where they were dumped by the hazards of military events, but mere redistribution is not a remedy. Under the "Schlüchtern plan," which is spreading in Western Germany, the problem of bringing together housing and opportunities for work, and thus absorbing the refugees, has been tackled by county boards, representing local government and administration, industry, banking, agriculture, labor, and the refugees, and assisted by social analysts; direct achievements, as reported in a recent publication of the National Planning Association, are impressive. The development of social responsibility and local initiative is no less important.

Unlike many observers Morgenthau, Almond, and Marcuse feel that the anti-democratic movements are not a serious menace at present. Their arguments are thoughtful. As long as Germany's security and economic revival depend on the West there is not likely to be a direct threat to democratic procedures. But if Germany becomes the front-line defender of the West, it will naturally seek to rewrite the terms of cooperation in its favor, and at this stage the parties now governing may lose the loyalty of the majority of the electorate. The suicidal blackmail of the right-totalitarians, some of whom advocate joining forces with Soviet imperialism, may not gain them power through the ballot but may be strong enough to destroy confidence between Germany and the West. None of the contributors makes more than a passing reference to the risk that a rearmed Germany may

FREE "THE AGE OF REASON"
By Thomas Paine
Write for your copy of Thomas Paine's masterpiece, "The Age of Reason." 190 pages; complete and unexpurgated. No obligation on your part; sent free as part of an educational campaign, but please add 10¢ to cover cost of postage and handling.
THE THOMAS PAINE FOUNDATION
Dept. N8, 370 W. 35th St., New York 1, N. Y.

A WORLD WITHOUT WAR
This is a book filled with absorbing new information. In these churning, uncertain times—search its pages and discover how peace can exist on the earth forever. Do not miss
A WORLD WITHOUT WAR
Write Kane Publications, 220 Fifth Avenue
New York 1, N. Y. Price \$1.00

attempt to use the power of the Western alliance to recover the Soviet zone and perhaps the lands beyond the Oder-Neisse. Fear of irredentism even more than the risk of revived militarism worries French and other West European leaders and stimulates the search for a formula which will harness the use of German armed strength to European purposes.

Hans Simons, who was actively concerned in the elaboration of the Bonn constitution, gives a brilliant insight into the complex nature of the new political instrument and shows how its provisions emerged from the interplay of pressures among German parties, among the occupation powers, and between the Germans and the victors. His conclusion is that the new instrument, while basically centralistic, is weaker than the Weimar constitution, but that it may survive more successfully.

In a brief review of labor developments Franz Neumann emphasizes the successful post-war reconstruction of a unified trade-union structure, its striving for "co-determination" as a means of influencing industrial policies from within, and its non-revolutionary spirit, which is equally hostile to neo-Nazi and Communist forces. Perhaps Neumann is too bleakly critical of the "status quo" attitude of German labor. The absence of drastic demands and of dramatic methods may be due to a desire to strengthen the shaky structure of emergent democracy and to the need for a period of convalescent quiescence. In any case, if German labor is non-revolutionary, how can the Social Democratic Party, which represents the workers more completely than at any time since 1919, be a revolutionary force?

PHILIP E. MOSELY

The Sea Evoked

THE SEA AROUND US. By Rachel L. Carson. Oxford University Press. \$3.50.

AS SOON as we pick up Miss Carson's book, we find ourselves entering a familiar world. It is astonishing how much the sea resembles our own element.

It possesses the very same geography of mountains and valleys, and it is capable of the same violent eruptions—which later cause seismic waves. Like

the terrestrial world, the sea has its climates—sharply defined areas of cold and warm—and its own atmosphere: a "steady, unrelenting, downward drift of materials from above, flake upon flake, layer upon layer," forming in certain places a carpeting of sediment—consisting of erosion from the continental masses, decay, sands from the coastal deserts, and so on—that is 12,000 feet thick. It even resembles the earth in its circulation of currents: just as, on land, the winds that pass are feeble miniatures of the air rushes carried in the rotation of the atmosphere far overhead, so the waves on the sea's surface are the merest ripples compared to the submarine blasts, known only to the monsters of the deep.

The sea matches the earth in its mineral wealth. The amount of gold it contains, for instance, would be more than sufficient to make every living human being a millionaire—an interesting commentary on the degree to which man's society is an outgrowth of convention. Though it lacks trees and shrubbery, the sea is crammed with other types of vegetation; and its quantity of sub-life, perhaps comparable to our insect colonies, is such that all day the ship's passenger may find nothing around him but a sea of intense red animalcules, "and when darkness falls the waters [still] shine with an eerie glow from the phosphorescent fires of yet more billions and trillions of these same creatures." Life, both microscopic and super-elephantine, swarms throughout the sea, and over it prevails the same kind of rigid economy Darwin discovered on earth:

What happens to a diatom in the upper, sunlit strata of the sea may well determine what happens to a cod lying on a ledge of some rocky canyon a hundred fathoms below . . . or to a prawn creeping over the soft ooze of the sea floor in the blackness of mile-deep water. . . . From the plankton [the almost infinite mass of sub-life, including "fierce little dragons half an inch long, the sharp-jawed arrowworms," and "gooseberry-like comb jellies, armed with paralyzing tentacles"] the food chains lead on, to the school of plankton-feeding fishes like the herring, menhaden, and mackerel; to the fish-eating fishes like the bluefish and tuna and sharks; to the pelagic squids that prey on fishes; to the great whales who . . . may live on fishes, on shrimps, or on some of the smallest of the plankton creatures.

The origins of the sea, the forces determining its tides, its ceaseless din detectable only to the seismograph and sound machines, the periodic migrations among its fish population—there are several things no reader unfamiliar with oceanography could anticipate. But even these things somehow fall into place with a gratifying sensation of faith that they must be so, and not otherwise. Scientifically, "The Sea Around Us" has its shortcomings, but it would be hard to find a style, a sensitivity, a balancing of detail more perfectly suited for the evoking of the sea.

CHARLES SPIELBERGER

"As France Goes . . ."

THE UNITED STATES AND FRANCE. By Donald C. McKay. Harvard University Press. \$4.

THIS book gives more than the title promises. In addition to chapters dealing with Franco-American relations it contains a survey of political and economic conditions in present-day France. Though brief, it is a model compendium of important facts which do not stare blankly at the reader as out of the void but are analyzed, evaluated, and related to the historical background.

Relations between France and America have been long and intimate. A historical fact worth noting is that in the wars in which both nations participated they were always on the same side. However, their relations have vacillated between sentimental friendship and grieved disillusionment. When, after the First World War, France refused to pay its war debt, America felt, as McKay says, like an "unrequited lover." After the Second World War there began a revival of the historical friendship between the two nations, based less on sentiment than on mutual interest. France has still an important role to play in the world of which America is the leading power. And it may be said that as France goes, so goes Western Europe. McKay is at his best when stressing the free world's need of France in the coming struggle for power between Western democracy and eastern totalitarianism. Slowly and reluctantly France has come to the conclusion that Russia is now a greater threat to its security than is Germany. To Frenchmen life is, in the author's phrase, "an

eternal quest for security." Because of the fearful losses suffered by France during the two world wars many Frenchmen became convinced that security could be found in "neutralism." So widespread was this sentiment that McKay frankly admits that France became a "beachhead of weakness," exhibiting a "profound sense of apathy, futility, and even resignation" in facing the threat of Communist domination.

But the mood is changing. McKay is convinced that America's decisive intervention in Korea and the dispatch of additional American troops to Germany have instilled in the French a feeling of confidence and roused in them a spirit of resistance. His view is borne out by the results of the recent elections, which decisively repudiated neutralism.

McKay's deep knowledge and fine understanding of France, past and present, will be appreciated by his readers. As Sumner Welles states in his Introduction, this book "will do much to help the American people better to understand France's problems realistically."

J. SALWYN SCHAPIRO

New Deal Financier

BECKONING FRONTIERS. By Marriner S. Eccles. Edited by Sidney Hyman. Alfred A. Knopf. \$5.

IN HIS long and useful career as chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, Marriner Eccles learned to like and even to admire a number of political leaders, but he could never quite accept the idea that a statesman must be responsive to public opinion, as well as responsible for the public welfare. He had and has strong convictions about economic policy, and much more often than not he has been right. This did not necessarily make him easy to get along with.

Still, for a man who has good reason to consider himself ill used, he writes with admirable restraint and lack of bitterness. This is particularly remarkable because he was himself subjected to continuous bitter attack as a traitor to his class of Republican bankers, and then finally opposed by many of the New Dealers who had once cheered him as a leader. He had supported most of the New Deal out of pure conviction, and himself contributed a large part of the theory of com-

pensatory government spending and deficit financing which finally became the cornerstone of New Deal economic policy. As early as June, 1932, when Franklin Roosevelt was still preaching drastic government economy, Eccles told the Utah State Bankers Convention:

There is only one agency in my opinion that can turn the cycle upward and that is the government. The government, if it is worthy of the support, the loyalty, and the patriotism of its citizens, must so regulate, through its power of taxation, through its power over the control of money and credit, and hence its volume and use, the economic structure as to give men who are able, worthy, and willing to work the opportunity to work, and to guarantee to them sustenance for their families and protection against want and destitution.

Without rancor he cites the record to show that the policy of deficit financing was never carried by the New Dealers to a point which could have turned the depression into real prosperity, and that the Fair Dealers have failed to press for a corresponding fiscal policy to check inflation. Of course he is perfectly correct in pointing out that if deficit spending is right in a depression, an excess of government revenue over expenditures is equally right when prices are rising in a period of full employment. But while he recognizes the importance of political pressures, he still seems to have a somewhat unrealistic feeling that President Roosevelt and President Truman could have forced these policies on Congress if they had really wanted to.

In his capacity as head of an independent agency dealing with highly technical problems of money and credit, he was naturally impatient of uninformed opinion—and he was particularly impatient of fellow-bankers who should have been better informed. He did what he could to educate public opinion. But the very honesty and clarity of his own thinking frequently made it difficult for him to understand the problem of dealing with a Congress and a public whose ideas about government financial policy are still at least fifty years out of date.

In addition to providing the best economic history of the New Deal so far available, the book is a fascinating and eminently readable personal story. The account of his remarkable father,

who left abject poverty in Scotland to become a Mormon and a millionaire, is just as interesting as the many significant anecdotes about the great names of the last twenty years.

CHARLES E. NOYES

English Novel of Italy

THE DIVIDING STREAM. By Francis King. William Morrow and Company. \$3.

THE DIVIDING STREAM" is the first of Francis King's novels to be published in this country. Mr. King is a young English writer with a modest and unpretentious style who has become deeply enamored of Italy, like so many Englishmen through the ages, and who has been profoundly influenced by E. M. Forster, to judge from this book. Certainly one could hardly choose a better model.

We are presented with the same kind of ironic juxtaposition of Northern and Southern cultures that Forster brought off so admirably in his novels and stories with an Italian locale. A wealthy English family in Florence—the head of the family is nominally American, apparently only because it is difficult nowadays to write of wealthy Englishmen

BOOKS AND
PERIODICALS
Just Arrived!

from the
U S S R
M. LERMONTOV

A Hero of Our Time

Deluxe Edition — Illustrated
In English — 174 pp. — \$1.50
Latest Soviet Records, Sheet Music, Handicrafts
1951 SUBSCRIPTIONS OPEN FOR ALL
SOVIET NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS
Ask for Complete Catalogue P-51
FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.
55 W. 56 Street, N. Y. 19 Murray Hill 6-2600

Buy Your Books
through ^{THE} Nation

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price postage free if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C.O.D. No C.O.D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to
Miss Le Pack

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
20 Vesey Street New York 7, N. Y.

traveling abroad—is played off against two desperately poor Italian youngsters and a group of expatriates and tourists.

Just as the rich American's English wife falls in love with a surly and mysterious British army officer, their children become involved with the Florentine boys; and just as the silly vulgar wife of an English physician-tourist is betrayed by her love for a phony count, so the American's wife is doomed by her infatuation for the unloving army wanderer. The only ones who gain from their exposure to the Italian climate are the children, who are still capable of being genuinely altered by their intercourse with the charming and unembittered pagan boys of Florence.

Mr. King's unobtrusive prose does not pall, and his narrative seldom flags. But it is a pity that one feels ever more strongly, from chapter to chapter, that he has read this before, that the author's attitude, while civilized and strongly defensible, is neither original nor uniquely presented, and that his people, although they are neither dull nor contrived, are but the replicas of figures in earlier novels which have traversed much the same ground.

HARVEY SWADOS

Conn. Joins the L P Price War

Any London 44rr, Westminster, Haydn Society, Renaissance, Concert Hall CHC, Bach Guild, Vanguard, Program, Festival, Bartok, L'Oiseau Lyre and Oceanic—\$5.95 L P's.

Our Price: \$3.82 per single 12" record, any six or more \$3.59 each.

Mercury, Allegro—(50% off—2 for the price of one—\$5.45, \$5.95 respectively.)

30% off on other makes. Records unconditionally guaranteed, return privileges. Same-day shipment. Add 50¢ postage for any 11 records.

10¢ and self-addressed envelope brings giant bargain list.

SALISBURY RECORD SALES

Falls Village Litchfield Co. Connecticut

PULITZER PRIZE AND CRITICS' AWARD
RICHARD RODGERS & OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd
 present in association with
LELAND HAYWARD & JOSHUA LOGAN

ROGER RICO
MARTHA WRIGHT

South Pacific

Music by **RICHARD RODGERS**
 Lyrics by **OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd**
 Book by
OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd & JOSHUA LOGAN
 Adapted from **JAMES A. MICHENER'S Pulitzer Prize Winning "TALES OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC"**
 Directed by **JOSHUA LOGAN**
 Scenery & Lighting by **Jo Mielziner**
 with **MYRTLE BECKWITH & DINA COSTELLO**
MAJESTIC, 44 St. W. of B'way • Air-Cond.
 Evenings 8:25. Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:25

Music

B. H.
HAGGIN

THE first new work presented by the New York City Ballet Company in its June season was Balanchine's "Capriccio Brillant," a display piece for Tallchief and Eglevsky. The trivial Mendelssohn music evoked from Balanchine no more than a routine use of his vocabulary in the filling out of space in time, aided by the resourcefulness which presented the two soloists in the enriching context of the movements of four girls, which had the work begin charmingly with the dancers gathering around the piano and then beginning to dance, and which costumed the dancers in handsome black and white on an effectively lighted stage.

The second, Ruthanna Boris's "Cake-walk," to music by Gotschalk with scenery and superb costumes by Robert Drew, was an ingenious, amusing, and charming dance paraphrase of its subject. Janet Reed again (I say "again" recalling her Queen of Hearts in "Card Game") demonstrated her powers in comedy, and there were fine performances by the other soloists.

The third was Jerome Robbins's "The Cage," to Stravinsky's Concerto in D. Suggested by the practices of certain insects whose females devour the males, it presented, in something like a hive, a group of females whose costumes (by Ruth Sobotka of the company) and movements (the rubbing of hands like feelers) suggested insects, and one of whom (Nora Kaye) killed two male intruders—the first (Michael Maule) at once, the second (Nicholas Magallanes) after courtship (pas de deux) and copulation. A progression from the unpleasant to the shocking and horrible; but my objection was not to that; it was to the fact that the piece was nothing more than that: the movements achieved nothing beyond their unpleasant or shocking explicit meaning. This in contrast to, say, the fairy's taking possession of the boy in "Le Baiser de la fée," or the seduction in "The Prodigal Son," in which the movements are not literally meaningful but a transmutation of the literal meaning into powerfully and excitingly imaginative symbols.

For the rest, with a half-dozen replacements in the corps and not enough rehearsal, gone was the assured precision and ease of last March's performances of the great Balanchine works (gone altogether was one of the greatest of those works, "Le Baiser de la fée"). "Bourrée Fantasque," in addition, suffered from the hamming by Tanaquil LeClercq which increased at each successive performance. LeClercq must have seen Danilova in "Le Beau Danube" and "Gaîté Parisienne"; let her think back and recall the fact that after the hundreds of performances in those ballets Danilova did not make one movement that was excessive. Such self-discipline is part of the equipment of a great artist; and LeClercq owes it to herself to acquire it; but if she doesn't exercise self-discipline Balanchine, it seems to me, should exercise his authority as artistic director. He should also correct the glaring defects in the work of the corps in "The Prodigal Son"—the inaccuracy and therefore the ineffectiveness of the boys' deceptive thrusting out of their hands at their first encounter with the son; their complete lack of interest and involvement during the siren's solo dance and her pas de deux with the son; and their failure to squat low enough in their back-to-back scurrying about after the despoiling. And would expect Balanchine to be concerned over the damage to the early scenes of the piece when Hugh Laing dances in it.

Webster Aitken's recorded performance of Schubert's posthumous Sonata in A—which E. M. S. has added to the ones of the posthumous Sonatas in C minor and B flat—could be accounted for not only by his personal musical feeling but by a determination to produce a performance as different from Schnabel's as possible. If so, it is successful: it is at the opposite pole from Schnabel's relaxed, spacious performance, and in its own way it comes off, and is acceptable as a performance of the work—which the performance of the B flat was not (just as Stokowski's "conceptions" of Bach and Mussorgsky are not). But though it is acceptable it inflicts a loss on the work. To play the coda of the first movement, for example, as strictly and relentlessly in the driving tempo of the entire movement—albeit

with admirable rhythmic continuity—is to rob it of the wonderful meaning Schnabel gives it with his slowed-down, meditative playing; in the scherzo too Aitken's strict beat robs the music of the charm that Schnabel's elasticity and grace give it; and there is a similar loss in the finale. But Aitken's performance of the slow movement—and especially of the remarkable middle section—is a completely effective statement of it, and a demonstration of his powers as musician and pianist. Unfortunately its effectiveness is reduced, as it comes off the record, by lack of depth, solidity, and power in the reproduced piano sound (to say nothing of other faults of sound and surface).

The Haydn Society has issued Haydn's Piano Sonatas Nos. 48 and 51—the second a more impressive example of the genre than the first—played by Virginia Pleasants intelligently and soberly, when the music calls for the vitality, sharpness, and brilliance that Charles Rosen's performance of No. 51 on the E. M. S. record has. In No. 48 one keeps hearing sounds from the groove ahead.

Of the piano pieces of Satie played by Poulenc (Columbia) the *Tyrolienne Turque* is very amusing, but the rest aren't up to their funny titles. Poulenc's music, on the same record, I don't care for.

Couperin's harpsichord music I continue to find mostly uninteresting and at best, occasionally, pleasant. Uninteresting is the *Suite No. 24* played with unclear rhythm and phrase-outline by Eta Harich Schneider (Urania); pleasant are "*Les Fastes de la grande et ancienne ménestrandise*" and some of the other music played by Claude Jean Chiasson (Lyricord).

CONTRIBUTORS

FRANCIS BIDDLE, former Attorney General, is the author of "*The Fear of Freedom*," to be published in the fall.

PHILIP E. MOSELY, professor of international relations at the Russian Institute of Columbia University, was a member of the United States delegation to the Potsdam conference. He visited Western Germany and Berlin in 1950.

J. SALWYN SCHAPIRO is the author of "*The World in Crisis*."

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Supreme Court Sidestep

Dear Sirs: The Garner case involved the constitutionality of an amendment to the Charter of the City of Los Angeles which authorized an inquiry into the political activities of city employees. Under the amendment every city employee would be required to sign an affidavit which would state that he was not a member of any organization which advocated the forcible overthrow of the government. Justice Clark, who while serving as Attorney General had compiled the list of organizations which supposedly advocated the forcible overthrow of the government, wrote the Supreme Court majority opinion, which upheld an earlier decision handed down by the District Court of Appeals of California. According to this opinion the issue at stake was whether a city employee could be compelled to disclose his political affiliations. The question of whether he could be discharged because he held political beliefs which were in conflict with the amendment was not argued. But the appellants charged that they were fired because they refused to sign a non-Communist affidavit. The Supreme Court's decision barely touched the issue involved in the suit brought before it.

CHARLES B. COLLINS

Berkeley, Cal.

Civilization's Cross

Dear Sirs: The following are extracts from a speech by Saul Alinsky delivered last month in Chicago at a testimonial dinner held for Dean John B. Thompson. I heard the speech and was so struck by it I thought it should have a wider hearing. Not only is it a tribute to the courage and integrity of one of America's outstanding liberals, but it also points out that the danger of the American heritage comes from those who will not stand by their convictions and defend them in public.

Time is running out for all of us, but much faster for you, Dean Thompson. While all of us here tonight honor you, I'm afraid that when the Supreme Court crows thrice most of us will fail to recognize you when you walk by, and deny ever having known you.

You are for complete and equal freedom of all people—not just the ones you agree with. You know that you cannot

discriminate when it comes to freedom, that certain people cannot have freedom and that others can, that there is no clear-cut distinction between free speech and advocacy. You know that once such a line is drawn people will become afraid to speak, that silence will become safety, and speech suicide.

To you the important issue in any fight is not whether you can win immediately, but whether the fight is just. You know that because a fight may be a losing fight is no reason not to stake everything on it if it is just.

You have never begun that long tobgan ride down the slide of rationalization. You have never leaned on the crutches of cowardice. You have never listened to people who say, "If you get involved in too many things you will lessen your usefulness," or, "This isn't the time to take such a position; you can make a much better contribution in the long run if you keep out of things for the moment," or, "Of course you're not a Communist, but if you really want to make your weight felt you ought to be more careful."

Our only hope is with those who, like you, are willing to stand up and speak out, who publicly profess their faith, who aren't content to whisper behind closed doors that things are going to hell. There are few like you who have the courage to defend freedom knowing that every time you get to your feet you are being measured for a cross. But you know that if you, and others like you, don't take that chance, then civilization will have to carry the cross. Without you, and others like you, there is no future. Without you and others like you a day would arrive when the Lord's Prayer will begin, "I am not and never have been."

Chicago

PAUL V. RICHARDS

Reichenbach Rebuked

Dear Sirs: It is unfortunate that Professor Reichenbach's protest in *The Nation* of July 14 against Professor Buchler's review of his book, "*The Rise of Scientific Philosophy*," should have been given the title *A Relativist Rebuked*. It made it seem that the editor was accepting as valid one of Professor Reichenbach's more misleading expostulations.

Reichenbach's charge that Buchler was a "relativist" was his reply to Buchler's point that anyone as much concerned as Reichenbach with the relativity of language in scientific descriptions should not have overlooked

RESORTS

Lakecrest

90 Miles from N. Y. C. — HUNN'S LAKE
STANFORDVILLE, NEW YORK

A former Dutchess County Estate, now a rendezvous for discerning adults. Cool lake breezes, high altitude and comfortable furnishings ensure a most pleasurable vacation. Sports for the enthusiast, luxury for the artistic and savory meals for all.

CALL OR WRITE FOR RESERVATIONS NOW
Eva Berg, Director Stanfordville 2982-2098

FARMS & ACREAGE

LODGE—6 rooms; bath; modern kitchen; large living room; fireplace; exposed beams; gravity springs; electricity; telephone. 17 acres; brook; view. New Frigidaire, gas range. School bus. \$5500. Berkshire Farm Agency, East Chatham, New York.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING analysis. Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel. WA 4-1575. Cooperating with doctors, psychologists, schools, firms, industries. Lessons by appointment, evenings. Marital, educational, vocational, psychological problems. Fee, \$5.00.

PUBLISHING SERVICE

AUTHORS! Sales Department available for your short stories, articles, books and plays. Free booklet, write today! Mead Agency, 419 Fourth Avenue, N. Y. 16 (OR 9-1150).

PERSONALS

exit loneliness

Somewhere there is someone you would like to know. Somewhere there is someone who would like to know you. We can help you find a richer, happier life through discreet, dignified "social introductions."

Write for booklet, or phone
MAY RICHARDSON
Dept. TN, 111 West 72 Street
New York City EM 2-2033



RARE COLLECTION

LIFE MAGAZINES, completely bound, all issues March 1937 through 1948 inclusive. Excellent condition. For sale, Box 235, c/o The Nation.

Butcher... Baker... ? Candlestick Maker ?

Where will they spend their vacations this year?

Why not tell them about your resort in the pages of

THE Nation

RESORT CLASSIFIED DISPLAY

\$7.42 per inch, one insertion

Generous discounts for multiple insertions

Write or phone today for further information.

ADVERTISING DEPARTMENT

The NATION

10 VESEY STREET, NEW YORK 7, N. Y.
BArcley 7-1086

the more general and quite incontrovertible fact that a large part of the seeming disagreement between different philosophers arises from their different ways of using language.

In the much more disparaging sense of the word to which Reichenbach seemed to be appealing, the "relativist" is one who denies that there is any such thing as good or evil apart from the conditioning of particular "cultures" or the "poetic" fancy of particular individuals. In this sense it is he and not Buchler who is the relativist. This is one of the things his book succeeds in making quite clear.

Buchler was much more open to criticism for having suggested that Reichenbach's philosophy has more in common with the philosophies he condemns than his devotion to his own form of idiom allowed him to recognize. This paid him a compliment he only doubtfully deserved. It included him in the company of men who are philosophers in the sense of being lovers of wisdom and not just among those who assert that only the very limited part of human understanding that can be reduced to scientific statement escapes being illusory, and that, as a consequence, the analysis of scientific method is the whole of wisdom.

According to the premise on which Professor Reichenbach bases his thinking, any philosophical view derived from presuppositions different from his own can be dismissed without examination as not merely false but meaningless. This raises the question whether it was not perhaps some doubt as to the rightness of his presuppositions that made him try the almost impossible task of examining a succession of such views in his book.

JOHN PILLEY

Meredith, N. H.

Why Less Corruption Abroad?

Dear Sirs: H. H. Wilson, in his able article on the Kefauver report which appeared in the July 21 number of *The Nation*, made the suggestion that additional light could be thrown on the causes of crime in the United States and on methods of dealing with it by a comparative study of conditions in Great Britain.

But England and other European countries are not so different from America in their economic or social organization or moral point of view as to explain why betting, gambling, bribery,

and official corruption seems to be so much less pronounced on the other side of the Atlantic. I believe that the determining cause is that with few exceptions our judges, prosecuting attorneys, sheriffs, and police chiefs are elected, while in England they are appointed. This means that our officials are much more dependent upon the whim of public opinion, on the voter, and on the parties and bosses who control the voter by controlling the candidate.

WILHELM LEVINGER

New York

Recommended Reading

Dear Sirs: To those of your readers interested in contemporary British politics, I recommend a monthly magazine, *Twentieth Century*, successor to *Nineteenth Century and After*. Under Michael Goodwin's editorship, it is somewhat left of center, with an emphasis on the work of lively young writers. Those interested may address their inquiries to 51A Rathbone Place, London W.1, England.

DAVID C. WILLIAMS

Washington

A. S. P.'s Peace Petition

Dear Sirs: It may interest your readers to know that a statement appearing in the May 26 issue of *The Nation* to the effect that some leading British writers, including Sean O'Casey and Christopher Fry, had formed a Committee for Peace has spurred a group of American writers to do likewise.

Writers in the New York Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions have formed a Committee of Writers for Peace whose sole aim, like that of their British colleagues, is to work toward the prevention of the disaster of a third world war. Our key principle is peaceful negotiation of disputes among nations.

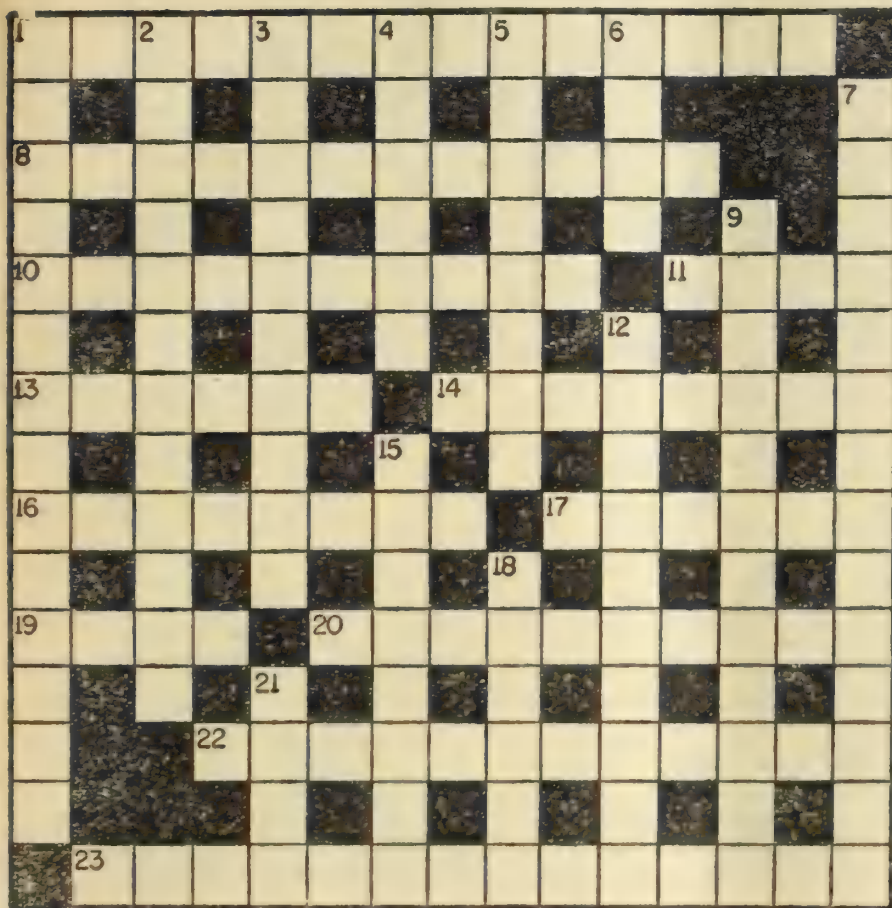
All writers, known or unknown, published or unpublished, no matter what their political beliefs, race, or religion, are welcome to join us. No commitments of any kind are involved. There are no dues, and the only membership requirement is the desire to promote the cause of peace.

Those interested may communicate with our committee at the New York Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions, 47 West Forty-fourth Street, New York.

WILLIAM KRAFT,
IRVIN BLOCK,
For the Committee

Crossword Puzzle No. 424

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 Pretty magnetic? Such quality in either case! (14)
- 3 Professional grafters, perhaps. (4, 8)
- 10 Charley's aunt (not really!) and Gen. Dutra. (10)
- 11 Like the carpet moth? (With its arms backward?) (4)
- 13 Pinned down like Daniel. (6)
- 14 Do they only attempt to analyze? (8)
- 16 Spiral. (8)
- 17 Ivory does, reputedly. (6)
- 19 Not quite broken --- just leaning. (4)
- 20 and 2 down. 24 hours, for good measure! (2, 6, 2, 3, 3, 2, 4)
- 22 Superior to a mean streak. (5, 7)
- 23 Their diamonds rate them as being worth more than a buck. (5, 9)

DOWN

- 1 Caesar couldn't attribute this to lumbago. (1, 4, 2, 3, 4)
- 2 See 20 across.
- 3 What wagon riders profess. (10)
- 4 Swollen. (6)

- 5 Vine seen in central Europe. (8)
- 6 Creatures of habit. (4)
- 7 They were orphaned in a storm. (3, 1, 7)
- 9 Where to find words to a song? (5, 1, 6)
- 12 Saint to worship, or just a British predecessor. (4, 6)
- 15 Did Currier, when his partner left? (8)
- 18 Jazz tune (3, 3)
- 21 I repeat, it's a bird! (4)

.....

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 423

ACROSS:—1, 24 and 5 SISTERS UNDER THE SKIN; 9 REBATES; 10 UPSTART; 11 UTICA; 12, 26, 17, 15, 17, 26, 12 ONE FOR ALL AND ALL FOR ONE; 13 NASAL; 14 SLEEP; 16 STAINED; 18 ASUNDER; 21 SPLICER; 23 TREADLE; 30 CUSTOMS; 31 SETTLES.

DOWN:—1 STRAUSS; 2 SUBSIDE; 3 and 29 EXTRA INNINGS; 4 SYSTOLE; 5 TOUPEES; 6 ESSEN; 7 KHAMISIN; 8 NETTLED; 15 AQUATIC; 19 UNDRESS; 20 RAFTERS; 21 STRAINS; 22 CHANNEL; 23 RESISTS; 25 and 27 across RADIOGRAMS; 27 GENET.

RESORTS

50 MI.
FROM
NEW YORK



MAMANASCO
Lake Lodge
RIDGEFIELD, CONN.
Phone 8-7000

A beautiful country estate converted into a delightful retreat for vacations and weekends. All outdoor activities, mile-long lake, tennis, golf nearby, informal, congenial atmosphere. Television, recordings. Excellent cuisine and accommodations. Moderate rates.

Beautiful HARBOR HILL

COLD SPRING-ON-HUDSON, NEW YORK

The country Inn you've dreamed of finding. Beauty. Peace. Good Food. Good Talk.

30 Guests • 30 Acres • Swimming • Golf
4 Stone Cottages. Open Fires. Ice Box Racks.
50 miles N. Y. Circulars. Tel: Cold Spring 5-2174

the dream resort you've been looking for
and looking for and looking for!

THE NEW
Glenmere
PRIVATE GOLF COURSE

Chester, N. Y. in the beautiful Ramapos
Phones: Chester 2151 - N. Y. REctor 2-5047

MERRIEWOODE

A CAMP FOR ADULTS

HIGHLAND LAKE - STODDARD, N. H.

Where Interesting People Meet for the Perfect Vacation. Enjoy beautiful 10-mile lake. All Land and Water Sports. Interesting hiking objectives thru woodland trails. Arts and Crafts. Square and Folk Dancing Instruction. 4 hours by train from New York.

OLIVE "HATTIE" BARON, Director

Write Dept. N for literature. Tel: Hancock 98-Ring 19



Year 'round Adult Activities

Hathaway Lodge

Formerly the palatial 502-acre Macy estate. Luxurious rooms, many with open fireplaces. Swimming pool, clay tennis courts, handball, badminton. Horseback riding, hiking—magnificent mountain trails. Recordings, library, informal dancing. Delicious American-Jewish food. Easy transportation. Attractive Rates. For reservations or booklet N:

HATHAWAY LODGE

Haines Falls, N. Y. • Phone Tannersville 299

WINDY HILL

ON ORANGE LAKE

A pleasantly informal vacation in friendly atmosphere. Books, Records, Ping-pong, a two-mile lake for boating, fishing, swimming. Food of excellent quality in generous quantity. Rate: \$50 weekly, \$7.50 daily.

65 Miles From N. Y. C.

JANE C. ARENZ, R. D. No. 1, Walden, N. Y.

Phone: Newburgh 115 W 3



Timberland
POTTERSVILLE, N. Y.

AN ADULT CAMP IN THE ADIRONDACKS

Limited to 100 • Dancing • All Sports

New York Office: 33 W. 42 St. LO 5-3674

The Rare Charm of an Intimate Congenial Group

50 MILES TO FOREST HOUSE

Near enough for easy travel, far enough for an unforgettable vacation. Forest House achieves new levels of gay relaxation in inspiring surroundings, Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality. Two grand lakes. All sports.

FOREST HOUSE

Lake Mahopac, N. Y. • Tel. MAhopac 8-3449

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

Medal of Honor



Private First Class Melvin Brown, of Mahaffey, Pennsylvania—Medal of Honor for valor in action near Kasan, Korea, September 4, 1950. Stubbornly holding an advanced position atop a wall, Pfc. Brown stood off attacking North Koreans until all his rifle ammunition and grenades were gone. When last seen he was still fighting—with only an entrenching shovel for a weapon—rather than give up an inch of ground.

Never forget the devotion of Melvin Brown!

Now, this very day, you can help make safer the land he served so far "above and beyond the call of duty." Whoever you are, wherever you are, you can begin buying more . . . and more . . . and more United States Defense* Bonds. For every time you buy a bond you're helping keep solid and stable and strong the country for which Private Brown gave everything he had.

And remember that *strength* for America can mean *peace* for America—so that boys like Melvin Brown may never have to fight again.

For the sake of Private Melvin Brown and all our servicemen—for your own boy—buy more United States Defense Bonds now. Defense is your job, too!

Remember that when you're buying bonds for national defense, you're also building a personal reserve of cash savings. So go to your company's pay office—now—and sign up to buy Defense Bonds through the Payroll Savings Plan. Don't forget that now every United States Series E Bond you

own automatically goes on earning interest for 20 years from date of purchase instead of 10 years as before. This means, for example, that a Bond you bought for \$18.75 can return you not just \$25 but as much as \$33.33! For your country's security, and your own, buy U. S. Defense Bonds now!

***U.S. Savings Bonds are Defense Bonds - Buy them regularly!**



The U. S. Government does not pay for this advertisement. It is donated by this publication in cooperation with the Advertising Council and the Magazine Publishers of America as a public service.

A Memo to the President — *The Editors*

THE *Nation*



August 11, 1951

Heretic Hunt

Oklahoma's Loyalty Oath

BY BRUCE JOHNSON AND JEAN LOMENICK

✱

Our Inmost Feelings

BY A TOKYO CORRESPONDENT

✱

The Promise of Paper Books - - *Harvey Swados*
Israel Goes to the Polls - - - - *J. L. Teller*
The Pall of Orthodoxy - - *Alfred McClung Lee*
Iran: Unrecognized Revolution - *Andrew Roth*

20 CENTS A COPY

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

7 DOLLARS A YEAR



in Yugoslavia
they look to you
for CARE
no country in the world
suffered more
from the war
than the brave
independent
people of Yugoslavia
one out of every ten
men
women
and children
died in the war
one out of every
five homes was ruined
in 1950, the worst drought
in history
ruined the crops
this year
floods ;

\$5.35

will help keep ONE HUNDRED of these brave people
ONE MONTH. Your contribution, covering cost of packing a
portation, will bring each of them the equivalent of three dollars
and eight quarts of milk in U. S. "agricultural surplus" egg
powder. Hospitals, orphanages, the aged and other desperately needy
have priority. You will get a receipt listing all the ONE HUNDRED
you have aided. Will you please help them NOW?

CARE (Non-profit, U. S. Government-approved) 20 Broad Street • New York 5, N. Y.

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 173

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • AUGUST 11, 1951

NUMBER 6

MEMO TO THE PRESIDENT

IN YOUR Detroit speech of July 28, Mr. President, you made effective use of an important news item. In attempting to obtain signatures to a petition stating that the signers believed in the Declaration of Independence, two reporters for the *Madison Capital-Times* had found that 111 of 112 persons refused to sign, many for the reason, as you stated, that "they were afraid that it was some kind of subversive document and that they would lose their jobs or be called Communists."

The facts stated, you spoke directly to the issues. "Think of it, in the capital of the state of Wisconsin, on the Fourth of July this year 1951, good Americans were afraid to sign their names to the language of the Declaration of Independence! Think of that, in the home state of two of America's greatest liberal and progressive Senators, Robert M. La Follette and Robert, Jr.! Now that's what comes of all these lies, smears, and fear campaigns." Later reporters for the *New York Post* were able to get precisely 19 out of 161 New Yorkers selected at random to sign a similar petition. "We met suspicion, distrust, and hostility," they reported, "relieved by occasional wisecracks."

We congratulate you, Mr. President, on speaking out vigorously against tactics which have produced this new fear and caution in American politics. But these tactics, as you know, did not come into being overnight. They have developed out of a series of measures and administrative devices some of which date back as far as World War I, while others are as recent as the order creating the Loyalty Review Board which you signed on March 21, 1947. It was under this order that the Attorney General began to list organizations as "subversive." Whatever may have been the original intention, it is now clear that the Attorney General's list has been used by Senator McCarthy and others in a manner that not only endangers the liberties of thousands of law-abiding American citizens but has seriously impaired the efficiency of the government service. Since you signed the loyalty order and the first list appeared, the Supreme Court has said in effect that the arbitrary listing of organizations, without notice or a hearing, is invalid. Yet the list has not been discarded, and it is in wider use today than

ever before. You are now, therefore, in an excellent position to correct what has proved to have been a mistake and also to clarify the question of responsibility for the state of fear which you so dramatically emphasized in Detroit.

In the August 4 issue of *The Nation*, Francis Biddle, who served for a time as your Attorney General, called the listing of organizations as subversive "highly objectionable." "The practice," Mr. Biddle pointed out, "tends increasingly to fix and harden an equivocal standard. Membership in a doubtful organization in the federal program is but 'one piece of evidence'; two years later it becomes *prima facie* cause for disqualification in New York; and, finally, in the Ober law of Maryland, membership is a crime." Quoting with approval Justice Black's characterization of the listings as "officially prepared and proclaimed governmental blacklists [which] possess almost every quality of bills of attainder," Mr. Biddle concluded: "It is to be hoped that since this decision [the Supreme Court's decision in the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Case, April 30, 1951] the President will reconsider the use of this kind of evidence before loyalty boards; it is frankly based on the theory of guilt by association, which was once thought to have no place in American law."

We indorse Mr. Biddle's recommendation and would add one of our own. We urge you, Mr. President, to direct the Attorney General to set aside the list now in use and to refrain from preparing any further "bills of attainder." In Detroit you charged, quite properly, that the "doubters and defeatists" were "trying to stir up trouble and suspicion between the people and their government." "That's what comes," you said, "when people are told they can't trust their own government." But good American citizens, Mr. President, including many who have served their country loyally in two wars, have genuine cause to distrust a government that proceeds to issue "bills of attainder" against them, without notice or a hearing, the effect of which is to drive them from jobs, businesses, and professions, and to make political pariahs of them.

The issues in the 1952 campaign can be greatly clari-

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

Memo to the President	101
The Shape of Things	102
Defense with Inflation	104

ARTICLES

Israel Goes to the Polls <i>by J. L. Teller</i>	105
Oklahoma's Loyalty Oath <i>by Bruce Johnson and Jean Lomenick</i>	106
Our Inmost Feelings <i>by a Tokyo Correspondent</i>	108
The Pall of Orthodoxy <i>by Alfred McClung Lee</i>	110
Iran: Unrecognized Revolution <i>by Andrew Roth</i>	112

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Paper Books: What Do They Promise? <i>by Harvey Swados</i>	114
Handbook on a Subcontinent <i>by G. V. Bobrinsky</i>	115
Revolution in Russia <i>by Aron Dubitsky</i>	116
Twentieth-Century Painting <i>by S. Lane Faison, Jr.</i>	117
Films <i>by Manny Farber</i>	118
Records <i>by B. H. Haggin</i>	119

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 120

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 425 *by Frank W. Lewis* opposite 120

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Associate Editor: Carey McWilliams

Foreign Editor

J. Alvarez del Vayo

Literary Editor

Margaret Marshall

Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch

Music: B. H. Haggin

Assistant Editor: Charles R. Allen, Jr.

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside

Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting

Staff Contributors

Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: Mary Simon

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1951, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 18, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$7; Two years \$12; Three years \$17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: *The Nation* is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

fied if you will take the steps here recommended. But if you continue to sanction, after your Detroit speech, measures which lend strength to the objectionable tactics of your opponents, the fear which you deplore—the fear so carefully cultivated by the McCarthys and the McCarrans—will persist.

It is not at all strange that the citizens of Madison, Wisconsin, exhibited the caution they did when asked to sign the petition; they acted, it seems to us, with understandable circumspection. Their caution can be directly traced to the fact that the listing of organizations as subversive has taught them to be morbidly suspicious of all petitions and organizations. The men who 175 years ago signed the original of the document circulated in Madison, Wisconsin, on July 4, 1951, had an abiding hatred of what James Madison called those "new-fangled and artificial treasons which have been the great engines by which violent factions, the natural offspring of free governments, have usually wreaked their alternate malignity on each other. . . ." To free American political life of the fear of similar "new-fangled and artificial treasons" today, we urge you to withdraw from them the sanction of your approval given under somewhat different circumstances four years ago.

The Shape of Things

AGAIN THE ARMISTICE TALKS AT KAESONG have surmounted a crisis, this time in the shape of a suspension due to the appearance of armed Communist troops in the neutralized conference area. Whether or not this violation of agreed conditions was accidental, as the Communists claim, the speed with which the Chinese and North Korean high command complied with General Ridgway's request for assurances that it would not happen again indicates their eagerness to keep the talks going. As we go to press, neither side has made any move to resolve the disagreement over the demarcation line, the issue that had deadlocked the negotiations when the incident occurred. But some observers see a possible basis for agreement in several Communist broadcasts which have placed the line demanded by the Allied negotiators considerably to the north of the present United Nations battle line. If these reports are true—and there seems to be some real doubt as to the line Admiral Joy has actually proposed—then the U. N. representatives could make a better offer without sacrificing their strong defense position. On the other hand, if the Communist reports are fictitious, they may be designed to prepare the way for a concession which will look like a compromise. The one thing General Nam Il cannot accept, it would seem, is an arrangement that might freeze the boundaries between North and South Korea on a line above the Thirty-eighth Parallel. The truism that "possession is nine-tenths of the law" has proved

well-nigh infallible in the history of armistice agreements. In spite of the supposed exclusion of political considerations from the truce talks, the Communists, should they finally agree to end the fighting north of the Parallel, may be expected to demand pretty firm assurances that the cease-fire line will not become a political line later on.

★

THE SENATE SMALL BUSINESS COMMITTEE reports that 40 per cent of the dollar value of all defense contracts awarded since the start of the Korean war has gone to ten giant industrial corporations. Between July 1, 1950, and June 1 of this year, contracts totaling \$23.8 billion have been let. The companies participating in this total are headed by the Ford Motor Company with \$1 billion in contracts and General Motors with \$3.5 billion. The chief beneficiaries are mostly manufacturers of tanks or planes—items which account for a large portion of current military spending. Only a few companies, of course, are able to produce tanks or planes, but there seems to have been little effort to spread contracts for parts among the smaller firms. Reflecting pre-war relationships, the concentration of defense contracts in a few companies has greatly increased the disparity in industrial power between large and small concerns. During World War II a hundred companies received two-thirds of the total dollar value of defense expenditures, but fifty companies now make up the two-thirds category. Concentration of defense contracts may not retard the mobilization effort, but the imbalance which already exists might well undermine the economy and, as the committee warns, "intrench monopoly beyond hope of dislodgment in our time." The committee has told the armed services that "this trend of concentration must be immediately reversed," but similar directives were issued throughout World War II with no perceptible effect. The trend is not likely to be reversed, for the structure of power has already changed.

★

LAST WEEK THIS JOURNAL PRINTED SOME statements from Spanish monarchist leaders revealing their unconditional rejection of Generalissimo Franco's new "liberalized" government. These facts have now been sensationally verified by the Spanish Pretender himself. In a personal letter to the Spanish dictator, written on July 10 but published for the first time last Sunday in a dispatch by Sam Pope Brewer to the New York Times, Don Juan called upon Franco to restore the Spanish monarchy without delay and reestablish representative institutions. That the Generalissimo has no intention of acceding to Don Juan's demands, his actions since receiving the letter are sufficient proof. So far he has not even acknowledged it; and the comments of his

own spokesmen leave no room for doubt about the character of the Cabinet appointed with such demo-royalist flourishes when the prospective deal with the United States was announced. By this time Washington's hope that our new ally-to-be would be well received at least in conservative European quarters must have collapsed. Indeed the opposition to Franco as a pillar of the Western coalition has been stiffening all over Europe. In Great Britain the influential moderate Sunday *Observer* has sharply challenged the advisability and wisdom of a bilateral pact between the United States and Franco Spain, calling it a "damaging blow to the morals and dignity" of the entire Western alliance. From the purely military point of view the British paper questions the value of bases in a country where opposition to the regime is mounting. In Norway important liberal journals like *Dagbladet* and *Verdens Gang* have also criticized the proposed agreement. They dispute the view that the matter is exclusively the business of the United States, maintaining that any loss of moral authority on the part of this country has a "most deplorable effect on the general mobilization of the forces of freedom." We suggest that President Truman weigh carefully the opinions of these Europeans of the center and right before he takes the final step of entering into an alliance with the Continent's last fascist ruler.

★

IT WAS LIKE OPENING DAY IN THE MAJORS in Congress last week. The front-office boys of the big leagues trotted out the venerable Ty Cobb, now a Coca-Cola millionaire, to tug at the heartstrings of the nation. Baseball's greatest living figure testified that the sport was just "a clean game and not an industry"—in 1950 the two major leagues only counted 17,226,824 paid admissions! Cobb was invited to testify, with executives of the major and minor leagues, at a "friendly" investigation of the game's controversial reserve clause. Part of every contract, the clause makes the player economically immobile. Once the "property" of a team, the individual player cannot freely seek employment with another club, nor can he leave his own unless he is sold, traded, or fired. Of course he can quit. But if he exercises this dubious privilege, he will be without employment in organized baseball; and if he returns, he must go back to the same team. This adds up to a status not unlike peonage, and indeed the players are in the habit of referring to themselves as "peons." The salary and fame of major leaguers must not be confused with the abysmally low salaries, steerage-class hotels, and comparative obscurity of the far more numerous minor leaguers. Statements by living immortals notwithstanding, Congress should recognize major-league baseball as the major industry it is and outlaw the reserve clause as an improper restraint on trade.

Defense with Inflation

IN his mid-year economic report the President requested "legislation which will strengthen, not weaken, price control." The compromise controls bill which he signed on July 31 relaxes consumer-credit restrictions, removes the power of OPS to fix slaughtering quotas, stops roll-backs in beef prices, and entitles virtually every producer of processed and manufactured goods to include in his costs all but "unreasonable and excessive" increases in expenses between the outbreak of the Korean war and July 26, 1951! This last provision, the President emphasized, "is like a bulldozer, crashing aimlessly through existing price formulas, leaving havoc in its wake."

Responsibility for the bill rests primarily with the large bipartisan majorities that obtained its enactment without serious opposition. Preoccupied with dramatic "investigations," Congress refused to heed the President's warnings and was not at all impressed by the fact that half of America's families failed to receive any increase in income in 1950. Instead of taking advantage of the abatement of inflationary pressures in the last few months to strengthen our defenses against inflation, Congress cited this "lull" as evidence that the worst was over. Yet witness after witness had testified before the Joint Committee on the Economic Report* that "if inflation is not stopped by mid-1951 it will be much more difficult to stop it later."

Although the United Labor Policy Committee denounced the bill as "a disgraceful surrender to those who stand to profit from inflation" and called for a veto, labor apparently shares Mr. Truman's assumption that next year the voters will punish Congress for this reckless action. But most of the interest groups with sufficient organized political power to protect their economic interests are satisfied with the bill. And while Republicans may have written the worst amendments, these amendments could have been defeated if the Democrats had stayed in line. Nor is Mr. Truman dealing, as in 1948, with a "do-nothing" Congress; this is a war-minded Congress, with billions to shower on favored groups, including groups which supported the President four years ago.

A remark by the Republican leader Representative Jesse P. Wolcott suggests that it may be later than the President thinks. Afraid of "those in the government who would use the emergency to change our form of government," Mr. Wolcott and his colleagues have "deleted almost all of the powers" from the bill which might have been used to accomplish this sinister pur-

pose. Yet these same Congressmen gleefully accepted a doubling of defense expenditures in the last year and view with undiluted pleasure the prospect of an increase of \$30,000,000,000 in the next twelve months. It is this prodigious redirection of the economy from welfare to warfare that needs to be watched. The question has never been whether prices should be controlled; they have at all times been controlled—by monopoly power, by rigidly enforced "mark-ups," by "fair trade" practices, by price-support programs, and by other devices. To Representative Wolcott "price control" means governmental interference with this highly efficient system of private controls; to him any pruning of publicly provided profits would constitute "a change in our form of government."

And on this score the President can hardly be said to differ with his opponents in any basic sense. He assured Congress that with proper controls we could "continue to enlarge our defense efforts, to expand our productive capacity, and to hold inflation in check." In explaining why he signed the bill—"the worst I ever had to sign"—he said that Congress would be asked to strengthen it later on. Both statements ignore the chain-reaction effects of inflation. Every price increase that becomes a cost increase—and most do—proliferates through the entire price structure. War-directed economies, moreover, generate special political dynamics. Thus the notion that Congress will or can repair the damage it has done, at this preparatory stage of inflation, overlooks the nature of the disease.

Policy has superseded economic "law" in many areas, but as long as we have a price system that is at all viable, prices are bound to reflect social choices in the over-all allocation of resources. We may confine the flood of rising prices within dikes; we may even, by upstream action, diminish the crest; but given the present scale of military expenditures, we may not have "defense without inflation" any more than we may expect heavy rainfall without swollen rivers.

The staff of the Joint Committee on the Economic Report warned Congress in February that existing inflationary pressures "could easily blow the lid off prices" unless controls were tightened. Sounding fortissimo warnings of a runaway inflation, the staff pointed to the danger of a "price level easily five times higher than present" and then added that "direct controls over wages, prices, and production could not possibly halt the rising tide of inflation unless such controls were backed early enough and vigorously enough with fiscal and monetary measures." Controls have now been weakened, not strengthened, and the hope that adequate fiscal and monetary measures will be adopted is dim indeed. The trouble with the various plans for "defense without inflation," in short, is that the plans have not appealed to Congress.

*"The Economic and Political Hazards of an Inflationary Defense Economy," issued February 23, 1951.

Israel Goes to the Polls

BY J. L. TELLER

Jerusalem, August 1 (by cable)

ELECTION DAY in Israel was as quiet as the first day after the long buzz-bomb siege. The population, exhausted by the heat and the severe austerity program which forces the Israelis to tighten their belts like tourniquets, had for weeks been subjected to the additional assault of strenuous electioneering. From dawn to late at night sound trucks had cruised the streets exhorting the electorate in the babel of tongues which Jewish immigrants from sixty-six countries have unloaded on this land. Youngsters under voting age had marched in torchlight parades, shouting slogans. Election posters in glaring colors defaced structures, old and new. In a desperate attempt to reach the ears, reason, and emotions of these people, from many lands and of many political colors, the various parties had signed their names to posters carrying calumnies more fitting for anonymous handbills. This below-the-belt political slugging was indulged in even by parties obviously scheduled to join any new coalition Ben-Gurion would lead.

Election Day was a legal holiday. Cab fares were tripled because the parties had recruited all available vehicles to transport voters to the polling stations. For the first time in Israel's contemporary history political workers were hired and were not volunteers.

I toured the exotic quarters of Jerusalem where the kaleidoscope of Jewry went to the polls—long queues of Eastern European Hassidim led by their formidable rabbis, fierce-looking, stern-eyed old men from Africa and Arabia leaning on tall staffs, Persian women bearing themselves proudly like queens, meek little Yemenite women dry like desert figs. One carried a rooster in her arms. Another led a goat into the polling station.

The right-of-center General Zionist Party hurled "Moshiach" at Ben-Gurion, alleging that he was passing himself off as a messiah among the Oriental immigrants inclined to mysticism. This was untrue. However, Mapai was not perturbed by the cabalistic musings about its chieftain.

The Mapai bureaucracy in the government was its greatest liability, Ben-Gurion its greatest asset. Hardly a man in Israel, whatever his party affiliation, speaks of Ben-Gurion with less than adulation. He is the symbol of the state. This is not without its dangers, of course, in a country where 35 per cent of the population comes from countries with strong patriarchal traditions. After ad-

J. L. TELLER, journalist and foreign correspondent, has spent considerable time in Israel since the foundation of the Jewish state.

dressing an election rally of Iraq Jews, Foreign Minister Moshe Sharett was embarrassed to find himself facing a queue moving up to kiss his hand.

Mapai—Ben-Gurion's modern Socialist or New Deal party—will have gained from one to two seats in the new Knesset over the forty-six it had in the first Knesset. It will be confronted by a right-wing economic opposition headed by the General Zionist Party, which has advanced as expected from seven seats in the first Knesset to nineteen or twenty in the new one. The General Zionists are the Senator Wherrys of Israel in economic matters and are supported largely by the small shopkeepers. They will be joined by the Herut, an extremist right-wing jingoist party which has dropped from fourteen seats in the first Knesset to seven or eight representatives in the new Knesset. They will be supported also by several splinter groups representing the conservatives of the disintegrated religious bloc and some Oriental voters. The General Zionists in Tel Aviv lost some ground compared with their showing in the municipal elections last November. This clearly indicates that they have already dissipated some of the public trust they had acquired.

However, Ben-Gurion is still unable to form a truly stable government. Mapai may enter a coalition with Hapoel Hamizrachi and Poale Agudas Israel, two religious labor parties which split with the religious bloc on economic issues, and the Progressive Party, which is a small party of Central European liberals supporting an enlightened capitalism in a country equally divided between electors obsessed by dialectics and political illiterates. This coalition would require the support of three minute Arab parties affiliated with Mapai. It may be possible to get their support on economic issues, but on church-state issues the Arabs, as traditionalists, are likely to join the religious labor groups in any Cabinet showdown. Besides, Arab politicians are not ideological-minded but patronage-minded, with no administrative experience. Their inclusion in a coalition seems far-fetched. It is more likely that Ben-Gurion will invite the conservative religious backing. Should he do so, a shocking expenditure of valuable newsprint will have been meaningless.

Mapam, the left-wing Socialist party, has been reduced from second to third place, largely because of its pro-Soviet foreign policy. The Communists, who had three seats in the first Knesset, may have four in this one. The Communist Party is reputed to be the sanctuary for frustrated Arab nationalists. On several occasions Arab mobs mauled Israeli Jewish cops after Communist election rallies. There was "American intervention" when Mizrachi (religious Zionist) delegates from America to the World Zionist Congress here published an appeal to the electorate to vote for the Mizrachi ticket. The ticket drew 1.5 per cent of the vote.

Oklahoma's Loyalty Oath

BY BRUCE JOHNSON and JEAN LOMENICK

Stillwater, Oklahoma, July 30

SOME 20,000 Oklahoma citizens consented last May to register their loyalty to state and nation on the dotted line of a formal oath. Nearly 100 persons refused to sign the new oath required of all state employees and thereby lost their jobs.

House bill No. 8, introduced last January by William Shibley, a retired Creek County grocer, requires all state employees, from court stenographers to the governor, to swear they are not Communists and have not been within the past five years. After it had been passed by the legislature, Governor Johnston Murray sent the bill back for reconsideration of points raised by his Attorney General, who had formally ruled it unconstitutional. The House, feeling pride of authorship, refused to reconsider, and the Governor then signed the bill on April 9, over the protests of the Attorney General, faculty groups at the state's two big educational plants—Oklahoma University and Oklahoma A. and M.—various religious organizations, and a vocal segment of the public.

The fight thus opened still continues. In September the state Supreme Court will hear arguments from eight professors who signed the oath after removing clauses which they thought violated their religious beliefs and were unconstitutional to boot. Their petition raises six constitutional issues: that the legislature has invaded powers granted to state boards or regents; that the act impairs contracts; that the oath-signing requirements constitute the taking of life, liberty, and property without due process of law; that powers delegated to the state are passed on to the federal government; that the act violates the guaranty of religious freedom; and that it embraces several subjects, which is expressly forbidden by the Oklahoma constitution. The petition also charges that the act amounts to an attempt to force state employees to bear arms and is therefore an illegal attempt on the part of Oklahoma to raise and support armies!

Many persons who object to the bill fear that it will have sinister and far-reaching effects. One A. and M. college student, an American citizen born in Argentina, says: "I've lived in several countries just before they went under a totalitarian government. This oath looks to me like the first of a series of efforts to give the state unlimited power." Professors believe the oath will not

only limit classroom teaching but lead to future government control of all teaching material. Said one instructor: "Teachers won't jeopardize their employment by teaching a subject if such action might be misunderstood as advocating that subject." The bill was called "silly, pointless, and hysterical" in a good many college circles both while the measure was being considered and after it became a law on April 9.

Opinion outside the colleges has been somewhat different. Persons not affected by the oath have wondered what the "rabble-rousing college teachers were making such a fuss about." An editorial in the Stillwater newspaper called the protesters "drones and intellectual bums." Colonel R. T. Stuart, one-time chairman of the A. and M. regents, said on the day before the oaths were due: "Anybody who doesn't sign that oath will be gotten rid of. They'll all be fired when their contracts are up." The American Legion's Americanism Committee strongly supported the bill, but the rank and file did not rise up to demand action. One Stillwater legionnaire publicly disaffiliated himself from the organization. Others did not realize that the Legion advocated the bill. State officials did not entirely approve of it, though they hesitated to oppose it.

WHEN the oath first appeared on the legislative docket, it met only scattered objections. Opposition first became serious with the addition of the following amendments:

That I will take up arms in the defense of the United States in time of war or national emergency, if necessary;

That within the five years immediately preceding the taking of this oath I have not been a member of the Communist Party, the Third Communist International, or of any agency, party, organization, association, or group whatever which has been officially determined by the United States Attorney General or other authorized public agency of the United States to be a Communist front or subversive organization, or of any party or organization, political or otherwise, that advocated the overthrow of the government of the United States or of the state of Oklahoma by force or violence or other unlawful means.

At first Oklahoma University was the center of the opposition. By April 1 three teachers—Dr. Paul R. David, associate professor of zoology and director of the Institute of Human Studies, Robert E. Gardner, art instructor, and Richard A. Bodge, professor of

JEAN LOMENICK is the editor, BRUCE JOHNSON the former editor, of the Daily O'Collegian, of Oklahoma A. and M.

English and the first to voice a protest—had publicly expressed disapproval of the oath. The Aggies did not join in the agitation until the deadline was close. Subsequently, they have borne most of the burden of the legal action. It was pressure from Oklahoma University that moved Governor Murray on April 6 to ask the legislature to reconsider the bill. "I am wholeheartedly in accord with your motives," he said, "and it is my strong personal conviction that no person who is worthy of being called a loyal American citizen should find any reason for objecting to making a reaffirmation of his loyalty and allegiance to his country as often as he may be called upon to do so. Yet it does appear to me that some of the provisions of the bill may be unconstitutional." The House complied with his request by a vote of forty-nine to forty-five, but the Senate overwhelmingly rejected it, saying in effect, "Go ahead with the bill and let the Supreme Court rule on whether or not it is constitutional."

Joe Smalley, state senator from the district in which the university is located, tried to insert exemptions for foreign-exchange teachers, persons unknowingly members of front organizations, and conscientious objectors, but his amendments were defeated. On April 29 Coley Newman, twenty-seven-year-old accountant in the Department of Safety, resigned in protest over the "inept" wording of the oath. His was the first positive action against the measure. "I am not," he said, "nor have ever been a member of the Communist Party. . . . But I cannot and will not aid . . . any agency or body which would abridge the religious freedom of my friends who are Quakers. This bill makes Oklahoma a domestic enemy of the Constitution of the United States, and is seeking to abridge a right granted to every citizen of this country." Elwyn O. Hughes, a native of Canada holding first United States citizenship papers, was the first member of the Oklahoma University faculty to cease pondering. "I shall not sign any oath," he said, "which denies employment to loyal American citizens. I shall not change this stand even if the legislature permits further employment of aliens such as myself."

AFTER Governor Murray signed the bill on April 9, the 20,000 state employees were given thirty days to sign the oath. No Communists were caught in the net, but 100 persons left Oklahoma's government service, and most of them have since left the state. Several foreigners were ordered not to sign by their Washington embassies. It is impossible to estimate the number of teachers who will stay clear of Oklahoma on account of the oath, but at least one visiting professor has refused to keep a lecture engagement at A. and M.

The Attorney General ruled on May 7 that his office would assume that the new non-Communist oath "cannot constitutionally be applied" to persons with reli-

gious scruples. He also said that persons under contract could not be required to sign until their present contracts expired; this moved the deadline to June 30 for all college employees under contract. Further, he said, the law did not apply to persons not performing continuous public work or to persons joining organizations declared subversive after the effective date of the bill. Citizens of foreign countries, he ruled, had to sign but might add a postscript saying, "I am not an American citizen."

The next day seven members of the A. and M. faculty, led by Dr. Malcolm Correll, head of the Physical Science Department, and Dr. Ainsley Diamond, internationally recognized mathematician and head of the Mathematics Department, announced to the press that they had engaged legal counsel to fight the oath. They were joined by Nancy Zieber, research assistant; Lillian Schmoie, college secretary; Luella Neitz, assistant professor of music; Werner Baum, assistant professor of botany; S. H. Lee, associate professor of chemistry; and Dr. Robert Wieman, assistant professor of philosophy.

May 9 was the last day for teachers without contracts to sign. On May 10 Paul Updegraff, a Norman attorney, entered the proceedings with fists flying. First he obtained a temporary court order requiring the superintendent of the Norman state hospital to rehire Allen Smith, formerly in charge of hospital poultry, who had been fired for signing an oath of his own composition. Then, changing his tactics, Updegraff obtained a temporary court order requiring state officials to withhold the May salary of all teachers in Oklahoma agricultural colleges who had not signed the oath. Later he filed a similar action covering all persons who had not signed the oath. His opponent was of course the Attorney General, who was placed in the embarrassing position of delivering an unfavorable opinion on the state's new law one day and being called on to defend it the next.

On May 19 Judge Carlile granted a permanent injunction, commenting, "We've reached the point where we must separate the wheat from the chaff. I don't know what the Supreme Court of the state or the United States Supreme Court will do. I know what I'm going to do. I'm going to grant the permanent injunction." The case will now go to the state Supreme Court.

Loyalty investigations are hardly new to "Sooner" vigilantes. Three years ago Representative Cantrell sponsored a measure in the state legislature to rid Oklahoma's institutions of higher learning of parlor pinks and other varmints. Cantrell began his investigation with a series of questions of which the first was, "Where was you borned at?" To his disappointment, not one teacher replied, "Moscow." All those questioned had read the "Communist Manifesto" or did not care to admit ignorance of Marxist theories. The legislature was called into special session to end the investigation.

No one, of course, can prophesy what the final reck-

oning will be on the oath, but it is fairly easy to tabulate the score to date. Gains: passage of a law giving a basis for legal action against Communists in the state service; elimination of fourteen people at A. and M., forty-eight at Oklahoma University—with a possible twenty-eight more there—and perhaps a dozen elsewhere who certainly are not the most conforming of citizens. Losses: Oklahoma has been deprived of the varied skills of these one hundred people, many of whom

are prominent in their field; state prestige, especially in educational circles, has been diminished; foreign nationals who have been forced to sign allegiance to this country on a piece of paper and on the reverse side disavow their statement are bewildered or contemptuous.

The red oath has received a thorough public airing in Oklahoma, and the discussion is not tapering off. The final decision, to be expected in September, will set an important precedent.

Our Inmost Feelings

BY A TOKYO CORRESPONDENT

Tokyo, July 25

THE Japanese people felt relieved when a parley for a Korean cease-fire was announced, because their land was the base for the counter-attack on North Korea, and it had been a great grief to them to imagine how many lives were being lost on the battlefield every time they were waked early in the morning by the thundering planes. The announcement caused a sharp decline in stocks in Japan as well as in America, but the feelings of the Japanese were quite different from those of the Americans here. Most Japanese drew a long breath and cast their eyes over the sea horizon as if they had just come out of a boiler-room.

The decline in stocks was noted chiefly in textiles and in the heavy industries and chemicals. Since the Korean war broke out, the heavy and chemical industries have been producing munitions, though this was clearly prohibited by the Potsdam Declaration. When the cease-fire parley was announced, the demand for further munitions was expected to ebb like the tide. The companies manufacturing napalm bombs, aluminum, and explosives were all hard hit. Japanese industrialists have been transformed into sub-contractors of the national-defense, or war, economy of the United States, and the transition from war to peace is going to be hard for them, especially since Japan's production as a whole is still far below the pre-war level. The big capitalists of course will be able to adapt themselves to an economy of either war or peace.

In the industrial center of Osaka manufacturers desire earnestly the reopening of Sino-Japanese peaceful trade. It should be remembered that when the Sino-Japanese war broke out in 1937, some 70 per cent of the exports of the heavy and chemical industries went to the Asiatic

mainland. Moreover, these industries depend on imports of coking coal and other raw materials from the mainland. Should Japan be cut off from all communication with Asian countries, especially with New China, its economy would fail to nourish its 84,000,000 people and would not become self-supporting, as American taxpayers expect. That is why Japanese business men, of notorious opportunism, dare to express their frank demand for the reopening of Sino-Japanese trade, in spite of the curt directive of the occupation officials.

The industrial depression since the cease-fire in Korea has stimulated this demand. But among medium and small business men, engineers, teachers, and trade-unionists it is perceived that the country has a greater interest in establishing the economy on a peaceful and solid basis than in shortsightedly chasing about for immediate orders under unstable conditions. Their true concern is to overcome the instability due to the country's present colonial status, in which the Japanese economy is being interwoven with the war economy of America.

The yearning for peace with political and economic independence is rooted so deeply in the hearts of the Japanese people that John Foster Dulles's draft of a peace treaty, which apparently aims at dragging Japan into war, if war comes, will not be found satisfactory. The people long for a real peace treaty, not for a war-preparing treaty. That is why they welcome the Korean truce parleys, which they think may lead to a new situation. From working on the military bases and in the manufacture and transportation of munitions the Japanese have come to believe that American policy toward Asia assumes the likelihood of war.

Granted that Japanese business men and industrialists are longing for the revival of trade, Americans, nevertheless, should not jump to the conclusion that most Japanese are supporting Mr. Dulles's draft treaty, published here on April 5. Such hasty judgment would spoil future relations between America and Japan by neglect-

A TOKYO CORRESPONDENT is a distinguished Japanese economist of moderate political views. He is known not only in Japan but throughout the East for his brilliant analyses of the economies of Asian countries.

ing the true feelings of the Japanese people, which are only breathed voicelessly.

The London *Economist* of June 16 quoted Mr. Dulles as saying: "[The occupation] has reached the point of diminishing returns. If it is arbitrarily prolonged, it could paralyze the promising beginning of representative government in Japan; it could turn the incipient goodwill and friendship of the Japanese people into sullen hostility; it could even create the illusion that Soviet Russia could be a liberator rather than the cruel gaoler it is in fact."

Has representative government achieved a "promising beginning" in Japan? General MacArthur stated in his address to the American Congress that the democratization of Japan had been accomplished. Prime Minister Yoshida heard this with some embarrassment. Suffice it to remember the decision of the meeting of the United Nations Economic and Social Council, held on March 3 at Santiago, Chile, which reproached Japanese labor policy with being undemocratic. The three basic labor laws—the Labor Union Law, the Labor Standard Law, and the Labor Relations Adjustment Law—are being emasculated by revisions. After the notorious Matsukawa incident ten workers were sentenced to death or life imprisonment. In every governmental agency of Japan the corruption of high officials is a matter of common knowledge. There can be no discrimination between this government and that of Chiang Kai-shek or Syngman Rhee. The scandal of the Marine Safety Board proves it. Such being the case, one wonders if the word "democratization" is a synonym for "corruption." Corruption, moreover, is evident not only in political circles but among trade-unionists.

THERE are undeniable signs that the friendly feelings of the Japanese people will turn into "sullen hostility" if the occupation armies stay on after the occupation "has reached the point of diminishing returns." The Dulles proposal to station American army units in Japan with no time limitation and to retain the military bases (rearmament is its correlative) is unpopular with most Japanese, who think that peace should mean the withdrawal of the occupation army, even if the decision not to withdraw it is presented in the name of collective security. It does not change the feelings of the Japanese to have the term "occupation army" replaced by "stationed troops." Naturally the Japanese think the occupation is going to continue after the conclusion of the peace treaty if there is to be no substantial reduction of the American forces here. For the occupation army to remain after peace comes back is a paradox.

The Americans say that if Allied troops are stationed in Japan after the peace is signed, it will be in accordance with arrangements made voluntarily by Japan for purposes of collective security (answer of America to

Russia, May 26). And Secretary of State Acheson has stated that the question is left to the free choice of the Japanese. However, the Japanese do not think they have a free choice.

If a man does no more than advocate the withdrawal of the occupation forces, a government decree permits him to be punished for conduct injurious to the occupation army. He may even be tried in a military court. Since the beginning of the Korean war, mass-meetings for peace or a peace treaty have often been prohibited in the Tokyo area. A paper called *Voice of Peace* was forced to stop publication. The *Worker*, the organ of one of the left-wing labor unions, and *Woman's Peace Press* were also suppressed. As many as 2,000 people have been thrown into prison for agitating for peace, and many young students of Tokyo University have been arrested. No one in this country imagines that an arrangement to retain American army units in Japan will be made voluntarily or that the Yoshida Cabinet, in consenting, represents the free will of the nation.

In addition, the Japanese will be charged with the duty of cooperating actively in a future war. They will be in a worse situation than that in which the Philippines were placed by the United States in the alliance signed March 21, 1947. We may expect, for this reason, the sympathy of most of the nations in the Far East, including India.

In spite of the propaganda telling us that America will protect Japan against the red menace, the Japanese will not be deceived again. When General MacArthur in January "permitted" us to have the right of self-protection, the old authoress Yayoiko Nogami, who is an independent in politics, commented: "With bound arms and legs one cannot have any free action, much less can one protect oneself." The right of self-protection assumes the existence of freedom and independence.

General MacArthur may have contemplated training the Japanese National Police Reserve in army methods and sending them into battle, but the present Japanese people, however war-minded they may have been in the

past, see no reason to give their lives to prevent the spread of communism if there is no sign of an invasion of their homeland. The Japanese have had a bitter experience of war.

Japanese young people, especially, feel they have been cheated and taken in. The country which urged Japan to adopt



a new constitution renouncing war has changed its plan within a few years and now encourages the people to prepare for war. This will make the Japanese faithless to America in an ethical sense. Young men hesitate to become soldiers, knowing that they may be forced to invade China and Korea as mercenaries instead of protecting their own land.

Hundreds of thousands of copies of a book entitled "Listen to the Everlasting Roar of the Deep Sea," a collection of letters written by students who fell in the last war, have been sold in this country. The film based on it has made a great impression, especially on the rural population. According to a poll taken recently by Kyoto University and Hitotsubashi University 92.8 per cent of the youth of Japan will not enlist voluntarily in the armed services. Most of those who were asked what they

would do if they were drafted said they would join the organized resistance movement or run away.

Similarly an inquiry among the automobile workers in Tokyo and Yokohama showed that 90 per cent wanted an over-all peace treaty and that 70 per cent were against rearmament. The others thought that an independent country must have armed forces, that living conditions would be raised by the existence of munitions industries, or that Russia or China would attack Japan. They were mostly office workers; laborers were generally opposed to rearmament.

These widely held views are not due to the influence of Russia or Communist China but to the people's inmost feelings. They express a will to independence deep-rooted in the hearts of the Japanese people—a will so resolute and firm, though so modest.

The Pall of Orthodoxy

BY ALFRED McCLUNG LEE

THE St. Louis *Star-Times* has now followed the New York *Sun* into the graveyard of the daily press. The list of newspapers interred since 1946 includes the Philadelphia *Record*, the Seattle *Star*, New York's *PM*, the Minneapolis *Times*, the Oakland *Post-Enquirer*, and the Chicago *Sun* (death by merger). Accelerating the trend toward daily-newspaper monopolies, the elimination of these papers has extended the pall of orthodoxy that now muffles so much public discussion in the United States.

Last year Elzey Roberts, publisher of the late *Star-Times*, in accepting the Missouri University award for distinguished service to journalism, pointed out that "the trend toward monopoly situations is growing at such a rate that if it is not stopped it may change the whole complexion of American journalism." The trend is a product of stabilized counting-house journalism, which is in turn a function of the increasingly integrated American social system. Facts are available which would have permitted Roberts to make much wider generalizations.

The demise of the St. Louis *Star-Times* reduces the number of ownerships of daily newspapers in our twenty-five largest cities to forty-five—seven less than there were six years ago. Upon the judgment of forty-five like-minded corporation presidents now depend the major policies of the daily newspapers purchased by

49.1 per cent of American newspaper subscribers. Though only 19.4 per cent of the population of the United States actually lives in these twenty-five cities, the forty-five corporation officers directly control 56.4 per cent of the morning and 40.4 per cent of the evening papers of the country. Indirectly, their papers set the tone taken on political and economic matters by the 1,678 other dailies in the 1,385 smaller cities. The forty-five dominate, among other instruments of integration, the powerful Associated Press and the American Newspaper Publishers' Association. In a half-century (1900-1950) the number of dailies in these twenty-five cities has dropped from 153 to 86. In thirty years (1920-50) it has dropped from 126 to 86, and in the same period the circulation of these dailies has climbed from 14,400,000 to 24,000,000. The population of the cities has risen meanwhile only from 20,700,000 to 29,300,000.

The trend toward monopoly is at least as dramatic in the dailies of the whole country. In 1920, 42.5 per cent of America's cities—549 out of 1,292—had competing dailies. By 1950 only 6.8 per cent—96 out of 1,410—had dailies under more than one ownership. And in many of these ninety-six cities competition was abridged by gentlemen's agreements and interlocking directorates not publicly avowed. In the same thirty years the number of cities with only one daily newspaper increased from 724 to 1,124, and the number of those with one or more dailies in a local monopoly from 743 to 1,314.

Publishers adduce the current inflationary spiral as the cause of mergers and eliminations. They also like to blame organized labor and the federal government. But the trend has persisted in the same direction for seventy-

ALFRED McCLUNG LEE, professor of sociology and anthropology at Brooklyn College, is the author of "The Daily Newspaper in America," "The Fine Art of Propaganda," and other books.

years, during wars, depressions, and booms. Spiraling costs were assigned as the reason for the sale of the *Star-Times*; but the peak in the number of existing dailies was reached in 1910, and the peak in the number of dailies and ownerships per city came even earlier, around 1900. Actually the trend toward monopoly in the newspaper field is part of a general trend toward local monopolies in communications, led by press-radio-television combinations. Steps toward local and even national communications monopolies are constantly being taken through common understandings if not through chain ownerships, networks, syndicates, wire services, and trade associations.

AS THE trend toward monopoly accelerates, the pall of orthodoxy becomes denser. Voices that contradict the ritual of praise and blame in press, radio, and television become rarer and weaker. Radical views are expressed less frequently by politicians. The teacher of controversial ideas comes more frequently under fire. The liberal preacher is in less demand. The few liberal newspapers left emphasize by their comparative uniqueness the dull uniformity of the average. Editorials and cartoons in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* and the *Washington Post* on the "deal" with Franco redeemed the honor of the American press but hardly offset the general weight of American editorial opinion.

The spreading orthodoxy prevents a critical examination of what "everyone knows." Yet often it is precisely what everyone knows, what is commonly taken for granted, that most needs to be critically examined. Of course the unorthodox idea should also be scrutinized, but it is not so likely to be hastily accepted. "Everyone knew" that Dewey was going to be elected in 1948, but Truman won. The most neglected aspect of that election was the all-pervasiveness of the orthodoxy that characterized public discussion of the election for so many months. The improbability that the pollsters could be wrong gave a final certification to the prejudices of reporters, editorial writers, and commentators which had minimized debate. And there have been numerous other cases in which freer and farther-ranging discussion might have discovered timely indications of impending developments. How many "respectable" spokesmen in established mass mediums raised in advance the possibility of such a stock-market crash as occurred on October 29, 1929?

Or consider some matters shrouded at present from adequate public discussion. What is happening to the country as a result of the current middle-class depression? Is it really so accidental that thought-control—mis-called "loyalty"—investigations chiefly oppress non-Communist liberals? How much freedom of speech is left in the United States? How would we handle the problems of peace if a settlement were negotiated?

The trend toward monopoly in communications is undeniable. What, then, is the public significance of this fact? Whether or not we can question such a caricature as McCarthyism is no longer the issue. Reputable ideas also need to be analyzed on their merits. Can we question Democratic-Republicanism—that is, can we question matters on which there is substantial if not verbal bipartisan agreement?

The chief public significance of the pall of orthodoxy is that we have less and less access to facts disturbing to vested authority. In the words of the late Professor E. A. Ross of the University of Wisconsin, the real butts of drives against liberty of utterance are the "puncturers of propaganda." As Ross put it, dominant spokesmen are not greatly concerned "when a man in an important position—a pulpit, a sanctum, or a university chair—leans toward socialism. What enrages them . . . is the man who goes about effectively puncturing their vast propaganda for more battleships or the open shop or lower wages . . . or against the excess-profits tax or the child-labor amendment or the shorter working day or labor unions or freedom of teaching for high-school teachers." Reformist proposals couched in generalities are regarded as comparatively harmless. What draws fire is the confrontation of powerfully sponsored ideas with contrary evidence. It is news that is feared, not views.

Paradoxically, the potential influence of the unorthodox medium and the unorthodox speaker grows as monopoly and orthodoxy spread. Sooner or later the voices of the deviants break through, and then the effect is arresting. But without constant access to the facts on the one hand and audiences on the other, the unorthodox are bottled up. Their message can grow sterile and unconvincing, and they can have difficulty in propagating their kind. The separation of the unorthodox from mass audiences is the greatest danger of all.

To some extent, the organs of trade unions, consumer groups, liberal churches, and other associations fill the need. But the *CIO News*, *Ammunition*, *Consumer Reports*, and the rest are under such pressure to fight for immediate organizational imperatives that their concern with basic social issues is muted. Such publications, moreover, cannot be local, and large interests derive from local needs and interests. What is needed is accurate news reports on perversions of public trust and manipulations of public and private power for anti-social ends. Somehow, to combat the stultifying orthodoxy of our day, we must find new ways to learn what is actually happening in the major local, national, and international power struggles. Perhaps one way would be to extend the influence of such journals as *The Nation*, the octogenarian of unorthodox American publications. But the fact upon which discussion must be based is that monopoly breeds orthodoxy.

Iran: Unrecognized Revolution

BY ANDREW ROTH

London, July 31

IT IS a little hard to think of millionaire W. Averell Harriman as "a salesman of revolution." But in his just concluded talks with the British Cabinet, Mr. Truman's special envoy has had the task of selling it the Iranian revolution. Britain has long chided the United States for not recognizing and accepting the Chinese revolution as a fact, but it has declined to recognize the Asian revolution in Iran. Not only does the British government refuse to regard the current situation in Iran as revolutionary; it even seems reluctant to admit that Iran is in Asia.

The government's decision to treat the crisis as a treacherous violation of contract rather than a nationalist upsurge explains certain British actions which otherwise would not make sense. It explains why the emphasis has been on winning legal victories at The Hague rather than political victories in Tehran. It explains why the Foreign Office retains as ambassador in Tehran the heavy-handed Sir Francis Shepherd, who seems to specialize in rubbing Iranian revolutionists the wrong way. It explains why, instead of trying to "make a Nehru out of Mosaddegh," the Foreign Office treats him as a fanatic, a contract violator, and an oil-grabber who must be taught a lesson, preferably by economic strangulation. It explains, in short, why the British tend to act in Iran with the insensitivity of the Dutch in Indonesia.

Nationalist leaders elsewhere are not attacked as "fanatics" by the British but are released from prison, as in India and the Gold Coast, and made into friends even if they are near-Communists, as in Burma and the Gold Coast, or former collaborationists, as in Burma. Thus Burma could nationalize the Irrawaddy Flotilla Company with impunity. Even now the British government is starting discussions with the Burmese over a loan that will partially nationalize certain oil interests. Where the British recognize a situation as revolutionary, experts like Lord Mountbatten are sent into action.

Britain's failure to recognize the strength of Iranian nationalism throws a revealing light on its relinquishment of power in India, Pakistan, Burma, and Ceylon in 1947-48. Many radical intellectuals in Asia thought Britain was being "diabolically clever." British leaders, including Prime Minister Attlee, said Britain transferred power out of simple "generosity." In actual fact Britain's actions in South Asia in 1947-48 were the result of four

factors. First, officials on the spot realized in time that unless Britain came to terms with Asian nationalism, it would have to fight nationalist uprisings without adequate resources and under conditions which might give the Communists a chance to take over the leadership of these movements. Second, this view was readily accepted by the Labor government, which had just assumed office and had a long-standing tradition favoring freedom for the colonies and particularly for India. Third, the actual transference was intrusted to superbly skilled diplomats like Viscount Louis Mountbatten and Sir Hubert Rance. Fourth, there was no real difficulty in recognizing the group to which sovereignty could be transferred.

In the Iranian crisis none of these factors have been operative. British experts on Iran have never assessed the movement for nationalization of the oil industry as a typical nationalist movement of serious proportions. The Labor Party has no traditional sympathy with Iran to correct the bad judgment of men on the spot. Diplomatic negotiations have been in unsuitable hands. And it is particularly difficult to find in Iran a knowledgeable group to which the great oil installations might be transferred without too great risk; from the beginning, Britain has warned the Iranians that the tremendously intricate apparatus of an oil refinery could not be handled by amateurs. Above all, instead of considering Iran in terms of the total boiling Asian situation, the British have viewed it as part of the simmering Middle East.

In the famous pamphlet "One Way Only," published as a criticism of the Labor Party's official line by Aneurin Bevan and two of his colleagues, Iran is described as "the prime example" of the failure "to apply Socialist principles" in Asia. "There we never examined in time the social implications of drawing enormous wealth and inflated profits from a backward area," the Bevanites complain, and go on to call for an "imaginative" policy similar to that adopted toward India.

Such criticism, which is largely limited to the *Tribune* and *New Statesman* circle of Labor intellectuals, has had little effect on Foreign Secretary Herbert Morrison. When R. H. S. Crossman, M. P., pressed him recently to try to meet Iran's demands, he accused Crossman of being "anti-British." Morrison was without first-hand knowledge of Middle Eastern or Asian affairs when he succeeded Ernest Bevan as Foreign Minister. Even after the Iranian crisis began, Anthony Eden protested that he appeared more interested in the British Festival, which he had fathered, than in Iranian oil. For a time Morrison relied completely on senior Foreign Office officials for an analysis of events. This led him to

ANDREW ROTH, a staff contributor, was The Nation's correspondent in the Middle and Far East for a number of years.

refer to the Iranian Premier as a "reactionary" although Dr. Mossadeqh had championed parliamentary institutions for forty-five years and represents the resurgent middle class rather than the landed aristocracy into which he was born.

CURIOUSLY enough, the Anglo-American friction over Iran has not arisen because the Americans want to replace the British as oil concessionaires but because they have tried to show Britain that it might better use the methods that proved successful in Asia. The American ambassador in Tehran, Henry F. Grady, was ambassador to India in 1947 and saw the advantages which accrued to Britain from its friendly withdrawal from the subcontinent. Dr. Grady soon realized that the Iranians' desire to raise their flag over the Abadan refineries was as irreversible as the Indians' determination to raise the national flag over New Delhi. And he decided that however inflexible Dr. Mossadeqh might be, he was the authentic voice of Iranian nationalism and must be accepted as the only alternative to a Communist-led anti-Western movement.

Britain has regarded nationalization of the oil industry as an attack on a successful business investment which must be repelled by legal, diplomatic, and possibly military means. America has approached the problem as one of strategy; it fears that the nationalist movement, unless appeased, may tear Iran out of its strategic position in the "roof" of the anti-Communist containment arc in the Middle East.

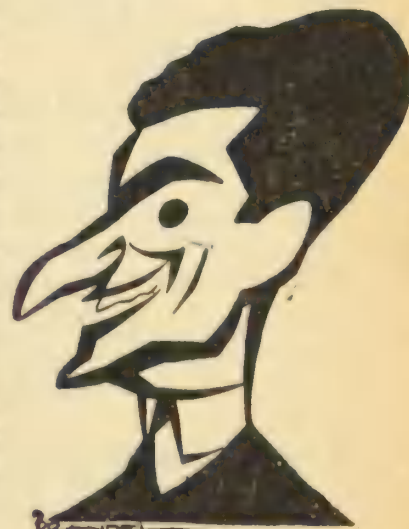
The difference between American "revolutionary logic" and British "business logic" on Iran was evident when I revisited Tehran in the spring of 1950. At that time American diplomats, still smarting over the collapse of the Kuomintang in China, were full of foreboding about impending events in Iran. "It's five minutes to twelve!" intoned one dramatic member of the embassy staff. The harvests had been poor; exports were falling, factories shutting, bankruptcies multiplying; unemployment was serious. The American solution was to avert a crisis by effective economic aid, preferably by plowing increased oil royalties into the American-designed Seven-Year Plan.

British diplomats thought their American colleagues were suffering from a "China psychosis" and obviously did not accept the American assumption that the Iranian situation should be analyzed in terms of the Asian revolution. Iran had long lived in misery, they argued, and one should not attempt to change things too rapidly. If the Iranians needed money, let them accept the substantial increase in oil royalties which the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company offered in 1949. British confidence was based on a legally air-tight contract, a highly efficient and irreplaceable organization, and "arrangements" with many easily corrupted Iranian politicians. The company's

attitude was typified by the remark attributed to its dour Scottish head, Sir William Fraser: "When they need money, they'll come crawling to us on their bellies."

This "hard-headed" view borders on fantasy when applied to a revolutionary situation. It ignores the blind resentment of the Iranians that their major industry should be run by foreigners, largely for the benefit of foreigners. It ignores the fact that both the right and the left are united against the oil company. Attacks on Anglo-Iranian have served to divert internal discontent from the corruption and medieval exploitation of the owning classes. For the pro-Soviet Tudeh Party, the attacks are a method of starting a revolutionary process by which, first, Western influence can be ousted and then the domestic ruling class can be overthrown.

Since this was the background of the nationalization law, the British were rather insensitive in their June negotiations in curtly refusing to accept it. The Iranians could hardly be expected to scrap a law which the Majlis had passed in compliance with popular desire—the first time such a thing had occurred in years. Oil-company officials claimed that the company could not operate without a profit. The Iranians offered to com-



Reza Shah Pahlavi

pensate for nationalization with 25 per cent of net profits, and there were other ways in which the company could have adjusted its operations to the nationalization law and still make profits. The Iranians agreed to pay the cost of extraction, and by agreement this cost could have included a hidden profit. Furthermore, not having tankers or a distributing organization, Iran could have been persuaded to sell the refined petrol to the company at a low price, and the company could then have made a profit on the distribution. Other adjustments could almost certainly have been arranged if the company had shown any flexibility. Actually the deal offered by Anglo-Iranian officials diverged little from Iranian demands in substance; the difference was mostly in attitude and spirit.

This business man's approach on Britain's part explains why so much reliance has been placed on the 1933 contract and the decision of The Hague court. The British have a good legal case, but it is scarcely the kind which can be enforced in Asia today. Revolutions are not stopped by writs of mandamus.

BOOKS and the ARTS

PAPER BOOKS: WHAT DO THEY PROMISE?

BY HARVEY SWADOS

FOR a long time Americans have been regarded as magazine readers, in contrast to book-reading Europeans. The result has been, as William Miller put it in "The Book Industry," that "publishing original trade books in America, especially adult books, has ordinarily been too shaky a business to stand by itself," and that most of the thousand-odd American bookstores have been perennially insolvent.

But last year the stupefying total of 214,000,000 paper-bound books was published in this country, as compared with 3,000,000 in 1939. Most of them were sold, and the probability is that a larger proportion of them was actually read than of hard-cover books, many of which are bought as unwanted gifts or as book-club prestige items for the coffee table. Whether this revolution in the reading habits of the American public means that we are being inundated by a flood of trash which will debase still farther the popular taste, or that we shall now have available cheap editions of an ever-increasing list of classics, is a question of basic importance to our social and cultural development.

It cannot be answered before we consider the history of the paper-book business, its relation to regular publishing, and the peculiar problems which mass distribution has posed for reprint publishers. Paper-covered books had great popularity in the United States once before, in the seventies and eighties, and for a while their contents were "the best material that could be picked up from British writers," as the editor of *Publishers' Weekly* has said; but he has also pointed out that eventually "another kind of reading . . . brought all paper books into disrepute," and he has been led to wonder whether we may not be heading for a similar débâcle. Such has never been the case in Europe, where British Penguins and the Continental Tauchnitz editions of English-language books have had a long and

honorable history, presumably reflecting the more firmly established traditions of a middle-class reading public with ingrained standards of taste.

American publishers, accustomed to treading daintily in the rarefied zone that lies between the world of the intelligentsia and the world of the business man—except for occasional forays into the latter world, armed with best-sellers—were not prepared to believe that literate Americans would accept books in paper covers or that such books could be sold by the millions. When the paper-book business got under way in 1939, trade-book publishers found themselves on the outside looking in. Now, a dozen years later, only two of the six major reprint outfits can be said to have any connection with a trade publisher; the others, with the exception of the independently owned New American Library, whose Signet fiction and Mentor non-fiction titles have done extraordinarily well, are owned by or affiliated with magazine publishers.

The close relationship between magazines and paper books is the key to any understanding of the latter; if we were to examine paper books as an extension of the book business rather than as a highly profitable enterprise now closely affiliated with the magazine industry, we should only be misled.

Magazine publishers were the logical people to jump into a new operation requiring considerable capital, mass production, wide distribution, and a rapid rate of sale in a market where space is at a premium and competition compels the replacement of titles as rapidly as of periodicals. Besides, pulp magazines have been declining swiftly, fighting a losing battle on the one hand against the comic books and on the other against the demands for more satisfying and more smartly packaged reading matter from a better-educated public: it was only natural that periodical publishers should recognize the possibilities of

paper books as a means of filling the gap and capturing pulp readers. In the beginning reprint publishers concentrated on doing the kind of thing that seemed to involve the least risk, using material of which there was apparently an inexhaustible supply. Ian Ballantine, of Bantam Books has pointed out that five years ago more than half of all paper-bound books were mysteries. Even today Dell Books uses mysteries for about 60 per cent of its eight titles a month, for as Mrs. Helen Meyer of Dell told me, "we rarely have a flop mystery." The demand for mystery books, by consensus of the reprint publishers to whom I have spoken, is undiminishing, and it will continue to be met in a form that is handier and more respectable than that of the old pulps.

BUT what is genuinely noteworthy is that the sensational growth of the pocket-book business has pushed the frontiers beyond the westerns and the mysteries and has opened up the entire area of serious fiction and non-fiction to hundreds of thousands of Americans hitherto unaware even of its existence. Bantam Books, which uses the Gallup organization to pretest titles and plots, checking them against previously successful books, and which goes in for market research more heavily than any other paper-book publisher, estimates that ten million Americans now buy one or more paper books every month. In sharp contrast to hard-cover publishers, who for a century have had to cater primarily to female book buyers, Bantam's figures indicate that 48 per cent of paper books are sold to men and 52 per cent to women, and that young people under thirty-five buy the greatest number of paper books.

The insatiable demands of a complex distributive mechanism that is built like a pipe line through which paper books must continually flow in an increasing stream if expensive printing

plants are to be kept in profitable operation have forced paper-reprint houses to scan the entire field of some 10,000 hard-cover titles every year in search of reprint material. These demands are also responsible for the way in which paper books are merchandised: since they are distributed and sold, not merely by booksellers, but by people who have invested fairly large sums in them and must realize a quick profit, and since they are generally bought, not by readers in search of specific volumes, but by what market-research people call "impulse buyers," the tendency is to utilize the only promotional weapon, the cover, to the fullest extent. Furthermore, the bitter competition for space on the small newsstand—the crux of the sales problem for every paper-book publisher—inevitably produces not only such gadgets as the paper-book rack (in which reprint publishers have invested sums ranging up to several million dollars, and which their squads of field men must police to insure against their being filled with rival imprints) but the sensational cover, designed as a poster display to compete with surrounding magazine covers and rival paper books.

Paper-book publishers are extremely defensive about their covers, far more so than about what lies behind them. Their sales departments are prodding them to meet the competition by soup-ing up their covers, and one publisher has confessed that "we'll be doing things this fall in order to remain competitive that we've never done before." This publisher, whose firm has always used conservative covers, put to me a wistful question which has been asked, in varying phraseology, by all those associated with the development of mass media. Naming a serious American novel of some years ago which his house recently reprinted unsuccessfully, he said, "We may very possibly have deprived half a million people of the pleasure of discovering this book by not using a sexy cover. From the point of view of reaching the masses with good books as well as from a cold business standpoint, what would your attitude be?"

Yet it should be noted that one publisher is convinced that popular acceptance of paper books as a standard household article will inevitably slacken

the pressures making for sexy covers. However, at another pole a reprint house not long ago brought out a serious novel by a deceased author, with a crude and vulgar cover. The troubled family of the author discovered that they had to suffer in silence this slur on the memory of a dead writer.

Pressures on reprint publishers to tone down their covers have been growing from those who fear the black-listing powers of the Catholic church. Policemen and politicians up for reelection are finding that it pays to cooperate with local religious groups who are continually nagging them to remove "objectionable" books from the stands. Uneasy trade publishers are often of the opinion that sexy paper-book covers are giving bigots and censors a good excuse for attacking books which by no stretch of the imagination could be considered pornographic. In any case, local censorship of paper books—already tested in such scattered communities as Detroit, Fall River, and Dubuque—is a growing menace and one against which reprint publishers may one day have to enlist outside help. Before that point is reached, they, their illustrators, and the authors whose names have been associated with what one publisher calls "by-line pornography" might do well to recall the words of Karl Marx: "The writer who degrades the press to a mere means of material livelihood deserves as a punishment for this inner slavery that outer slavery called censorship, unless his very existence is already his punishment."

Caught in the middle of conflicting business and censorship pressures, reprint publishers have had to design their product with considerable care. Captions like "He Ran a Harlem Brothel of 15" (this is taken at random) may spur sales, but they may also cause as much trouble as the pictures they accompany. A new and small reprint house had to change a cover at the distributor's insistence because the caption, a quotation from *The Nation*, included the word "prostitution." The change cost \$750, and the new caption was loaded with innuendo—but it satisfied the distributor.

The problem is aggravated by the fact that covers in themselves do not sell books, for publishers are agreed

that while a sensational cover may get a new title off the ground, it will not keep it flying unless readers like the contents.

[This article will be continued in next week's issue.]

Handbook on a Subcontinent

INDIA, PAKISTAN, CEYLON. Edited by W. Norman Brown. Cornell University Press. \$3.

IN THIS handbook nine scholars, each a specialist in his field, present the pertinent basic facts concerning India, Pakistan, and Ceylon. The scope of the work is indicated by the table of contents, which shows chapters dealing with natural resources and climate, economic development, religion and philosophy, languages, history (ancient and modern), culture, and the present political situation.

Since the separate chapters were originally written for the "Encyclopedia Americana," they are brief and intended for the casual reader. Brevity, however, proves no obstacle to clear and accurate description. In the chapter on lan-

This new book about Red China will not please MacArthur or Truman or Mao...

But this report by two American correspondents who lived and worked inside Red China tells the whole truth about Red China as it really exists, the good and the bad—censoring nothing, weighting nothing, omitting nothing.

"Not just another partisan fantasy or synthetic China 'story', but the China truth, as nearly as two clear-eyed, clear-headed and honest observers could report it, with no quarter to either left or right."—EDGAR SNOW.

"A balanced, fair judgment of Communist China, the latest and solidest report on that country."—NATHANIEL PEPPER, Professor of International Relations, Columbia University.

PROFILE OF RED CHINA

By Lynn and Amos Landman
\$3.00. SIMON AND SCHUSTER

guages, for example, M. Emeneau, in the space of four and a half pages, succeeds in giving a clear outline of a linguistic situation which is considerably more complex than that of Europe. Incidentally he provides a very satisfactory explanation of the difference between Hindustani and Urdu—the official languages, respectively, of India and Pakistan.

Each chapter is followed by a bibliography which—at least in the cases where the present reviewer is competent to judge—is sound and up to date.

The editor, W. Norman Brown, who is director of the Department of South Asia Regional Studies at the University of Pennsylvania, states in the foreword that the separate chapters promote no ideology, letting the facts speak for themselves. There is no doubt of the intention of all the authors to comply rigidly with the principle of scholarly objectivity. I imagine few if any critics could find anything wrong in this respect with the material concerning Ancient India and Ceylon.

A WORLD WITHOUT WAR

This is a book filled with absorbing new information. In these churning, uncertain times—search its pages and discover how peace can exist on the earth forever. Do not miss

A WORLD WITHOUT WAR

Write Kone Publications, 220 Fifth Avenue
New York 1, N. Y. Price \$1.00

BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

from the USSR

FOR A CORRECT UNDERSTANDING
OF SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY

NEW TIMES

Published weekly in
English, Russian, French, German, Polish
Delivered to Subscribers by Airmail

SUBSCRIPTION RATE—\$3.50 PER YEAR
FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.

85 W. 38 Street, N. Y. 19 Murray Hill 2-2200

Buy Your Books through THE *Nation*

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C.O.D. No C.O.D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to
Miss Le Pach

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
16 Vesey Street New York 7, N. Y.

We are on more difficult ground, however, when evaluating recent developments. Take, for instance, the chapter on Economic Development of India, written by Dr. Thorner. The picture of the economic conditions under which the great majority of the population of India lives is a gloomy one indeed. The author points out that since 1900 India has become more and more an agricultural country, as the result, on the one hand, of a slow rate of industrialization and, on the other, of the great increase in population. What, then, are the prospects for a drastic speedup of industrialization? According to Dr. Thorner they are very bad. The so-called Bombay plan, drawn up in 1944 by leading representatives of India's big business, proposed a great expansion of industry involving considerable government planning and regulation. During the post-war years this plan has been largely abandoned, and only isolated projects—such as river control—are being carried on by the government. It seems to be the author's view that Indian big business, with its strong influence on the present government, is responsible for this situation. This view will probably be challenged in Indian business and government circles, but possible differences in interpretation do not affect the accuracy of the basic facts presented.

Some readers may feel that too much space is allotted to Ancient India: of the 199 pages dealing with India proper (omitting Ceylon), 82 are devoted to the years before 1000 A. D. To the present reviewer this does not seem an imbalance. One of India's most characteristic traits throughout its history has been the extraordinary tenacity with which it has clung to the beliefs and traditions of the past. So, without a sound background in history, religion, philosophy, and traditional social institutions, it is exceedingly difficult to understand present-day conditions.

One would, of course, like to see more information given on certain subjects. Education and the status of medicine, for instance, might have been more adequately treated. But on the whole Professor Brown and his colleagues are to be congratulated upon an excellent job. One can only wish that similar handbooks were available for other parts of Asia. G. V. BOBRINSKOY

Revolution in Russia

A HISTORY OF SOVIET RUSSIA.

Volume I: The Bolshevik Revolution, 1917-1923. By Edward Hallett Carr. The Macmillan Company. \$5.

EDWARD HALLETT CARR'S ambition has been not only to write a social-economic history of the Bolshevik Revolution but also to fill in the historical background, with special emphasis on the development of Russian political and philosophic thinking.

In his opinion the October Revolution had its deep roots in Russia's remote past. Analyzing the decades immediately preceding the revolution, he attributes the rapid spread of Marxism among Russian intellectuals to the expansion of Russian industry and the absence of any bourgeois tradition or bourgeois political philosophy.

Marx had praised the growth of capitalism in feudal conditions as a progressive force. Marxism was acceptable to the nascent Russian middle class as an ideological reinforcement in the struggle against feudalism and autocracy, just as Marxism was later to have its appeal to the rising capitalist class in "backward" Asiatic countries as an ally in the struggle against foreign imperialism.

Expounding this theory further, Carr maintains that the Russian social and political order did not provide the soil in which a bourgeois democratic regime could flourish. History rarely repeats itself. The Russian bourgeoisie was too weak and undeveloped to achieve its own revolutionary ambitions. A more significant cause of its hesitancy was its deepening awareness of the growing menace of a proletarian revolution. Carr quotes an interesting statement made in 1884 by a highly placed reactionary official, D. Tolstoy, Minister of the Interior under Alexander III. "Any attempt to introduce into Russia Western European parliamentary forms of government is doomed to failure. If the Tsarist regime . . . is overthrown, its place will be taken by communism, the pure undisguised communism of Mr. Karl Marx, who recently died in London and whose theories I have studied with attention and interest." Once bourgeois democracy was recognized as a stepping stone to socialism, it could be brought into being only by those who believed also in socialism; only the

proletariat could take the lead in carrying out the bourgeois revolution. As Carr put it, "The trouble was not that conditions in Russia were not yet ripe for the Western revolutionary drama: it was that that drama had been played out in the West and could no longer be reenacted elsewhere."

The leaders of the Russian Revolution were committed to a policy of direct transition from the most backward to the most advanced forms of political and economic organization. Politically, this involved an attempt to bridge the gap between autocracy and socialist democracy without the long experience and training in citizenship which bourgeois democracy, with all its faults, had afforded the West. Economically, it meant the creation of a socialist economy in a land which had never possessed the equipment or the trained workers of a highly developed capitalist country. The victorious October Revolution had to overcome these grave handicaps. Its history, according to Mr. Carr, is a record of its successes and failures in this enterprise.

Many books, Carr claims, are marred by the unconscious assumption that policies and institutions of one country can be understood in the light of analogies with other countries. He correctly insists that no sensible person will be tempted to measure the Russia of Lenin, Trotsky, and Stalin with a yardstick borrowed from the West.

Whether Russia really achieved its socialist goal and what kind of state emerged as a result of the Bolshevik Revolution will form the subject matter of Carr's forthcoming volumes.

ARON DUBITSKY

Twentieth-Century Painting

HISTORY OF MODERN PAINTING: FROM PICASSO TO SURREALISM.

Texts and Documentation by Maurice Raynal, Jacques Lassigne, Werner Schmalenbach, Arnold Rüdinger, Hans Bolliger. Translated by Douglas Cooper. Albert Skira, Geneva. \$15.

THE third and last of the Skira volumes on modern painting is larger but not better than the preceding ones. Like them, it provides a splendid collection of color plates of works in European collections, notably in Switzerland, Paris, London, and Milan. It has elabo-

rate chronological lists, biographies, and bibliographies. But its scope is too extensive in time (1907-1950), in art movements, in nationalities, and in the number of artists considered. As a result, the effect of the book is very confusing. For coherence it depends heavily on tables of contents, recapitulations, and summaries of summaries. It can hardly be read before it has been read already; and while this is permissible for "Finnegans Wake," it will not do for a history of art.

Two main themes emerge: cubism and post-fauve expressionism, the latter veering off toward surrealism. Each theme really deserves a volume like the earlier ones on impressionism and expressionism. Had this been done, there need not have been so many half-page or single-paragraph accounts of important painters, with only one illustration, or even none at all.

It may be argued that these two themes are really concurrent and that to separate them would be wholly arbitrary. In Picasso, for example, cubism and expressionism are the very poles between which he oscillates. Picasso's work of 1907-08 is at once violently expressionist and proto-cubist, and cubism emerges from it only a year later. This book, however, signally fails to relate these two trends in any fundamental way.

In a volume written by five writers whose essays appear to have been chopped up by the editor and reassembled to fit a scheme of his own, it is not surprising to find contradictions. In the introduction (page 12) Raynal explains that Cézanne and Seurat are placed "in the forefront of this third volume, in which are described the drastic changes that came over art during the twentieth century, after fauvism and expressionism had run their course." But in a discussion of Kandinsky's work of 1912, it is said that this artist "struck out toward what we may call expressionist fauvism" (page 93). I think this latter passage is also by Raynal, but I cannot be sure either from the table of contents or from the typography, which suddenly shifts hereabouts into italics.

There are some excellent confrontations of color plates of Braque and Picasso at similar periods of their careers. Another interesting comparison is provided by two works by Braque: a *papier collé* and an oil painting which

contains oil imitations of true *papiers collés*. But the contrast does not come off in the reproductions, because the effect of *papiers collés* depends precisely on the discrepancy between "real" strips of grained paper and the handwork of the painter. One must have this illusion of reality before one can discover that it only exists to be defied—and that art thus triumphs over illusion.

Unannounced in the table of contents and hidden under a folded page in the essay on the Dada movement is a short section—again in those anonymous italics—called Cubism at Its Height. There are two illustrations, a Picasso and a Gris, both of 1916. It could be argued that cubism did not wait for 1916 to reach its height, and that even if it did, the results ought to be worth a less diffident treatment.

There is an attempt to include something about art in the United States. For the years before World War I we are allotted one page on Stieglitz's exhibitions and on the Armory Show of 1913. There are many names, no critical estimates, and no reproductions. Later in the book there is a paragraph on the

FACTS ON FILE The Only INDEXED Reference to All the News in Weekly Digest Form

THE FASTEST WAY TO FIND ANY NEWS FACT, PAST OR PRESENT

Gives you the facts—nothing but the facts — without slant or bias — facts about everything and everybody of importance in every major field of news. Gives you instant reference to any news subject, past or present, through unique, cumulative cross-index.

Every week, FACTS ON FILE digests 1 million words into 10,000—condenses 100 hours of reading into 30-35 minutes.

Week by week F. O. F. grows into a fully indexed encyclopedia of world events—a compact indispensable reference file. Widely used in business libraries, embassies, editorial offices, radio stations—by informed individuals in business and professional life, and in government service.

SPECIAL TRIAL OFFER

2 months of FACTS ON FILE Weekly News Digest with Index Service for only \$5.00 (regularly yearly rate \$55.00). Return this ad with \$5.00—or we will bill you if you prefer.

FACTS ON FILE, Inc.
516 FIFTH AVENUE
Dept. 1-B
New York 18, N. Y.

opening of the Museum of Modern Art, which includes some more names. Thereupon, John Marin is singled out for the only reproduction of an American work in the entire volume. The accompanying discussion ends with a brief and worthless paragraph on Charles Demuth.

I have no objection to the omission of American painting altogether in a work on European painting written by Europeans. But such casual, spasmodic, and misinformed treatment should not go unchallenged.

There is a general tendency in the book merely to describe what each art movement considered it was trying to do, and to evade the bolder issue of coming to some estimate of its value. This is particularly true in the sections on Dada and surrealism. Of Salvador Dali I was delighted to read, though, that he used "a highly sophisticated but also highly retrograde technique, full of academicism and more or less well-known influences, both pictorial and extra-pictorial. . . . Soon he became representative of a sort of applied surrealism which was far removed from the original intentions of the movement." Except for the subject matter, Dali's "A Giraffe Aflame" (page 183) looks surprisingly like a Maxfield Parrish.

Werner Schmalenbach's few pages are exceptionally good; I could wish that his assignment had been a larger one.

S. LANE FAISON, JR.

CONTRIBUTORS

HARVEY SWADOS has published short stories in the little magazines. He writes reviews for the *New York Post* and has contributed to the *Progressive* and the *Menorah Journal*.

G. V. BOBRINSKOY is a member of the Department of Linguistics of the University of Illinois.

ARON DUBITSKY is a member of the faculty of the Graduate Division of Brooklyn College. He was formerly on the staff of the School of Politics of the New School for Social Research.

S. LANE FAISON, JR., on leave as chairman of the Art Department of Williams College, is director of the official central art-collecting point at Munich.

Films

MANNY
FARBER

USING the *Time* cover-story technique of puffing and prettifying an unlikable individual, "Bright Victory" shows a gabby, over-eager, self-satisfied young Floridian winning his soul—and a pretty woikin' girl, a better job, a home in the North—by losing his eyesight in the North African campaign, then his passion for the security represented by a semi-pretty lifelong sweetheart, and finally—ten seconds before the movie ends—his addiction to the epithet "nigger." (Negro here, as in "Home of the Brave," "Steel Helmet," and who knows how many films to come, means willowy, highstrung James Edwards.) Racing out one lunch hour to string some wire in the busiest patch of terrain east of Bizerte, the eager-beaver infantryman (Arthur Kennedy) gets clipped alongside his right eyeball by a sniper's bullet. From there on Kennedy contributes a solid, feverish, consistent characterization full of incredibly shrewd perceptions about both Southerners and the sightless.

Aside from his performance, this mixture of "The Best Years of Our Lives" and "The Men" is so unimaginatively perfect and so well-barbered by its cutters that it is a little like being caught on a fast assembly line. And wherever it takes a chance on real pathos or ugliness, it goes far enough overboard to be deeply offensive: by suggesting, for instance, that those with eyes are so stupid as to hand a blinded vet six lit matches as soon as he pulls out a cigarette.

Good citizenship and good box-office sense are for the umpteenth time cheerily mortised together in "The Well," as are the two hottest themes in cinema land today—the Negro problem and the problem of trying to get somebody (and the movie itself) up out of a hole or down from a ledge. This one begins with a spanking-cute Negro tot, her bright, happy eyes glued firmly on the director, zigzagging across a very handsome meadow as if on trolley wires and suddenly plunking down an unseen well—thus probably disappearing from films until the early 1980's, when

she will emerge in "Under the Knife," the hard-hitting pro-Puerto Rican epic, as the enlightened nurse who finally persuades the chief surgeon of Harlem Hospital (James Edwards) to seat the young Puerto Rican interne (José Ferrer, Jr.) at the same table with his duskier colleagues.

The first three-fifths of "The Well" is a discordant symphony of overstated angry banalities: a race riot padded with extra-awful extras who accidentally snatch up clubs all cut to one size by the factory that makes Louisville Sluggers; a thundering Tiomkin piano cascading bass notes into critical moments in case you should miss them; a progressive waitress peppering the salad of a bigot; some elegant but unidentified Negro students sitting around in the high-school library self-consciously chirping civics-course stuff on the ramifications of race prejudice. The last two reels, however—drilling for the imprisoned little bit player—are an exciting education in the use of a rotary drill and a night-time camera. Here, in a shimmering, oscillating phantasmagoria of lights, faces, and machinery, all the white-supremacists—who have, to a man, abandoned the error of their ways—turn up in key technological roles to dredge the missing waif up out of the ground.

"Take Care of My Little Girl," clobbering the sorority system with a ton of bobby pins, abuses old Tri U so surrealistically that any freshman with verve would join U³ at the drop of an arch. The inmates, watch-pocket replicas of Phil Spitalny's second cellist, dash for the porch to sing a different song every six minutes, drink Kleenex-wrapped cokes all day long, never see a classroom, are always in secret session hashing out the proposed blackball of poor Lynn Heppenstahl. After a semester of this, sister Jeanne Crain hands in a variety of pledge pins and walks off toward the dormitories on the arm of an earnest, leather-jacketed veteran who has wised her up as follows: "I don't think you're a heel—but I don't think you're Eleanor Roosevelt."

Another film with a slightly more credible collegiate setting is now sliding imperceptibly through the neighborhood circuits. Not credible, but more credible. This is "Night into Morning," a very old-fashioned Louis

B. Mayer-type movie, without kikes, Negroes, fascists, proletarians, or psychopaths. It is even gently anti-psychiatric, while often poking rather realistically into unimportant corners of California University's Wheeler Hall and the miseries of a suddenly widowed professor of English (Ray Milland, somewhat miscast). It's just well-handled soap opera, but compared to "Victory," "Well," "Girl," and dozens of even more pretentious recent films like "The River," "Ace in the Hole," "A Walk in the Sun," it goes down like Flaubert or Fielding.

Records

B. H.
HAGGIN

AMONG recent recordings of choral music is one of Haydn's St. Cecilia Mass (Haydn Society), which contains superb music in both the slow and the fast sections. The frenzied analytic notes describe relations and similarities to Haydn's instrumental music of the same early period (1768-73); but to me as I listened the extraordinary thing was how highly developed and matured the writing in this mass was, and in this respect how unlike the symphonies of the period that we have been getting on records. Of the soloists the soprano, Rosl Schwaiger, is poor, the others—Sieglinde Wagner, Herbert Handt, and Walter Berry—good; and the other performers are the Vienna Akademie Chorus, the Vienna Symphony, and Hans Gillesberger, whose pacing of the work seems good, but whose conducting produces a playing of the notes without the inflection that would create outline and life in the phrases.

Concerning Bach's Cantata No. 152 (Westminster) I would say the fact that the London Baroque Ensemble conducted by Karl Haas uses the original recorders instead of flutes is less important than the fact that the work is mostly dull. The descriptive notes talk about the music's expressive relation to the words; but the words are not given. And concerning Bach's Brandenburg Concerto No. 4, on the same record, I would say the use of the original recorders instead of flutes is less important than the fact that the performance is a graceless playing of the notes without

the phraseological inflection I just spoke of.

That inflection is heard in Hugues Cuenod's superb singing of four of Heinrich Schütz's Geistliche Konzerte and four of his Symphoniae Sacrae (Westminster). After Schütz's beautiful Weihnachtshistorie I was disappointed by the sacred concertos' recitatives in which only an occasional phrase was moving. The symphonies were more interesting, with more such phrases in the recitatives, and with engaging short instrumental and vocal set pieces. Daniel Pinkham conducts a group from the Vienna Symphony. Again the notes talk about the music's relation to the words, and again the words are not given.

I care less for Palestrina's Missa "Iste Confessor" and Missa sine nomine (Allegro) than for his Magnificat in the fourth mode, hymns, and motets which are sung by women of the Period Choral Society conducted by Robert Strassburg (Period). Even with treble reduced the voices are shrill and get to be wearisome; also, the music is sung in very slow tempos, and though these are mostly acceptable the Magnificat comes off better as sung in faster tempo by the Harvard University Choir under the direction of William F. Russell on a record of pre-baroque sacred music (Festival). There is some fussy swelling of tone in this performance, and even more in a twelfth-century plain-song sequence; but the singing in some beautiful pieces by Palestrina, Byrd, Lassus, and Josquin is excellent. The Dufay Magnificat in the eighth mode sung by the Radcliffe Choral Society I don't care for.

Nor do I care for Monteverdi's Salve Regina and Magnificat Secondo, sung by a small solo group (Allegro). On the same record are Verdi's Pater Noster and two of the Four Sacred Pieces—the Ave Maria and Laudi alla Virgine, sung by the Philadelphia Choral Ensemble under the direction of James Fleetwood. The first and last have beautiful passages; the second is a strange piece employing Verdi's *scala enigmatica*. The performances seem lifeless to me.

Hans Hotter's recording of Schubert's song-cycle "Die Winterreise" (Decca) is disappointing. The voice (bass-baritone) is very beautiful, but

the performance is slow-moving, lingers over and makes too much of details, and occasionally breaks the musical phrase in deference to a comma or colon or meaning in the text. And Michael Raucheisen's playing of the highly significant piano part is subdued to the point of complete lifelessness and meaninglessness.

Debussy's *Trois Chansons de Bilitis*, which I don't care for, are sung well by Jennie Tourel (Columbia). And Dvorak's duets "Mährische Klänge," well sung by Marta Fuchs, soprano, and Margarete Klose, contralto, I find uninteresting (Urania).

Columbia's LP record reproduces Lehmann's wonderful performance of Schumann's great "Dichterliebe" cycle without the defects of the 78 records; but it cannot improve Bruno Walter's playing of the piano part. The same for the LP version of Schumann's "Frauenliebe und Leben," which only Lehmann's singing makes worth listening to.

The dull Spivakovsky-Firkusny performance of Beethoven's Sonata Opus 96 and the characteristically mannered Heifetz performance (with Kapell) of Brahms's Sonata Opus 108 are things to skip.

SUMMER SPECIAL

For July and August
SELECTED LIST OF L. P.'S

33 1/3 % OFF

Send 15¢ for catalog

DISCOUNT RECORD CLUB

DEPT. N-29

Box 533, Grand Central Station, New York 17, N. Y.

PULITZER PRIZE and CRITICS' AWARD
RICHARD RODGERS & OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd
 present in association with
LELAND HAYWARD & JOSHUA LOGAN

ROGER RICO
MARTHA WRIGHT

South Pacific

Music by **RICHARD RODGERS**
 Lyrics by **OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd**
 Book by
OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd & JOSHUA LOGAN
 Adapted from **JAMES A. MICHENER'S Pulitzer Prize Winning "TALES OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC"**
 Directed by **JOSHUA LOGAN**
 Scenery & Lighting by **Jo Mielziner**
 with **MYRON McCORMICK**

MAJESTIC, 44 St. W. of B'way - Air-Cond.
 Evenings 8:25. Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:25

**BUY U. S.
SAVINGS BONDS**

Lakecrest

90 Miles from N. Y. C. on HUNN'S LAKE
STANFORDVILLE, NEW YORK

A former Dutchess County Estate. A rendezvous for discerning adults. Cool lake breezes, high altitude and comfortable furnishings assure a most pleasurable vacation. Sports for the enthusiast, scenery for the artistic and savory meals for all.

CALL OR WRITE FOR RESERVATIONS NOW

Eva Berg, Director Stanfordville 2982-2099



Year 'round Adult Activities

Hathaway Lodge

Formerly the palatial 592-acre Mann estate. Luxurious rooms, many with open fireplaces. Swimming pool, clay tennis courts, handball, badminton. Horseback riding, hiking—magnificent mountain trails. Recordings, library, informal dancing. Delicious American-Jewish food. Easy transportation. Attractive Rates. For reservations or booklet N.

HATHAWAY LODGE

Haines Falls, N. Y. • Phone Tannersville 299

FARMS & ACREAGE

PRACTICAL FARM; 175 acres; brooks; modern barns. 8-room freshly painted Colonial. \$13,500. Berkshire Farm Agency, East Chatham, New York.

PERSONALS**exit loneliness**

Somewhere there is someone you would like to know. Somewhere there is someone who would like to know you. We can help you find a richer, happier life through discreet, dignified "social introductions."

Write for booklet, in phone
MAY RICHARDSON
Dept. TW, 111 West 72 Street
New York City EN 2-2033

**SHOES**

Write for FREE CATALOG
mail only. Write for FREE Catalog.
KING-SIZE, Inc., 656, Brockton, Mass.

Attention Please!

Train Leaving on Track 31 for

Are they calling out the location of your resort?

Those vacationers are heading for two weeks of rest and fun. Do they know what good times they can have at your place?

Tell them about it through the resort advertising pages.

\$7.42 per inch, per insertion
Generous discounts for multiple insertions.

Write or phone today for further information

ADVERTISING DEPARTMENT

The NATION

20 VESEY STREET, NEW YORK 7, N. Y.
BARclay 7-1066

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS**Goddard's Book: Mighty . . .**

Dear Sirs: I should very much like to know who wrote the review of "The Meaning of Shakespeare," by my father, the late Harold C. Goddard, in your issue of July 14. I cannot imagine the cause of such a vicious attack, based as it is on a complete falsehood. This is not a "memorial volume," paid for by friends and former students, as the writer implies. My father signed the contract with the University of Chicago Press himself, although it is true that he did not live to see his work in print.

The reviewer does not mention the fact that the Press thought highly enough of the book to give it first place on their spring list. Nor does he tell his readers that "other wearers of the cloth" who have lauded this volume include such deluded brethren as Mark Van Doren, Lionel Trilling, Clifton Fadiman, Margaret Webster, John Haynes Holmes, Dorothy Canfield Fisher, John Barkham, and Fulton Oursler; in fact, critics all over the country have hailed the book as "magnificent," "profound," "noble," "mighty," "illuminating," "brilliant."

ELEANOR GODDARD WORTHEN

Hudson, Ohio

. . . or Mediocre?

Dear Sirs: I feel no sense of guilt or impulse to conceal my identity as a result of my failure to admire Professor Goddard's book. My remarks appeared in one of the brief notices which are printed anonymously. A careful reading of the work convinced me that it was a well-meaning but inferior product that was being promoted through the use of testimonials.

The pre-publication comments sent me by Mrs. Worthen reveal that critics who had read only a sampling of the manuscript were quoted on the dust jacket and in leaflets as if their judgments were based upon an examination of the entire work. One of the critics thus quoted had read only one chapter of the thirty-six. To what extent post-publication comments were based on a comprehensive reading of the book must remain conjectural. No doubt some critics liked it. I did not. No doubt Mrs. Worthen believes that it deserves the adjectives she has assembled. Such superlatives are becoming the

small change of the book mart, and the world of letters is imitating the huckstering terms which it pretends to scorn. If Mrs. Worthen is really convinced that "The Meaning of Shakespeare" is being greeted by a national chorus of praise, she should be unperturbed by my one brief paragraph of dissenting opinion.

New York

ALFRED HARBAGE

Misleading Book Jackets

Dear Sirs: For some time the Parent-Teachers Association, the Catholic Mothers' Study Clubs, and the Council of Protestant Churches have been on a "clean book" campaign in Dubuque, Iowa. In an effort to remove from the newsstand certain titles they considered unfit for the youth of the community they got the local police, in September, 1950, to seize a number of twenty-five-cent reprints of works by Steinbeck, MacKinlay Kantor, and Somerset Maugham from the Norton News Agency and indicted the owner for selling obscene books.

District Attorney John Duffy, deciding to try to clarify the meaning of "obscenity" and its bearing on the case, subpoenaed the Dubuque public librarian, May Clark, to appear before a grand jury with copies of Rabelais, the "Decameron," "Tom Jones," and "Stretch on the River," by Richard Bissell, a Dubuque author. Since all copies of the last book were being read by library patrons, Miss Clark was forced to give their names in order that they might testify. To lend final authority, two professors from the University of Iowa, W. R. Irwin and Paul Engle, were called. Mr. Engle considered none of the books which he saw obscene and thought they presented a much greater threat to a child's prose style than to his morals. He felt that the books' jackets rather than their contents had set off the controversy.

The jury did not indict, and although the case represents a victory against censorship it leaves unanswered the question of whether or not library readers can be subpoenaed and made to testify on what they are reading, and whether or not the pictures on the jackets of many books are not misleading and open the publisher to charges of misrepresentation.

Urbana, Ill.

ELEANOR BLUM

Crossword Puzzle No. 425

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 The consequences of being goods!
- And such goods shouldn't get worn much. (7)
- 9 and 10. See 18 down.
- 11 See 31 down.
- 12 Rush helter-skelter to take your degree, perhaps. (6)
- 15 See 18 down.
- 16 A studio that is in a later mess. (7)
- 17 Fixes sinks and radios, perhaps. (4)
- 19 Cattle-drive? (4)
- 21 Mother's in the barn, all broken up!
- 22 The part of the coupon that isn't 15 down. (4)
- 23 Philosopher of the displaced zone.
- 25 Graves in France? (7)
- 27 These kind of dancing girls sound cut. (6)
- 29 Support, ■ 6 does. (4, 2)
- 33 An early one ■■ Franklin's hale rich sage. (5)
- 34 and 5 down. Motto of the Prince of Wales (and Baron von Cramm?) (3, 4)
- 35 Quite logically, the possessive form of "it" and "her." (5)
- 36 Your next remedy is sure to include this. (7)
- 37 Off the record, they're bound to maintain silence. (7)

DOWN

- 1 Nobody here but us sheep! (The Temple of Artemis was!) (7)
- 2 Frail and bent, perhaps. (5)

- 3 The House of Spain, to a different degree than that of 12? (6)
- 4 Box belonging to the Coast Guard.
- 5 See 34 across.
- 6 See 29. (6)
- 7 Improper treatment for such shock could lead to getting burnt. (5)
- 8 The incurable proverbially must be.
- 13 See 28 down.
- 14 and 24. Does it suggest that he was intoxicated with Helen? (7, 2, 5)
- 15 Found under the bean. (7)
- 18, 9, 10, 15 across, 32 and 20. Sales talk for the more expensive electric shavers? (3, 5, 3, 6, 4, 3)
- 20 See 18 down.
- 22 Deprive of firmness. (7)
- 24 See 14.
- 25 Happen as a natural growth to sound like a hair-cut? (6)
- 26 How Tories come out? (6)
- 28 and 13. C. Thomas, and how he suffers! (5, 7)
- 30 Continue for a time. (5)
- 31 and 11 across. Was Astor's expedition? (4-5)
- 32 See 18 down.

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 424

ACROSS:—1 ATTRACTIVENESS; 8 TREE SURGEONS; 10 BRAZILIANS; 11 SNUG; 13 NAILED; 14 ASSAYERS; 16 HELICOID; 17 FLOATS; 19 BENT; 20 and 2 AS HONEST AS THE DAY IS LONG; 22 ABOVE AVERAGE; 23 FIRST SERGEANTS.

DOWN:—1 A STAB IN THE BACK; 3 ABSTINENCE; 4 TURGID; 5 VIENNESE; 6 NUNS; 7 THE OISH SISTERS; 8 UNDER A STRAIN; 12 PAUL REVERE; 15 MISSIVES; 18 HOT AIR; 21 IBIS.

Readers ■ invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York

RESORTS

Beautiful HARBOR HILL

COLD SPRING-ON-HUDSON, NEW YORK

The country Inn you've dreamed of finding. Beauty. Peace. Good Food. Good Talk.

30 Guests • 30 Acres • Swimming • Golf
3 Stone Cottages. Open Fires. Ice Box Raids.
50 miles N. Y. Circulars. Tel: Cold Spring 5-2174

OAKWOOD

marvelous food

53 MILES

Informal, charming colonial estate. Pvt. lake. Sports. Golf nearby. T.V. Excell. Amer. Jewish cuisine. Instruct. in folk social dancing. Accom. 60 adults.
Now Windsor, N. Y. NEWBURGH 4477

50 MILES TO FOREST HOUSE

Near enough for easy travel, far enough for an unforgettable vacation. Forest House achieves new levels of gay relaxation in inspiring surroundings. Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality. Two grand lakes. All sports.

FOREST HOUSE

Lake Mahopac, N. Y. • Tel. MAhOpac 8-3449

the dream resort you've been looking for and looking for and looking for!

THE NEW Glenmere PRIVATE GOLF COURSE

Chester, N. Y. in the beautiful Ramapos

Phones: Chester 2131 - N. Y. REctor 2-5047

MERRIEWOODE

A CAMP FOR ADULTS

HIGHLAND LAKE - STODDARD, N. H.

Where Interesting People Meet for the Perfect Vacation. Enjoy beautiful 10-mile lake. All Land and Water Sports. Interesting hiking objectives thru woodland trails. Arts and Crafts. Square and Folk Dancing Instruction. 4 hours by train from New York.

OLIVE "HATTIE" BARON, Director

Write Dept. N for literature. Tel: Hancock 98-Ring 13

Timberland POTTERSVILLE, N. Y.

AN ADULT CAMP IN THE ADIRONDACKS

Limited to 100 • Dancing • All Sports

New York Office: 33 W. 41 St. LO 5-3874

The Rare Charm of an Intimate Congenial Group

50 MI. FROM NEW YORK

MAMANASCO Lake Lodge

RIDGEFIELD, CONN.

Phone 6-7000

A beautiful country estate converted into a delightful retreat for vacations and weekends. All outdoor activities. Mile-long lake. Tennis. Golf nearby. Informal, congenial atmosphere. Television, recordings. Excellent cuisine and accommodations. Moderate rates.



a resort that is "different"

Pottersville, N. Y. On Schroom Lake

OSCAR BRAND & Complete Staff in a Season-Long Festival of FOLK SONGS, ARTS, DANCE MUSIC & DRAMA
ANITA ■ JULES ADOLPHE, Folk Dancers, All Sports—Private Beach, Boating—Canoeing. 5 Championship Clay Tennis Courts.
It's an Orchestra—Cozy Bar—Excellent Food
CAMP PHONES CHESTERTOWN 2830 ■ 9681
City Office: 142 Montague Street, Brooklyn 2, N. Y.
Phones: MAIn 4-8570 or MAIn 4-1230
LEAH OKUN, Director

For Your Convenience

^{THE}*Nation* with
☐ Harper's Magazine..\$9.50
You Save \$2.50

^{THE}*Nation* with
☐ Consumer Reports.\$10.75
You Save \$1.25

These club combinations are for one year and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses. Remittance must accompany all combination orders.

^{THE}*Nation* by itself:

☐ One Year \$7 ☐ Two Years \$12
☐ Three Years \$17

SERVICEMEN'S RATE \$5 A YEAR

Canadian and Foreign Postage \$1 a year extra

The NATION

20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

- I want to subscribe to *The Nation* for _____ years.
☐ Remittance enclosed. ☐ Bill me.
- I enclose my remittance for the following *Nation* combinations as listed below.

NAME _____

STREET _____

CITY _____ ZONE _____ STATE _____

8/11/51

SPECIAL NOTICE TO NATION READERS:

To Subscribers:

We are asking subscribers who wish to change their address to give us at least three weeks' notice, indicating the old as well as the new address.

If you will renew your subscription on receipt of the first notice of expiration, your cooperation will be much appreciated. It will help us simplify our record-keeping, saving us time and expense, and shield you from further renewal letters. At the same time you will avoid interruption in receiving *The Nation*.

To Newsstand Readers:

Since *The Nation* is distributed on key newsstands only, you may have difficulty in obtaining your copy. Therefore, the only certain way of getting *The Nation* regularly is to enter a subscription. By doing so you will not only be sure of receiving your copy promptly every week but save considerable money.

Why They Cheat—*Hart Stilwell*

THE *Nation*

BURLINGAME
PUBLIC LIBRARY
Burlingame, Calif.

August 18, 1951

Germany Today: I

Stormtroopers in Mufti

BY MARK GAYN

✱

Portrait of a Boss

Long Island's J. Russel Sprague

BY JAMES MUNVES

✱

The Soviet Peace Bid

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

✱

Senator Kefauver Writes a Letter

Important features

The Biggest Man in Texas

Texas is a big state; it talks big and it has big men. And in the 105 years of its history as a state Texas has never been bossed by any one man. Today one man threatens to gain control of the entire state. Who is this man who looms so large on the Texas political horizon; who tells labor where to get off; tells the Texas legislature what to do? Judges are kind to him, Senators try to please him, and lots of people are afraid of him. In two fine articles Hart Stilwell, product of the Texas his grandparents helped to settle, free-lance writer and novelist, will give *Nation* readers the first published account of the extraordinary career of "the biggest man in Texas."

Maverick from Maine

Duncan Aikman, a veteran newspaperman and author of that excellent commentary on current American social and political trends "The Turning Stream," has written a highly entertaining article on Senator Margaret Chase Smith. Mr. Aikman gives a detailed account of Senator Smith's performance in Washington and explains the severe limitations which a rather fortuitous Republican affiliation has placed on the career of the most interesting woman who has yet served in the Senate. Those who read and applauded Senator Smith's courageous "Declaration of Conscience" will not want to miss this article.

Journey to Moscow

The world press recently reported that a team of Quakers, the tireless searchers after ways to peace, had made a journey to Moscow. Gerald Bailey, a member of the delegation, will describe the trip for *The Nation*. Mr. Bailey will give a full account of the Quakers' interviews with Deputy Foreign Minister Malik, the editors of the new English-language publication *News*, and the novelist Simonov, now an editor of the influential *Literary Gaze*. The reaction of the Russians to the program which the delegation presented throws considerable light on Soviet peace objectives.

soon to appear in ^{THE}*Nation*

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 173

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • AUGUST 18, 1951

NUMBER 7

The Shape of Things

DURING THE DEBATE ON THE NEW DEFENSE Production bill, the opponents of price controls consistently stressed the ineffectiveness of direct controls and pointed to vigorous fiscal policies and tight credit restrictions as the best means of coping with inflation. Before the debate was over, however, it became quite clear that the emphasis on fiscal policies and credit restrictions was primarily tactical, as shown by the action of Congress in overriding the Federal Reserve Board in the matter of consumer-credit control. For there can be little doubt that the Federal Reserve Board's regulation of consumer credit was effective. Now that direct controls have been weakened, it will be interesting to see what use is made of fiscal policies and credit restrictions as anti-inflation measures by those who insist that these rather than direct controls are the proper weapons. It will not be at all surprising if the opponents of direct controls now argue that since direct controls have been weakened, it would be extremely foolish to enact vigorous fiscal policies! As the debate indicates, important interest groups clearly favor inflation as a means of forcing unorganized elements in the population to assume as large a portion of the staggering cost of rearmament as they can be made to carry.

✱

NO ONE OF COURSE HAS THE REMOTEST IDEA what the ultimate cost of the armament program will be. The proportion of the nation's total output devoted to security purposes was about 6 per cent before Korea, but it will rise to approximately 15 per cent by the end of the year and will approach 20 per cent a year from now. A large portion of the \$56,062,405,890 Department of Defense appropriation bill—the largest peacetime military appropriation bill in history—represents costs added by inflation. Not long ago General Marshall estimated that of the \$35,000,000,000 voted for armaments last year, 20 per cent, or \$7,000,000,000 had been lost through inflation. In the next twelve months living costs are likely to rise from 5 to 8 per cent, according to the Economic Stabilization Agency, and each percentage point will represent an increase in living costs of approximately \$2,000,000,000. As the average indi-

vidual taxpayer is forced to pay more and more for fewer consumer goods, his tax dollar will be buying less and less in the way of airplanes, tanks, and bombs. Under any circumstances the military burden would be enormous, but inflation will shift an ever larger portion of this burden to sections of the population least able to carry any additional burden. Demanding floors but not ceilings for the prices of their products, organized interest groups will continue to pass on added costs to consumers who have ceilings on income but no floors under living standards.

✱

YET THE APOLOGISTS FOR THE DEFENSE Production bill—characterized by President Truman as “gravely deficient”—continue to argue that direct price controls run counter to the self-regulating efficiency of the free-enterprise system. Thus one reads in a recent issue of the *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, “. . . if it is to function properly the price system demands complete freedom. It is automatic and even pregnant with its own correctiveness. If left alone it brings about equilibrium in the price structure. . . . The price fixer, alias ‘stabilizer,’ prevents the price system from bringing forth its correctives of abnormal conditions by natural processes”! As though the debate on the Defense Production bill failed to reveal that the price mechanism is regulated not by “natural processes” but by monopoly power! Under the new bill there will be no rollback in beef prices, although the price of cattle jumped from \$19.70 a hundredweight in January, 1950, to \$30.20 in April, 1951—an increase of 52 per cent as compared with an increase in all costs to farmers of only 13 per cent. It has been estimated that the beef rollbacks which Congress rejected might have saved American consumers \$700,000,000 a year. The Defense Production bill does not control prices; it guarantees profits—to interest groups with enough economic and political power to impose their will on Congress.

✱

THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR HAS finally freed itself from a crippling political alliance. Indignant over the attitude of the Farm Bureau and the Grange on price controls, the executive committee of the A. F. of L. in a statement issued on August 8 bitterly attacked both groups and broke off “friendly relations”

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things	121
Proof of the Pudding <i>by Freda Kirchwey</i>	122
The Farm Labor Fiasco	124

ARTICLES

Stormtroopers in Mufti <i>by Mark Gayn</i>	125
Portrait of ■ Boss <i>by James Munves</i>	128
The Forgotten "Haves" <i>by Hannah R. Bloom</i>	130
The Soviet Peace Bid <i>by Alexander Werth</i>	131
Why They Cheat <i>by Hart Stilwell</i>	133

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Paper Books: What Do They Promise? II <i>by Harvey Swados</i>	134
Education Pressure Groups <i>by John Pilley</i>	135
Landscape with Figures <i>by Ernest Jones</i>	136
Marxism à la Russe <i>by Barrington Moore, Jr.</i>	137
Books in Brief	138
Records <i>by B. H. Haggin</i>	139

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 140

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 426

by Frank W. Lewis opposite 140

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Associate Editor: Carey McWilliams

<i>Foreign Editor</i>	<i>Literary Editor</i>
J. Alvarez del Vayo	Margaret Marshall
<i>Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison</i>	
<i>Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch</i>	<i>Music: B. H. Haggin</i>
<i>Assistant Editor: Charles R. Allen, Jr.</i>	
<i>Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside</i>	
<i>Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting</i>	
<i>Staff Contributors</i>	
Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus	

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: Mary Simon

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1951, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$7; Two years \$12; Three years \$17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

with them. The statement also announced the appointment of a committee to report on the condition of farm workers; the extent to which corporate farms, closely allied with business and financial interest, influence the policy of farm organizations; the effect upon the national economy of agricultural programs which establish floors but not ceilings for farm prices; and the real source of the drive in agricultural states for the enactment of anti-labor legislation. The basis for this strange alliance has been an understanding that the farm groups would not oppose labor legislation if farm workers were consistently excluded from the protection of such legislation. At one time there might have been some justification for the view that the Farm Bureau and the Grange represented "dirt farmers"; but the policies of both organizations have increasingly reflected the influence of business interests. It has been repeatedly pointed out, in fact, that the basic conditions for the formation of a real farmer-labor alliance would be the organization of farm workers and small farmers and the severance of "friendly relations" between the A. F. of L. and the Farm Bureau. The present move will not be easily set aside, for the policies of the Farm Bureau, if not of the Grange, are today so firmly "dictated by the big corporate farms closely allied with big business interests" as to make resumption of the alliance extremely difficult.

Proof of the Pudding

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THERE was a popular song we used to know built round the theme: "Are you sincere? If you're sincere, I'll let you call me your dearie." It wound up on a rather defeatist note: "If I give my heart to you, I'll have none and you'll have two," the plain implication being that, sincere or false, the party of the second part—call him Joe—was pretty sure to come out ahead. Whatever it was he wanted, in the end he'd get it.

The plaintive lines keep coming to mind these days: they sum up so accurately the main trouble with American foreign policy. That trouble is that the people who run the United States are more worried about Joseph Stalin's "sincerity" and what he is after than what we want ourselves. They are chiefly afraid they'll be taken for a ride, forgetting that nothing you want—neither peace nor love—can be had if you keep your eye exclusively on the other fellow's intentions. Those are only one factor, to be weighed in with many others, such as working out intentions and programs of your own that will convince your friends, and even your adversaries, that *you* really want peace and the other things you say you want—in addition to an armed alliance.

The Russians may be bad boys to the last commissar,

insincere and aggressive, and ready to take advantage of a moment's weakness on the part of the West. What should be considered in Washington, however, is whether by saying this and only this, over and over, we have discharged our duty toward peace and Western security. Within the past few weeks, since Malik broadcast his proposal for cease-fire talks in Korea (why, by the way, did that suggestion have to come from Moscow rather than Washington?) a whole series of moves, each minor in itself, has added up to a gesture of conciliation from Moscow. One and all they have been brushed off in Washington, including President Shvernik's proposal to President Truman for a five-power pact. One and all, they have been denounced as fakes, as propaganda designed to lure us into relaxing our rearmament drive, as efforts to divide us from our allies, as a dodge to win time which Moscow can use for building up its supply of atom bombs.

Possibly they are all these at once. Certainly Russia has showed no signs of moderating its criticism of American policy. *Pravda* answered Foreign Secretary Morrison's letter with a bitter blast against the West, and the Soviet press as a whole, in spite of the milder note struck by the *Moscow News*, has not soft-pedaled its attacks. Nor did the display of anti-American fireworks staged by the Communist Youth festival in East Berlin suggest that an era of good feeling had been inaugurated. If United States policy is to be determined solely by weighing Moscow's harsh words against its conciliatory ones we shall doubtless go on saying, as Mr. McDermott said of the Russian proposal for a five-power peace pact, that the whole thing is a "propaganda trap" and nothing more. Or we can call the Moscow peace offensive, as did Assistant Secretary Barrett, "phony as a three-dollar bill." But effective as these replies might be in a mud-slinging contest, they are not effective as statesmanship. They challenge Moscow's good faith but fail to offer positive or concrete proposals of our own. Lacking these, American policy remains suspect.

People in other countries, and many Americans as well, are yet to be convinced that the United States has played an impeccable role in the United Nations and Russia a wholly obstructive one. Our democratic *bona fides* are not taken at face value in Asia or in Europe. Even nations that strongly supported our initiative in Korea have been disturbed by its political by-products. The same may be said of various American acts outside the U. N.—our procedure in drawing up and putting over the Japanese treaty, our insistence on German rearmament, our unilateral embrace of Franco, our crippling restrictions on East-West trade. Little as it may trust the intentions of Russia, foreign opinion is critical of such policies, regarding them as provocative, dangerous, and undemocratic. Western Europeans may fear

Russia and agree upon the need of rearmament, but beneath that agreement is an intense anxiety lest rearmament be carried to the point where it will invite Soviet attack rather than discourage it, where economic hardship will create political unrest and the danger of revolution or reactionary dictatorship in the West. All these fears and disagreements combine to create a mood leery of mere polemics.

Whom do we convince, for example, by such a demand as Truman's in his reply to Shvernik, that the Soviet government lift its restrictions against travel in and out of Russia and abolish other obstacles to free intercourse? The immediate impression such a statement makes is one of sheer hypocrisy. Astonished readers all over the world must have wondered just what the American State Department would do if Mr. Shvernik took Mr. Truman at his word and encouraged free travel to the United States. At a time when even non-Communist leftists from Western Europe are being refused visas or held up at Ellis Island under the McCarran act, such talk seems almost irresponsible. The effect of the President's answer, together with various releases from the State and Defense Departments, is to convince the wary outsider that the Administration is primarily worried lest talk of understanding with Russia obstruct the passage of the unprecedented defense and foreign-aid bills still before Congress. This, rather than a sober effort to find a way toward peace, is seen as the inspiration for most of Washington's recent pronouncements.

What our friends and allies—those peoples we like to lump together as the "free world"—want to feel is that because of our strength we are able to take advantage of any crack in the Iron Curtain. Instead of denouncing Moscow's peace offensive as a fraud, we would win far more confidence if we were to meet it by a counter peace offensive equipped with sober, workable proposals for settling specific differences. This would convince unbelievers, on both sides of the great divide, that we are not more afraid of a shift toward peace than of the present steady progress toward war. At the same time it would serve as a test of Moscow's "sincerity." At worst it would force the Kremlin to meet concrete proposals with answers that would reveal its hostile purposes. At best, if the Russians have come to the conclusion that they can profit more from a *modus vivendi* with the West than from continued tension and hostility, this policy would provide the basis for negotiated agreements. As Alexander Werth points out on a later page, some signs point to a genuine shift in Moscow's line, a shift comparable to that which took place in the middle thirties. We need not delude ourselves that such a change, if it is under way, means a retreat from long-range ambitions. All we need do is to accept the situation for what it is and use it for our own legitimate ends.

The Farm Labor Fiasco

JAMES RESTON of the *New York Times* has suggested that the major characteristic of the Truman Administration is the habit of firing a big gun and then falling back to hastily prepared positions. This habit was never more vividly or embarrassingly exemplified than in the President's strange attitude toward the labor-importation program. It would be difficult to imagine what considerations other than pure political expediency prompted him to sign S. 984, an act relating to the recruitment and employment of agricultural workers.

In October, 1948, thousands of "wetbacks" assembled in Juarez in what appeared to be a spontaneous demonstration for the privilege of entering the United States to pick cotton at substandard wages. Strangely enough, however, the gathering was timed to coincide with the appearance of Mr. Truman in El Paso on the eve of the 1948 election. It has long since ceased to be a secret, if it ever was, that the President then set in motion the chain of directives which authorized inspectors of the Immigration Service to "look the other way" as thousands of carefully recruited wetbacks surged across the border. Conditions deteriorated rapidly throughout the Southwest after the "October incident," and by the spring of 1949 the wetback problem had become acute. So Mr. Truman wheeled up "the big gun," fired a salvo by appointing the Commission on Migratory Labor on June 3, 1950, and thereby quieted public opinion.

The report of the commission, submitted to the President on March 26 of this year, points out how the legal importation of Mexican nationals has served as the mechanism by which the status of wetbacks has been legalized. The Mexican officials who negotiated the 1947 and subsequent agreements took the quite logical position that it would be unfair to recruit workers from the interior of Mexico when thousands of Mexicans were already—if illegally—in the border states. Thus for the period 1947-49, 74,600 Mexican nationals were recruited under contract, and 142,600 wetbacks, who were already here, had their status legalized by being placed under contract. There can be no doubt, therefore, that the legal importation of Mexican nationals has accelerated the wetback traffic. To put it rather crudely, the Mexican contract workers are the Judas goats used to lure wetbacks to the border states. Nor can there be any doubt—as the President's commission pointed out—that changes in farm wage rates in the principal areas of Mexican employment and in the principal crops in which Mexicans are employed have varied in inverse ratio to the numbers of contract Mexicans available.

Mr. Truman delayed until the last minute and is said to have finally signed the bill in response to heavy pressure from Democratic Congressional leaders. Under the new bill farm workers will be assembled in three major

"reception" centers in Mexico, and the United States will then pay the cost of transportation to "receiving" centers in the border states at distances of 600 to 900 miles from the assembly points. Farmers will pay the government \$15 for each man hired from the receiving centers, which will be applied toward the cost of transportation (the President has asked for an appropriation of \$26,485,000 to finance the program). About the only improvement this will bring is that workers now will be recruited under an agreement to which the United States is a party; under the agreement which expired on June 30 employers could recruit workers in designated areas in Mexico.

As though to apologize for having signed the bill, Mr. Truman sent a special message to Congress suggesting enactment of certain measures which his commission had recommended. But did the commission approve S. 984 or was it even consulted? The chairman of the commission declined *The Nation's* request for a comment on S. 984, but it is hard to reconcile the measure with the commission's findings and recommendations. For example, the commission found that the importation of Mexican nationals was inconsistent with our national immigration policy, which has barred contract labor since the 1880's. Yet under the induced fiction of an "emergency" or "labor shortage," the importation of Mexican nationals has steadily undermined this basic policy. A week or so before the President signed the bill, the Border Patrol opened a detention center at El Centro, California, and began to return wetbacks to Mexico by air. Since then about 28,000 illegal entrants have enjoyed a comfortable trip by air from points in the Southwest to points in Mexico at a cost of upward of \$500,000. The total number of wetbacks deported since the first of the year from the California-western Arizona section of the border alone is in excess of 150,000. Yet on August 3 the United States embassy counselor in Mexico City announced that as many as 300,000 Mexican nationals would be imported under the new agreement this year. Those who insist that social policies should be in balance will be deeply puzzled by this strange arrangement, under which a government spends vast sums to deport workers when it is spending large sums to import them from precisely the same areas.

In view of all these facts it is a little difficult to understand why President Truman appointed the Commission on Migratory Labor or how he justifies the expense of its investigations. For the appointment of a new commission will soon be made necessary by a repetition of the conditions which prevailed in the spring of 1949. But the report of the new commission can be ignored later should it become necessary, for political reasons, to authorize the importation of further contract labor in 1952—an election year.

Stormtroopers in Mufti

BY MARK GAYN

Düsseldorf, July

ON A gray day we drive out to Bochum, the city of coal and steel. In a dismal company hostel we talk to a group of coal miners, who stand between rows of iron cots. They are young, sturdy men, the post-war crop, and for many this is their first job. With a daily wage of 11 to 12 marks (\$2.60) they are better off than most German workers.

Yet they are sullen and dissatisfied. One after another they express their resentment at having to live a communal and shoddy life, with no privacy, no comfort, no place to bring a girl-friend to, nothing to fill their leisure time. The miners' union is generally regarded as a pillar of the Socialist Party, but these men have no use for either the Socialists or any other major party. "They're all alike," one says sharply. "No one in Bonn is interested in youth. We're the forgotten people of Germany."

We talk to other miners. One is a former Luftwaffe officer, a Prussian Junker, the son of a general executed in 1946 for Dachau atrocities. He is a wiry, intense, articulate man; corded veins throb in his neck as he attacks the "do-nothing" government, the corrupt parties, the general chaos. He suggests that the Allies have been unfair to Germany; he detests communism, believes it should not be hard to recruit an anti-Communist army. "People claim," he says in a taut voice, "that youth is not interested in politics. It's a lie. We talk of politics every night right here, and you'll find they all feel the way I do."

As we interview other groups, the names of obscure little parties keep cropping up—the Radical Socialist Liberty Party, the German Imperial Party, the Economic Reconstruction Union. By nightfall we feel we have had enough. We yearn for a sensible, middle-aged, professional miner, with a home, a family, and a sense of responsibility. Once again we drive across Bochum, through dark, pitted, deserted streets, until we come to rows of tiny company houses set in a muddy lot near the mine. The man we want is just sitting down to eat with his wife.

He is a good-looking man of about fifty, a skilled third-generation miner, a member of the Works Council

at his mine. He answers all questions without hesitation and even brings out his income-tax returns. With a six-day week and one extra Sunday shift a month he earned 480 marks that month. After taxes and deductions it shrank to 370 marks (\$85). He detests the government and has only a foul word for the opposition leader, Dr. Kurt Schumacher. He refused to vote in the last election, as a protest against the major parties. If he had voted, he says, it would have been for one of the splinter parties promising social justice, equality, and bread for everyone. "After all," he says parenthetically, "we had no unemployment under Hitler."

The miner dislikes impartially the Communists and Chancellor Adenauer, the Allies and Russia. In principle he is not against the revival of the Wehrmacht if it would not cost too much, but he thinks it could not stop the Russians anyway. He is one of the few Germans I have met who is not afraid of the Red Army's arrival. He sweeps his arm around the mean little kitchen, and says, "What can they steal from me?"

Employment in the Ruhr is high, and people in Bochum are therefore better off than in many parts of West Germany. Yet here as elsewhere conditions have produced a weedy crop of political parties. These draw their chief nourishment from the widespread economic distress. Experts of the German Federation of Labor estimate that two-thirds of West Germany's wage-earners get less than 250 marks (\$60) a month, though an average family needs 300 marks to get along. West Germany today has roughly 1,400,000 unemployed—600,000 less than last winter but still nearly double the pre-war figure. These people live just this side of starvation—the maximum dole of 90 to 100 marks a month per family is hardly enough to support life.

Another cause of the political confusion is the presence of the millions of refugees from the East. Roughly one of every five West Germans belongs to this category. Unfortunately, the provincial governments have treated them with no more compassion than California once showed to the Okies. So most of the refugees have gone to those areas where they meet the least resistance. Schleswig-Holstein, a poor agricultural state with 1,800,000 inhabitants, took in 2,000,000 outsiders for whom it has no work, no housing, no money, and no love. In Lower Saxony 30 per cent of the population consists of newcomers. These refugees are a dangerously restless element in an uneasy land. They are poor, resentful, rootless, anti-everything but especially anti-Communist, wistfully pro-Nazi, and—not unnaturally

MARK GAYN, author of the widely read "Japan Diary," has spent the past four years in Europe. This is the first of a series of articles on Germany Today. In the second he will discuss the attitude of different groups in the population toward a new German army.

—*révanchiste*. Nothing could be more revealing than the name of their biggest party, the Bloc of Those Without Homes or Rights.

Still another factor is the housing crisis. One can hardly describe the tortured face of Germany today—the endless ruins of Berlin, and Frankfurt, and Cologne, and Bochum. Hundreds of thousands of persons live in shacks built of odds and ends, in windowless basements of buildings long pulverized, in bomb shelters and dug-outs. A British official estimates that 70 per cent of all housing owned by the mining companies was either totally destroyed or badly damaged. A miners' union organizer says his union members alone need 115,000 flats—and "at the rate we're now going, we won't have them for twenty-five years."

But even this does not complete the formula of unrest. Germany is split in two, and the breach is widening by the hour. The constitution made the central government too weak and the state governments too strong. The anti-Nazi purges have badly miscarried, and the shortage of trained non-Nazi officials has placed ex-Nazis in nearly every vital post—right up to Dr. Adenauer's own Chancellery and the command of the army-to-be.

Not the least unsettling factor is the German state of mind—the ever-present sense of defeat, resentment at the ostentatious comforts of the victors, the feeling that the Allies are "using" Germany to fight their war against Russia, a fierce denial of responsibility for the last war or the atrocities, and finally a nearly universal fear or hatred of Russia. Conditions today are ominously like those of the early days of the Weimar Republic. They present a tempting opportunity to parties with a strong leadership that knows what it wants and can reduce its program to words of two syllables.

ON THE face of it, the opportunity seems made to order for the Communists. The Bolsheviks were brought to power in Russia mainly by popular discontent, strong leadership, and a program reduced to the magic words "Bread and Peace." Curiously enough, this formula does not work in West Germany. The Communists are losing out here. Their membership is shrinking. The circulation of the few papers that have escaped the ban is falling. In the Ruhr, the Communists have lost control of most of the Works Councils they once dominated.

But if the extreme left is suffering, the extreme right is riding high. In many parts of the country hurt pride, economic misery, xenophobia, fear of the future, and a yearning for the glorious past are being translated into neo-Nazism. Thousands file past the grave of one of the more obnoxious of the seven executed war criminals, and a speaker assails the Allies for "violating the laws of humanity." A leading Düsseldorf paper justifies the

acts of these war criminals by citing "the Allied war crimes in Korea." A new magazine, *Voices from Germany*, dedicates itself to discrediting the Nürnberg trials and glorifying the Nazi regime.

Uniformed bands are springing up, complete with colored shirts, jackboots, armbands, and the Nazi salute. In Lower Saxony the 6,000-strong Reichsfront has just been banned; in Bavaria and Schleswig-Holstein the Saalschutz is a development of Karl Meissner's "German Bloc"; elsewhere are such groups as the uniformed Hedler Jugend of Wolfgang Hedler. Ex-Nazi élite army units are holding reunions. Heinz Guderian and other Hitler generals are turning out a stream of books showing how Hitler tried to save Europe from communism. The rightist spell-binders stop at nothing in vilifying the Bonn government and the Allies ("The Adenauer government is the crawling slave of the Yankee terror regime").

This new hysteria, like the Nazi fanaticism, has invaded private as well as public life, culture as well as politics. Its manifestations run from sending a girl to Coventry when her classmates learn her father took part in the anti-Hitler plot of 1944 to having Nazi hoodlums menace the president of the Bundestag for denying that the new German flag is "a symbol of collapse."

Inevitably the hysteria finds political expression. In one of the *Länder* the chief of the newly formed, hush-hush Department for the Defense of the Constitution tells me he is keeping an eye on some 250 groups and parties, the bulk of them rightist. With few exceptions the parties are small, poor, and led by ex-Nazis. They merge, split up, or just vanish. Their leaders shift from party to party, quarrel, accuse each other of taking tainted money, and hungrily look for such aid. In this game any man has his chance of somehow, like Hitler, catching the public eye, ear, and vote, and eventually obtaining funds. Considerable slush money has already come in—some from ex-Nazis in Argentina and some, according to good evidence, from the Red Army headquarters in Karlsruhe.

FOR the moment, the most successful of the tiny splinter parties is the Socialist Reichs Party of Dr. Fritz Dorls, a forty-one-year-old ex-Nazi author. For his lieutenant, Dorls has picked up the thirty-nine-year-old Nazi fanatic Otto Remer, whom Hitler jumped from major to major general for helping to break the 1944 plot. Remer is a demagogue of the Goebbels type, a lean, intense, violent man who can throw a mass-meeting into a frenzy. His appeal is solely to emotion—to pride, hatred, and nationalism. Thousands cheer him when he shouts, "The day will come when the traitors [who plotted against Hitler] will stand trial before a German court. . . . The day will come when not even a dog in the gutter will take a bite of bread from their hands."

In desolate Lower Saxony the Socialist Reichs Party has been charging admission to its meetings and still packing them. The Nazi slogans and pageantry have paid off. In the May elections to the *Landtag* the party polled some 370,000 votes, or 11 per cent of those cast. Since then the party has been preparing actively if secretly to move into other *Länder*, especially the Ruhr. Its active membership here in April was put at 1,500, but it has since been busily wooing other splinter groups. In Bavaria it has made a deal with Alfred Loritz, head of the Economic Reconstruction Union, which has nine seats in the federal Parliament. Loritz, a powerful speaker known to his followers as the "Blond Führer" and to Allied officials as a mental case, has been disowned by other leaders of his party.

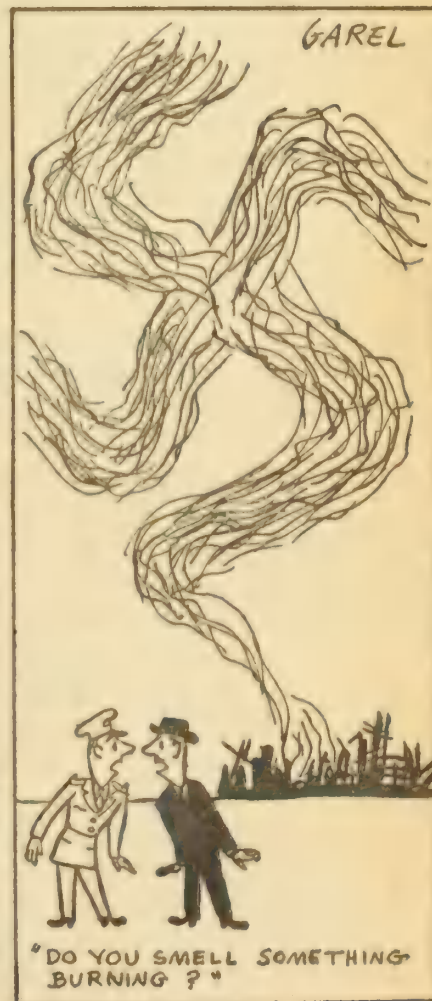
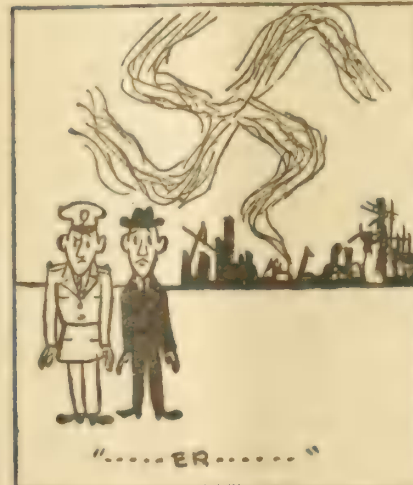
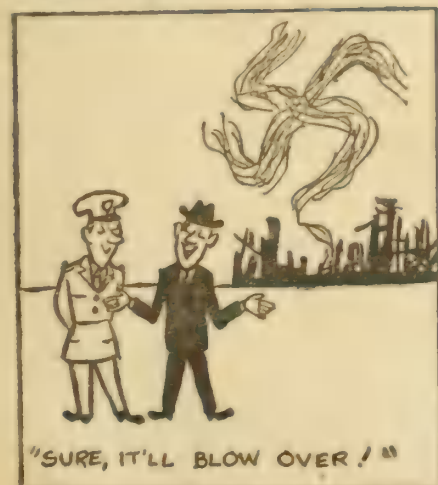
The Socialist Reichs Party is not the only neo-Nazi group which has done well in Lower Saxony. The four extreme rightist parties together polled nearly 900,000 votes, of which half a million went to the Bloc of the Homeless. Though in spots nearly as black as Dorls's band, this refugee party has now been accepted into the Socialist *Land* administration.

The revival of Nazism has produced sharp reactions in the most different quarters. After pooh-pooing the danger until this spring, the Allies, of course, are disturbed, though less by the success of the Socialist Reichs

Party as a political organization than by the fact that it is a symptom of dark underground currents. Even less happy are Chancellor Adenauer's own Christian Democrats, who have lost much of their rightist fringe to the neo-Nazis. In recent weeks Bonn has taken some firm steps. Remer has been tried and sentenced to four months in prison for slandering the government leaders. The Socialist Reichs Party's strong-arm Reichsfront has been disbanded. Dorls was deprived of his parliamentary immunity after making a particularly scurrilous attack on a Bavarian minister. As soon as a special court has been set up, the constitutionality of the party itself will be put to a test. Even before then police action may be taken against this and other extremist parties.

Another worried group is the Free Democratic Party, a member of the Bonn coalition and the most respectable element of the extreme right. Fearing that in the next elections in Rhine-Westphalia its neo-Nazi rivals may take away some of its votes, it has been training its heaviest forensic gun, General Hasso von Manteuffel, on the Socialist Reichs Party.

But the deepest concern is felt by the trade unions, which find their program of social reform drowned in the nationalist hubbub. Some of the neo-Nazi orators are already attacking unions as "Communist tools." And there is a persistent fear, which many Allied ob-



servers here discount, that if the Ruhr industrialists ever lose faith in the two parties they now back—the Christian Democratic and the Free Democratic Party—they might begin to shop around for an acceptable ultra-rightist group.

Some drastic action against the extremists—both of the right and the left—is in the works. But many here

have no confidence that suppression would end, or even defeat, extremism. The problem, obviously, is not the emergence of Dörls, Remer, and company but the political, economic, and psychological climate which has encouraged them. Thus both Bonn and Washington are looked to for basic solutions and a bit more wisdom than they have shown in the past.

Portrait of a Boss

BY JAMES MUNVES

THIS month the long-dominant Republican organization of Nassau County, New York, will meet in the Police Auditorium in Mineola, and as it has done in every off-numbered year since 1935 unanimously elect as County Leader a stocky, soft-spoken, not unhandsome man of sixty-four named J. (for John) Russel Sprague. The term "County Leader" may have a bucolic, grass-roots sound, but Mr. Sprague is not the ordinary country politician. His influence extends far beyond the borders of Nassau County, and when the Republicans meet next year in national convention, he will undoubtedly have a voice in choosing their candidates.

He will help formulate the policies of his party as a member of the executive committee of the Republican National Committee, and he will exercise a great deal of control over the convention both as the man who dominates the party in New York State and as the power behind Nassau's Leonard Hall, head of the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee. Representative Hall's committee determines how the party's funds shall be distributed to help finance the campaigns of its Congressional candidates.

Mr. Sprague entered national politics in 1936, when he headed the New York delegation to the Republican National Convention. He became a national committeeman in June, 1940, the year the "Old Guard" faction defeated the pro-Willkie Republicans in New York State. His contribution to the defeat of the Willkieites, led by Kenneth Simpson, was so decisive that in July, after Willkie was nominated, he was elected to the executive committee of the National Committee.

In the affairs of his party Mr. Sprague is a behind-the-scenes man, a fixer. An associate of his, asked to account for his influence, said: "I've seen Sprague go into a room full of arguing people. Inside of fifteen minutes he'll have them reasonable, and pretty soon they will be agreeing." Sprague has a way of clearing the air of abstract issues and confining attention to votes, jobs,

and campaign funds; it has been observed that Governor Dewey's campaigns, which Sprague had a large part in planning, were marked by an absence of issues. When Sprague was asked for his views in the "great debate" on foreign policy, he replied, "I believe that the foreign policy of the United States should reflect the views of the majority of the American people."

"Clock-like precision and steam-roller effect" characterize Sprague's operations, as the *Nassau Review-Standard* said in 1943, when he took over the county Republican organization. But his influence on national politics is only partly due to the efficiency of his methods. Nassau County, 274 square miles in area, is on Long Island, just east of New York City. It was formed in 1898 from the part of Queens County that was not included in Greater New York. In "Your County—Nassau," a handsome brochure distributed free of charge to all new county residents, Sprague describes Nassau as "larger in population [over 700,000] than seven states, seventeenth in size with our nation's great cities, greater in assessed valuation [over \$1,330,000,000 at last report] than twenty-five states, and with higher budgets [1951's is \$69,479,729.03] than twenty-one of them." What is more, this principality has, since 1942, produced the largest Republican pluralities in the state—in 1948 when Dewey carried the county by 113,792 votes, the state by 60,959, the Nassau vote determined which party won the state—and it admits to having contributed \$667,500.86 toward Republican campaigns in the last fifteen years.

Sprague's position as boss of the Republican Party in his county is secured by his position as county executive, a job similar to that of mayor of a large city. Sprague has held his post since 1938, when the charter which created the job, and which he designed, went into effect. One way of determining the sort of man he is and his influence on the Republican Party is to look at his administration of the county.

Nassau officials are polite. "If it is ever reported to Mr. Sprague that a county employee has been discourteous," says Forrest Corson, the Nassau Republicans' well-paid publicity man, "that person gets an immediate

JAMES MUNVES, a man with a varied reportorial past, has lived most of his life in Nassau County, subject to Mr. Sprague.

reprimand." A young attorney who regularly practices in New York City argued a case in Mineola recently. Afterward he remarked to a friend, "The clerks and other people in the county courthouse are not at all like municipal employees. They are more polite and a little better-dressed than people handling the same jobs in the city, and the girls are younger and prettier."

If Sprague had overheard this he would have been pleased. "The biggest business in Nassau County is the county government," he is fond of remarking. Once he was asked why the Nassau Republican organization was run by a "county leader" who existed side by side with a county chairman. "As county leader," he explained, "I am like the head of the board of directors of a corporation. Mr. Brennan, the county chairman, is like the president of the corporation."

"Russ Sprague may, in a certain sense, be thought of as a classical Republican," said a member of his party whose prestige Sprague has eclipsed. "He reminds one of the McKinley era, conjures memories of that terrifying Keppler cartoon of Old Moneybags in the Senate chamber. Some of us think that's bad for the party. The Young Republicans wouldn't hear of his getting the Senatorial nomination in 1938."

AS A man who thinks in business terms, Sprague naturally strives for efficiency. "Nassau County has the most compact and business-like Board of Supervisors in New York," said Thomas H. Reed, director of the municipal consultant service of the National Municipal League. "Instead of a board the size of a young legislature, as in other counties of like size, Nassau County's board consists of six members whose voting strength is based upon the population of towns and cities they represent. Instead of speechmaking, questions are discussed around the table as in a directors' meeting."

All county business is conducted by the six-man Board of Supervisors in the course of forty-seven meetings a year. Each meeting passes an average of 17.3 cryptic resolutions in an average time of 14.5 minutes, or at a speed of 1.2 resolutions per minute. The only corporations that are administered as smoothly as Nassau County are dummy corporations. Nassau Republicans possess twenty-eight of the Board of Supervisors' thirty votes and feel in no danger of losing any of them. This superiority, assured by Sprague's 1938 charter, puts Nassau Democrats in an even worse position than their one-to-three proportion would indicate. It enables the Republicans to decide all matters of county policy in secret party sessions rather than at open Supervisors' meetings and subjects the 174,000 enrolled Nassau Republicans to the absolute control of the county leader.

Perhaps the best example of Mr. Sprague's business acumen is the method he developed of raising party funds in the county. The system, instituted in 1935 and

then administered by Charles Blackwell, heir to a marmalade fortune, and Paul Pennoyer, a Morgan son-in-law, has been widely copied by other county organizations. It requires all contributions to the Republican Party in Nassau County to be made to one centralized agency called the Nassau County Republican Finance Committee, and this committee not only collects all the money but decides how it shall be spent. The system gives the county organization absolute power over all Republican office-holders in the county, since any money raised for campaign purposes must be turned over to the committee. As Mr. Sprague smilingly puts it, "I couldn't conceive of this not being done."

In the fifteen years of its operation the Finance Committee admits to having raised a total of \$667,500 for campaign purposes, \$128,539 of this in 1948. How much money was collected not specifically for campaign

purposes is anybody's guess; \$2,000,000 would not be a large sum to have obtained from people who paid out \$200,000,000 in county taxes over that period. Whatever the amount, a member of Sprague's organization says that it is exceeded only by the contributions of the New York County organization. Since Nassau has fewer local campaigns to finance than New York County, it may be as-



J. Russel Sprague

sumed that Nassau County Republicans contribute more money to state and national campaigns than party members in any other county. "The Sprague machine," a long-time Nassau Democrat has observed, "is in as powerful a position with respect to the national Republican Party as was Tammany Hall with respect to the national Democratic Party up to the formation of Greater New York, and for the same reasons. Funny how the situation that undermined Tammany's pre-eminence created Sprague's!"

Will Sprague ever move from the wings on to the stage? In 1948, when Governor Dewey's election to the Presidency seemed certain, there were rumors that Sprague would go to Washington with the new President and other rumors that he would not. Certainly he would not take a job that would prevent him from keeping control of things back in Nassau. He believes in protecting his flanks and rear. He has a good thing in Nassau County, and he means to keep it.

The Forgotten "Haves"

BY HANNAH R. BLOOM

Los Angeles, August 7

EARLY in September a vanguard of the elderly elite of Los Angeles will launch "a new experiment in graceful living" at Fifield Manor, a non-profit hotel corporation, and latest of the far-flung projects of Dr. James W. Fifield, Jr., minister of the First Congregational Church of Los Angeles and director of Spiritual Mobilization. At various times California's aged have been offered programs of "Ham 'n' Eggs," "\$25 Every Monday," and "\$30 Every Thursday," but they have never seen anything like Fifield Manor. Nor will they—for poor people need not apply. Fifield Manor is for those to the manor born.

On July 5 Mrs. Helen Ramsay Fifield, the minister's wife and president of Fifield Manor, announced the purchase of an antiquated, seven-story apartment-hotel in the heart of Hollywood, the Château Elysée, for conversion into "a unique home for older people, long needed in Los Angeles." According to Mrs. Fifield, as quoted in the *Los Angeles Herald-Express*, "there seems to be an unfilled need for lovely facilities for those in their autumn years who have known gracious living and wish to continue it without its responsibilities."

This serious void will be filled by Fifield Manor with accommodations for about eighty persons, aged sixty-five or older, who will be assured of apartment-hotel standards and "food, service, appointments, and clientèle of the highest order." Some of the rooms will be reserved for a sick bay, chapel, and public dining-room. Spacious grounds provide ample resting space for the feeble, and a tennis court is available for those still agile. A trained nurse and physician will be in attendance. The hotel manager, reputedly earning \$10,000 a year, will make certain that "you will have comfortable living in a happy, beautiful environment for the rest of your journey." And in case the journey is hastened by atomic war, the Manor garage will make "one of the finest bomb shelters in Los Angeles." Fears of an "institutional atmosphere" also can be dismissed—"there will be no ringing of bells for meals." Indeed, Fifield Manor is "the sort of place anyone would want for his mother's last years."

Such is the tender devotion which was in part responsible for the purchase of the Château Elysée from its recent owners, Mr. and Mrs. G. E. Kinsey. The huge structure, said to have a replacement value of \$2,400,-

000, was sold to the Fifield Manor Corporation for slightly more than \$1,000,000. The Kinseys had "steadfastly refused to sell the property," the *Herald-Express* reported, "but they were swayed by their interest in the Fifields' worthy cause."

Like all Fifield enterprises, Fifield Manor is about as philanthropic as Spiritual Mobilization is spiritual (see

Battle for the Clergy by Carey McWilliams in *The Nation* of February 7, 1948). Exclusiveness is always expensive, and it is especially so under Dr. Fifield's auspices. For lessees, monthly tenants, and life-care residents, an admission fee, payable in full in advance of occupancy, is fixed at \$20 per square foot of space rented. Since the minimum fee is \$4,900, the smallest



Dr. James W. Fifield, Jr.

apartment would contain only 245 square feet. The admission fee for most apartments is around \$7,500, for the largest \$11,000. This fee will always be required of new residents, Mrs. Fifield warned; so "none should delay arrangements thinking they will obviate that." The entrance fee is just the beginning of the tariff anyway. The big pitch is for life-care contracts based on age, sex, and life expectancy. The levy for a man of sixty-five is \$15,550, for a man of ninety, \$3,897. For a man of ninety, then, entrance fee and life care in the smallest apartment would cost nearly \$8,800; at the other end of the scale, the largest apartment for a woman of sixty-five totals \$29,000. All this, and possibly heaven, too—but "a decent and respectable Christian burial" is extra.

Already more than forty applicants have been accepted; about half of the property's purchase price has been paid or committed; and, according to Mrs. Fifield, references of three hundred other applicants are being considered for the unassigned apartments. Life-care has turned out to be the most popular arrangement, she said, because it provides a "barricade of complete security from inflation or whatever may come."

The beneficiaries of the Fifields' "worthy cause" will

HANNAH R. BLOOM is *The Nation's* regular correspondent in Los Angeles.

undoubtedly be other Fifield "charities," such as Spiritual Mobilization, Government Research, Inc., or, perhaps, even the church. Fifield Manor can continue to operate as a non-profit corporation merely by turning over its accrued profits to other Fifield philanthropies.

In their refuge from the responsibilities of gracious living, Fifield Manor tenants can also feast from Dr. Fifield's private propaganda trough. Within recent weeks Fifield was obliged on two occasions to apologize publicly for scurrilous statements made on his weekly radio broadcast against Benjamin Franklin and the American Civil Liberties Union. To the A. C. L. U. he imputed "Communist tendencies." To Benjamin Franklin he attributed a denunciation of the Jews in an address before the Constitutional Convention of 1787—an old canard thoroughly disproved by historians.

In his radio retractions Fifield said he had, for the second time, confused the Civil Liberties Union with the Civil Rights Congress and dismissed the matter as

an "unfortunate error." Although the allegation concerning the Jews and Franklin was admittedly "hurtful of interests to which I am devoted and dedicated," Fifield was "surprised to find that there was any problem here, because the source of my information in that instance is a source I've trusted for a good many years."

Without any nudging from the A. C. L. U., the Anti-Defamation League, or the radio station from which he broadcasts, Fifield took it upon himself to correct a third misconception recently. Asked if Fifield Manor would be for pensioners or the wealthy, he echoed his wife's sentiments. Society, he explained, is divided into two classes: the haves and the have-nots. The have-nots are already well taken care of by the welfare state. But the haves are the forgotten people, and they need someone to take care of them.

It is through Fifield Manor that the Reverend Dr. Fifield—benefactor of the rich and powerful—will attempt to rectify this grave error.

The Soviet Peace Bid

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Paris

THE current Soviet "peace offensive" is generally considered to have begun on June 23, the day Mr. Malik made his famous U. N. broadcast proposing peace talks in Korea. It may be argued, and has been argued by the Russians, that the Malik broadcast contained nothing very new and was perfectly consistent with the "peace policy" the Soviet Union had been advocating for years. But the facts point to a very definite shift in policy which has been pointed up by subsequent moves.

When the question is asked whether Russia wants peace, one or two points ought to be considered. Until a year ago Russian political philosophy clearly distinguished between "imperialist wars" and "just wars." Mao's military victories over the American-equipped armies of Chiang Kai-shek were hailed with immense enthusiasm in Russia. Similarly, whatever the exact circumstances of the outbreak of the war in Korea, Russia condoned, to say the least, the North Korean invasion of South Korea and gave the North Koreans "moral support" after it would have been too dangerous to give them more tangible help. Probably one of the

lessons learned by Russia from the Korean war is that with present methods of warfare no war, however "just," pays off.

Moscow's "standoffishness" in the Iranian dispute has been striking; hardly a word about the "Iranian people's struggle against British imperialism" has appeared in the Russian press, which has been content to quote from Iranian newspapers and to discourse on the rivalry between British and American oil interests. Russia's apparent readiness to leave Iran alone, its willingness to preserve the status quo in Korea, its feeling that Vietnam's "just" war in Indo-China may only lead to new complications—all these things suggest that the Kremlin's real purpose in desiring a conference of the Big Five is to draw some kind of demarcation line between the two worlds, even if it means leaving some of Russia's friends in the lurch. Abandonment of its friends has never been an overriding objection with Moscow when the higher interests of the Soviet Union were involved—witness the fate of the Bela Kun regime in Hungary in 1919 and of the Azerbaijan "democrats" in 1946. In addition to a possible demarcation line Russia may be expected to seek an agreement on China and Formosa, elimination of the more threatening American air bases, the disarmament of Germany and Japan, and so on. The Western powers are in a good position to demand in return valuable guaranties of security; Russia is obviously in a mood to bargain.

It is easy to pooh-pooh Russian talk about "peaceful

ALEXANDER WERTH, formerly The Nation's correspondent in Moscow, watches Russian developments from Paris, where he is now stationed. He follows carefully the Russian press and radio and talks to persons coming from the Soviet Union, reporting from time to time on trends revealed by these sources.

coexistence" and to say that the ultimate objective of Soviet policy is the extension of communism throughout the world, but in the Soviet view, coexistence, even over a very long period of years, is possible *if it happens to suit both sides*. Under existing conditions there is good reason to believe it suits Russia. Since it obviously suits America's allies, the great question, from the Russian standpoint, is whether it also suits America, and about this Moscow has grave doubts. Government and press constantly point to the rapid increase in bomber bases around Russia and China; they know that the Palais Rose conference broke down on this very issue.

With the theory that "just" wars are inevitably victorious properly discarded after the grim lesson of Korea, all thought of expansion, for whatever reasons, in the present circumstances has probably been abandoned. Where, indeed, is the evidence today of "expanding Soviet imperialism"? In the Russian view, places like Japan and Formosa are clearly intended to serve America as bases for attack, not for defense. For its part Russia now takes the view that it has "enough to go on with."

Highly characteristic in this connection was the prominence given by the Russian papers to the speech by Lu Chao-tsi, the Chinese Communist leader, in Peking on July 1, in which he said that the task of building the new China was one for "several decades," citing the facts that the feudal regime was still in force in large parts of China and that the Communist Party had only 5,800,000 members in the whole of China, of whom 2,700,000 were in the armed forces. He added, of course, that China was "very conscious of America's attempt to wreck the work of the Chinese revolution."

EVEN more comforting to Russians than the thought of having "550,000,000 Chinese on our side" is the feeling that their own living conditions are continually improving, while conditions in Western Europe, the press assures them, are declining. One of the best Western observers, an important diplomat, recently described the situation to me on his return from Moscow. I give his statement at some length, since it provides up-to-date information from a disinterested source.

Two points are very striking to anyone who knows the country well—the rapid growth in all forms of technical efficiency and the improvement in living standards. Hundreds of thousands of hard-working young technicians are turned out every year—612,000 specialists with a university education since 1946—and all of them are grateful and wholehearted supporters of the regime. Building is going on all over Moscow, and it is being done quickly and efficiently by the most modern methods—very different from what it was a few years ago. Outside Moscow, in the war-devastated areas, some six million houses or apartments have been built

in the last few years. A point constantly emphasized, not only in the press but also in private conversations, is that the vast projects for irrigation, for hydroelectric power stations, for reforestation, and the rest are opening up boundless possibilities for any number of skilled workers and technicians.

The shortage of labor in some fields has tended to raise wages. I have seen public notices advertising various jobs. Thus trolley-bus drivers are offered 1,200 rubles or more a month; riveters and other skilled workers, 1,000 to 1,600 rubles a month; accountants, 700 to 800; typists, 600 to 700. Factory wages in Moscow are around 1,000 rubles a month but may be as high as 2,000 rubles. The minimum industrial wage is now about 600 rubles, and when one considers how much pooling of family budgets there is in Russia, with most of the women also working, it is apparent that workers' families live much more comfortably today than a few years ago.

There are strict limits to what a worker's family can buy. But how much stuff can be got into those small workers' flats? A few pieces of furniture, a wireless set, a gramophone perhaps, not many clothes. Bicycles, motorcycles, and, latterly, small cars have become an outlet for spare cash. At the official rate 1,000 rubles is equal to \$250, but in purchasing power to only about \$85 or \$90. However, rent, fuel, and gas are low; transport, cinemas, and theaters are cheap; medical and educational facilities are free or practically so. And most important of all, food is plentiful and with some exceptions not expensive. Bread is 1.20 rubles a kilo; white bread 4 rubles. Butter at 20 rubles a pound is still dear, but meat, varying from 8 to 13 rubles a pound, is much cheaper than it used to be. Excellent canteen meals are served at 3 to 5 rubles. Foreigners in Moscow, always going to the old de luxe places, have no idea how well one can dine for from 20 to 25 rubles—with caviar, vodka, and wine included—in some of the second-class eating places.

The people, especially the young men and girls one sees in the streets, are very nicely dressed, and the girls take great care of their hair and fingernails, which they didn't do before. Hairdressers and manicurists are among the busiest people in Russia now.

It's a great pleasure to talk to these young Russians, especially to the students. Once in a while one comes across an arrogant type, but most of them are pleasant, polite, and cheerful; they are earnest, too, tremendous readers, and passionately fond of the theater—and of football matches. The people are full of humor, some of it much like the old Russian humor of the classic writers, and I heard more gay laughter in the streets of Moscow than in any capital in the West.

The people do not really think of war. They seem to be oddly confident that no one will "dare" attack Russia, though the feeling against America is very strong. One sees no bomb shelters being built in Moscow.

Russian young people show great devotion to the many Chinese and Koreans in Moscow—soldiers, stu-

dents, artists, and so on. Chinese and Korean actors, jugglers, dancers, and other entertainers—for example, the Chinese "Circus Gala"—have an enormous success. An astonishing number of Russians are studying Chinese, and there is more widespread fellow-feeling for the Chinese and Koreans than for any West Europeans.

Many of my readers may think this too favorable a picture of Russia, but I have a lot of other evidence that it is in the main correct. Without question Russia is increasingly well off materially, even spectacularly prosperous according to Asian standards. The young generation is energetic, increasingly efficient, and confident about the future. It is not a country that would invite light-heartedly an atomic war.

Why They Cheat

BY HART STILWELL

THE dismissal of ninety West Point cadets, including a big chunk of the football team, for cheating in examinations brings into sharp focus an age-old problem in education which most people have preferred to ignore. To me it recalls a conversation I had many years ago with a seventeen-year-old high-school youth—a football player, incidentally. I had picked him up and was taking him to school. We got on the subject of cheating. He talked about it quite frankly.

"Do a lot of students cheat?" I asked him.

"Sure," he said.

"How many, about half?"

"Half the boys, maybe—not so many girls. They're afraid."

"Do they cheat in all their classes?"

"All except one. We've got one blind teacher."

"Nobody cheats in his class?"

"Why, of course not," he said, surprised that I should ask the question.

"Why not?"

"Why, because he can't see us if we cheat. It wouldn't be right. We'd throw anybody out of his class who'd cheat on him."

That conversation seems to me significant. It made very clear something all adult educators know but will not face: that there will be cheating just as long as the teacher mistrusts the pupil.

I have contemplated an education system in which all the teachers are blind. But, alas, there are not enough blind people. I have studied causes. The facts are pretty

HART STILWELL formerly edited the *Brownsville Herald*. He now lives in Austin, Texas, and is the author of two novels, "Border City," which dealt with the "wetbacks" in Texas, and "Campus Town," which concerns academic freedom.

well known. Students cheat for these reasons: First, the teacher acts as though he expects them to cheat. Second, the grade system is mostly foolishness, and the student knows it. Third, written examinations as now required are a painful, pointless business. Fourth, cheating in school is nothing more than a reflection of a way of life in the adult world.

I have pondered remedies. The ones I think of are: First, trust the pupil and show him that you do. Second, reduce the reward for cheating by eliminating or drastically overhauling the grade system. Third, eliminate written examinations as now given.

And as a general procedure I would suggest reducing the amount of "mass" teaching and increasing the amount of personal contact. To argue that this is impossible, since a teacher may have as many as forty pupils, is to argue that change is impossible. A teacher who spends five minutes a week in personal conference with each pupil is likely to do a much better job than one spending five hours a week trying to handle forty pupils in a bunch. In fact, there is no satisfactory substitute for personal relationship between teacher and student, although our educational structure, except on the graduate level, actually prevents that. Both teacher and pupil consider it a bit shameful to be seen in the other's company.

Perhaps this stems from what is undoubtedly an American phenomenon and possibly a by-product of public free education—the worship of books even by people who do not read them. To the majority of Americans, studying and learning are identified with books, with reading; one cannot learn otherwise. A student spending three hours a week in conversation with a learned educator is not studying, not learning, but if he reads a book by that educator he is studying and learning. It is an odd theory, and out of it we have evolved a nation of people who can think only at a typewriter and who use whiskey as a substitute for conversation when they meet socially.

We have other interesting folkways, including the refusal to admit what is known to be true. When some enterprising students at the University of Texas conducted a survey that revealed a large percentage of cheating, the reaction of the administration was typical—a flat denial that the figures were correct. But they were correct. Cheating is general in our schools from the primary grades up to the graduate level. It tapers off there because the graduate student is likely to be a real scholar in search of learning, and his contacts with his professors are personal.

Yet all down the line cheating could be virtually eliminated if we really wanted to eliminate it. And if a psychiatrist could probe deep enough into the recesses of our subconscious, he might find that we hesitate to wipe out cheating for fear it might render our children unfit to meet the challenge of the business world.

PAPER BOOKS: WHAT DO THEY PROMISE?

BY HARVEY SWADOS

II

JUST what contents we can expect from the reprint houses depends on the output of trade publishers and the economics of paper-book distribution. If it were simply a matter of reproducing those titles which have sold best in hard-cover editions, then best-sellers and book club selections would automatically be transformed into paper books. But experience has taught reprint publishers that such works, artificially inflated and jammed down the throats of book buyers, are often dismal failures when exposed on their merits to the mass market, without promotion. What is more, they have discovered that mediocre fiction, harshly criticized by responsible book reviewers, often sells well in paper covers, that given the opportunity hundreds of thousands of supposedly flash buyers will purchase not only this mediocre fiction but books by such writers as William Faulkner and Carson McCullers, and that self-help books and good fiction will often out-sell staple mysteries.

The unexpectedly good taste of the American public, together with the need to keep the pipe lines flowing, has caused reprint publishers to compete for practically every title of interest on trade publishers' lists, to bid on manuscripts even before their purchase by hard-cover publishers, and to arrange for simultaneous reprint and hard-cover publication of special titles, in the manner of the *Reader's Digest* "plants." Victor Weybright of New American Library compares picking a book for reprint in this mass market to buying a yearling at Saratoga. "It may look very handsome," he says, "but how fast will it run?"

The speed with which a paper book will move is the crucial factor in its success or failure, for except in special cases it cannot be warehoused and sold slowly as demand builds up. And it must be borne in mind, as Freeman

Lewis of Pocket Books emphasized to me, that a reprint publisher loses all his profits on a dozen titles when one title goes unsold—for all paper books are sold on a wholly returnable basis. (J. K. Lasser has asserted, in the *Saturday Review of Literature*, that "one large company has twenty million books in its own or wholesalers' warehouses, or in the dealers' racks.")

Since every paper-book title involves a certain risk, the major reprinters are quite self-satisfied about their lists, pointing out that they represent a reasonable cross-section of what is being issued by trade-book houses. But marginal publishers are bitter about their exclusion from many newsstands and about having to bear the onus for bringing out the trashiest books. One small publisher insists that the big six have a mania for plastering the newsstands with their titles and preempting the field, so that the little publisher cannot compete for big-name authors and can raise the level of his list only by looking for sleepers among current books or by grubbing through titles in the public domain. This viewpoint has been most articulately expressed by Matthew Huttner of Almat Publishing Corporation in a recent letter to *Publishers' Weekly*. "The unrealistic program of eight to ten titles per month," wrote Mr. Huttner, ". . . has been chiefly responsible for the mounting proportion of undistinguished reprints. . . . If the long-established reprint publishers are really concerned about reader discouragement, they could concentrate on fewer but better books." He speaks of "the penchant of the giant firms for producing and producing," and insists that "the outcome, of course, is the periodic glut."

This glut is acknowledged by practically every reprint publisher to whom I have spoken, but the "penchant for producing" of which Mr. Huttner complains is the very essence of the

business, and it is doubtful whether reprint publishers will voluntarily acquiesce in the immediate future to any reduction in their output unless pipe lines become hopelessly clogged with returns or trade publishers suddenly place difficulties in the way of reprinting their books.

The latter eventuality is extremely unlikely, not only because trade publishers last year received well over a million dollars from reprint firms, but also because the sales of important hard-cover books have in many cases actually been stimulated by paper reprinting—every reprint publisher can cite at least one such instance. The relations between trade and reprint publishers are becoming increasingly intimate, with results that are sometimes very beneficial to the reading public. An example is the arrangement between Pocket Books and Duell, Sloan and Pearce which resulted in the publication by both of Dr. Spock's now celebrated "Book of Baby and Child Care," a volume that will surely come to be regarded as a classic of straightforward expository prose.

BUT the dangers in the increasing dependence of trade publishers on reprints are at least as great as the benefits that readers derive from this association. They are the same dangers as those inherent in the development of such outfits as Gold Medal Books, specializing in the publication of "original" paper-bound books (actually formula fiction, written to specification): the dead-level standardization and "Hollywoodization" of literature, as James T. Farrell termed it in his penetrating essay "The Fate of Writing in America." For as publishing emerges from its quiet corner and becomes a progressively larger segment of the American business pattern, how much room will there be for the dissident, the innovator? What will become of the liberal tradition which is

the proper pride of American publishing?

Today trade publishers solicit bids from reprint houses on manuscripts as yet unpurchased in order to ascertain possible subsidiary revenues. Will they tomorrow reject serious works which do not appear to have immediate reprint possibilities in astronomical figures? Today the fantastically successful young author of a series of mysteries receives cases of cigarettes from a grateful tobacco manufacturer whose product has been casually mentioned in one of his books. Will the manufacturer tomorrow threaten publishers who print unfavorable references to smoking, as he learned to do with complaisant Hollywood producers?

Today serious young writers, if they are tough enough, can buck, not old-fashioned starvation, but new-fashioned easy and lucrative success. But will the publisher who today concentrates on merchandise for the mass market discover tomorrow, as William Miller has warned, "that the methods by which he raised the money for publishing the best literature available so lowered the intellectual and artistic vigor of writers that their best became undistinguishable from the best-sellers?"

These are the questions which should concern us. Seen from a reasonable perspective, the tons of mysteries and "love romances" that overflow from every newsstand are as nothing compared to the opportunities their publishers have given the American people: surely it is worth a thousand westerns for one, "Life on the Mississippi" to be made available to all of us for twenty-five cents. The taste of the American public will be much less corrupted by the bosom books than it will be improved by exposure to new American novelists, important factual books, and European authors. It would be unfair indeed to write of the paper-book business without acknowledging that its contributions in the field of popular culture have already surpassed those of other mass media, and that its future plans—including thirty-five-, fifty-cent, and dollar editions that should practically eliminate the necessity for abridgments—are more bright with promise than those of radio, television, or the movies. This is true not only of New American Library, whose Mentor series

of important non-fiction reprints can justifiably be regarded as a major event in our recent cultural history, but of all the paper-reprint publishers who have demonstrated that you can make money by distributing huge quantities of good books alongside the safer "popular" concoctions.

These problems cannot be handled by the paper-book publishers alone, for their solution involves a reorganization of the entire distributive mechanism. Ned Pines of Popular Library points out that the distributive outlet has gone virtually unchanged for fifty years, save for the addition of paper-book racks and vending machines. Another large publisher concedes "that 'because of bulk delivery, we've failed to find a satisfactory way of getting a particular book to a particular reader,'" and a small publisher is convinced that his worth-while books—forming by his own estimate about 15 per cent of his list—go unsold "because our distributor, who handles junky pulps, doesn't know what to do with good books." More importantly, there will have to be a consistent effort by trade publishers to maintain their cultural and economic independence from Hollywood, book clubs, and reprinters alike; and most important of all, we must hope for a courageous resistance to easy money and easy popularity by those who will write the books of tomorrow.

[The first part of this article appeared last week.]

Education Pressure Groups

THIS HAPPENED IN PASADENA.

By David Hulburd. The Macmillan Company. \$2.50.

HOW GOOD IS YOUR SCHOOL?

By Wilbur A. Yauch. Harper and Brothers. \$2.75.

THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SCANDAL.

By Earl Conrad. The John Day Company. \$3.50.

HERE are three books about the public schools which, despite very great differences, are agreed on one thing—that the American public is quite lacking in educational judgment. Only one of them, Mr. Hulburd's "This Happened in Pasadena," gives evidence for this view; the other two assume it and set out to provide the American public

with the wherewithal for better educational discrimination. Though Mr. Hulburd refrains from anything of the sort his book throws vastly more light upon what ultimately matters in education than do either of the other two.

"What Happened in Pasadena" is a dramatically written, yet closely documented study of the events that preceded the appointment in 1948 of Willard Goslin, an educator of national reputation, to be superintendent of Pasadena's schools and of those that led to his forced resignation two and a half years later. It is an alarming story of how well-intentioned but ill-informed people can be exploited by self-interested enemies of public enlightenment. It is at the same time a warning of the inadequacy of the electorate's defenses against rabble-rousing demagoguery. That Mr. Goslin was in effect defeated by democratic vote is a sobering reminder that electoral democracy is far from being the guaranty of freedom that many people suppose it to be.

What happened in Pasadena is quite clearly the result of the Pasadena schools having failed to play the part they should have played in developing a democratically enlightened citizenry. The reason for this failure and the changes in the schools which would have been necessary to prevent it Mr. Hulburd does not regard as within his province to discuss.

A clue is all unknowingly provided by Mr. Yauch's "How Good Is Your School?" This book sets out to instruct us on what makes good schooling good, and, in turning to it from Mr. Hulburd's book we naturally look with special interest to see what the author has to say about how a school should set about fostering in young people that power of distinguishing between what is good and honest and what is not which the Pasadena electorate, in their treatment of Mr. Goslin, showed themselves so much to lack. Actually we find Mr. Yauch has nothing to say about this. Instead, we find him upholding the view that goodness and honesty are words that have no more than a regional meaning. In Russia, he tells us, a good citizen is one thing, and in Germany or America quite another. In line with this he tells us that in a democracy the only authority to be respected is "what people agree to do

together," and that the highest form of conduct is that which achieves "self-satisfaction," especially in "pleasing" others. If his view on this all-important matter were to be taken seriously it would follow that the Pasadena majority was right because it was the majority; it would follow also that the best schools were those that trained their pupils to go along with this majority.

Mr. Yauch prides himself on not writing like a college professor; yet his views on education are in line with the established orthodoxy of the teachers' colleges. This is an orthodoxy which not only is dedicated to the "scientific" view of humanity, according to which right and wrong are merely matters of local fashion, but also claims Congressional immunity in its slanderous account of the nature of humanity by insisting that it has expert knowledge beyond the comprehension of ordinary men and women. Mr. Yauch makes this claim explicitly in advising us that we should intrust our children to the educational experts just as we would intrust our bodies to the skill of the surgeon.

Many readers of Mr. Yauch's book would perhaps be frightened out of criticism by the invocation of such a comparison, but not so the author of "The Public School Scandal." Mr. Conrad's book is one long tirade against the "science" of the educational experts. This, he asserts, is a bogus science which, in spite of all its talk of respect for the individual, has no sense of what people are or of how its policies destroy what should be the foundation of young people's characters and prepare them for nervous breakdown.

So much of what Mr. Conrad writes is unrecognized truth—one might well say scandalously unrecognized—that a reviewer hesitates to charge him with overstating his case. His book is admittedly intended as a philippic and must be read as such. Even so one cannot but deplore the niggardliness of his appreciation of the large number of teachers who despite frustrating conditions devote their lives to the service of the nation's youth and in spite of their training in scientific pedagogy know as well as he—and some of them much better—what is wrong.

The main weakness of Mr. Conrad's criticism of the public schools is that

it shows no greater sense than does Mr. Yauch's book of the quite literally demoralizing influence of the relativistic doctrines with which the schools of education have, during the past forty years, permeated the school system. It is these that provide the main part of the explanation of why the schools have failed to serve in the making of a democratically enlightened citizenry.

That this failure should have shown itself as clearly as it did in Pasadena rather than elsewhere is largely accident. All those who read Mr. Hulburd's book will recognize that the pressure groups that united to oust Mr. Goslin are also at work in their own community and will feel that if these groups united and took up the instruments of demagoguery as they did in Pasadena, they would achieve similar results. Only those who hold to the conception of civic virtue outlined in Mr. Yauch's book will remain untroubled at the thought that they too might one day wake up to find themselves in Pasadena.

JOHN PILLEY

Landscape with Figures

THE FACE OF INNOCENCE. By William Sansom. Harcourt, Brace and Company. \$3.

BOOK after book, William Sansom remains the most intelligent and promising of the younger English writers. One puts down "The Face of Innocence," his second novel, feeling, as one felt after "The Body" and after "South," that another time he will surely bring off what he is trying to do.

For "The Face of Innocence" is not a very good novel. Its great virtues, like the virtues of the books which preceded it, lie somewhere outside fiction, with the essay, with the best travel writing, sometimes with poetry. As V. S. Pritchett says, the author sees the physical world in a new way. The excitement and the joy he communicates—I use these words with care—are in the sights and sounds and movements he recaptures.

So far his vision has not penetrated successfully beyond these externals, although his announced subject is the maladies of the spirit. "The Body," his first novel, set out to examine an obsession, the self-torment of a London hairdresser, convinced that his wife was

having an affair with the man next door. "The Face of Innocence" has the same kind of theme. Because her life in London as a waif about the town has been so drab, Eve Camberley must invent for herself a dream of former travels, minor escapades, and lovers. When her devoted Teddy-bear of a husband—"somehow one always thought of Harry in an overcoat"—takes her on an actual trip abroad in company with the old school friend who tells the story, she is awakened, like some Sleeping Beauty of the suburbs, into life. Promptly and frenetically she has an affair with a garage man near Marseilles. Back in England and after the garage man has left her, the dream returns. Adultery has been neither more nor less significant than marriage; both are equally real, equally unreal. Her lying, which is not lying but pathetic invention to atone to herself for the poverty of her experience, continues, an incurable disease. Ironically, when she is last seen with Harry, "they looked a happy pair together in the firelight." These gyrations are given a factitious complexity by the ambiguity of the narrator's attitude toward her, a mixture of desire and the detachment expected of the novelist.

Mr. Sansom is saying that dream and reality are often hard to distinguish, and that they are likely to melt into each other in a disturbing fashion. Harry, the devoted and deceived, has his own dream of Eve, which does not resemble the narrator's awareness of her. Yet that awareness too is subject to reformulations. Eve's garage man becomes as unreal to the reader as her earlier invented, but plausible lovers. Under all is an implicit despair about the meaningfulness of human ties.

"The Body" was engrossing not because of its somewhat clinical account of paranoid behavior but for its milieu—a magnificent, decaying Victorian suburb. In "South" landscape was more important than the human figures which populated it. The effect of these stories is like that created by a Piranesi etching, in which tiny, inconsequential, sometimes vaguely symbolic figures go about their daily business while behind them looms a fabric of monuments, prisons, and ruined palaces of which they are but half aware. In the present book there is a resolute but mechanical

effort to subordinate the landscape to the figures. The minor characters are mild caricatures of some actuality which seems not to interest Mr. Sansom. The major characters are types: Harry, the loving, half-understanding cuckold; Eve, the bundle of obsessions; their difficulties are resolved with a facile irony. The narrator is realized because the truly important facts of weather, scenery, and architecture are filtered through his sensibility. The feeling for place—I know of nothing like it since D. H. Lawrence—is still the most powerful element in Mr. Sansom's fiction.

This dichotomy between the situation and the milieu in which it is acted out infects the prose. Two passages will illustrate the point. In the first Harry has just announced his engagement:

To be honest—I did not altogether care. Yet there was that face I knew so well—and in the next second I did begin to feel that he was happy. But underlying this must have been much of the uneasiness with which the news of a wedding is received. A feeling not so sacred as it should be—a taste of stale champagne muddled with a sensation that serious news has arrived from the Front. Nevertheless—the loins must be girded, the self must stand to attention and effect its grave little message of congratulation.

This is deliberately slap-dash and casual, verging on the clever. It is reminiscent of Auden and Betjeman at their most frivolous. The focus shifts quickly from the particular situation and feeling to a generalization, supported by cloudy imagery, about the way people may be expected to feel on the occasion of such an announcement. A few pages later, in a passage in which the narrator needs only to describe how he feels about the weather, although it is intended to mark and does mark a contrast to an earlier mood, the writing is at its best:

I made my excuses as soon as fairly I could. Out into the bright March day, out from the dead smell of new flats. White clouds blew fast across a high blue sky. The newly gummy buds sparkled in such a fresh wind. A few early blossoms scattered pink on the gray pavements. Puddles caught the blue of the sky. I went home and tried unsuccessfully to work.

It is still touch-and-go—I said this last October of "South" and it is disappointing to repeat—whether fiction

can be written in these terms. Perhaps Mr. Sansom will be saved on another occasion by his belief in the importance of experience: "All experience," he notes, "is unique":

It is only similar to other experience. It is happening to one person, perhaps for the first time, with the virgin wonder that goes with all first experience.

"The Face of Innocence" is full of virgin wonder. But it is the wonder of the physical world rather than of the human beings who inhabit it.

ERNEST JONES

Marxism à la Russe

CRACKS IN THE KREMLIN WALL.

By Edward Crankshaw. The Viking Press. \$3.50.

THIS book will ruffle some carefully preened feathers in every camp of opinion about the major issue of contemporary politics. Yet anyone whose mind is not sealed against new ideas will certainly profit from Crankshaw's pages. Here is a thoughtful study, based on wide reading and first-hand experience, that stands head and shoulders above the trivia and fatuous prophecy so often encountered in contemporary writing on Russia.

The author's central thesis, as I read it, is that Soviet behavior at home and abroad is the result of both Marxism and the characteristics of the Russian people. By itself this familiar statement does not do justice to Crankshaw's position, since it is in the special interpretation of these two variables and their numerous subdivisions that the author's contribution lies.

In the analysis of the Marxist idea and the way it has been developed and reinterpreted under Russian conditions this reviewer can find no significant points with which to quarrel. The premise of dictatorship was made explicit by Lenin, and its implications were put into effect by Stalin. This was in many respects an unintentional process, as Crankshaw correctly points out. I do feel, however, that too much is made of the Marr incident in the argument that Marxism now means what Stalin wants it to mean. Stalin, and Lenin before him, made it clear, on many previous occasions in the last fifty years, that Marxism may mean

whatever the Soviet leaders choose it to mean.

It is the interpretation of Russian national character and of Russian diplomacy in czarist and modern times as having some special quality of "duplicité à l'outrance" that ruffles this reviewer's feathers. Granting that the diplomacy of any state is an adaptation to the international struggle for power and that it reflects both domestic and world conditions, I do not believe that Crankshaw has proved his case for the importance, or even the existence, of the *âme slave*. Crankshaw and others try to put salt on the tail of this elusive phenomenon by the claim that it has three distinguishing characteristics. These are a hankering for anarchy, a yearning for universal truth that rules out personal and political compromise, and a messianic sense of mission. Since none of these perfectionist desires can be realized in practice, Crankshaw argues, the consequence is despotism at home, expansion and duplicity abroad. Ingenious, but to me unconvincing. No one has yet proved the existence of a common core of Russian personality traits, characteristic of all Russians. If such could be found, then there might

BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

from the

U S S R

We now accept subscriptions for the new Soviet magazine, devoted to current events in the U S S R and abroad, printed in English only.

NEWS Annual Subscription

(24 issues)—\$2.00

Latest Soviet Records, Sheet Music, Handicrafts

1951 SUBSCRIPTIONS OPEN FOR ALL

SOVIET NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS

Ask for Complete Catalogue P-51

FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.

W. Street, N. Y. 19 Murray Hill 8-2669

Buy Your Books through THE Nation

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C. O. D. No C. O. D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to

Miss Le Pach

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
20 Vesey Street New York 7, N. Y.

be some basis for relating Russian despotism to the "Russian personality." But I prefer an explanation in terms of history and social structure. The development and expansion of despotism is readily understandable in a country exposed to conquest. In addition, Russia was long cut off from the forces that created the commercial and industrial societies of the West. Many other factors, of course, enter into such an explanation, and the psychological and historical-sociological viewpoints are not mutually exclusive. But the weight one puts on each has a great deal of practical importance. If the weight is on national character, the possibilities for fundamental change induced by political or other developments are slight indeed. If the emphasis falls the other way, it is clear that political and social systems often undergo rapid change, and that "eternal Russia" cannot be a permanent exception.

Crankshaw does not force any of his views to the point of doctrinaire absurdity. The lack of programmatic rigidity is welcome, but carries with it occasional inconsistencies. One of the more striking contradictions occurs in the analysis of Stalin and his regime. At one point the author inclines to the belief that only the "Stalin regime could have held Russia together in the fight against Germany," while elsewhere he speaks of the regime's "disgraceful performance" and innate weakness as shown by wholesale desertion and disaffection in the first stages of the Nazi attack.

I agree heartily with Crankshaw's and Isaac Deutscher's conclusion that

Stalin does not now have, and never has had, any subtle master-plan of world conquest lasting for decades, and that the post-war revival of Leninism has been widely misinterpreted by American amateur strategists. Nevertheless, I think Crankshaw tries unsuccessfully to demonstrate an about-face in Soviet policy toward an all-out cold war in 1947 and that he overlooks significant continuities in Stalin's policy. A major thread in this policy was the Soviet effort to retain as strong a position as possible vis-à-vis the allies of the moment. This attempt led Stalin to behave toward the West in very much the same way he behaved toward Hitler. The cold war was latent during the entire period of the Big Three and came increasingly into the open with the collapse of a common enemy. Then Stalin's major antagonist, both potential and actual, ceased to be Germany, to which Crankshaw attaches too much importance, and became the strongest remaining power, the United States.

Some of Crankshaw's most suggestive pages deal with the strains and stresses within the present totalitarian system. He does not make the mistake of evaluating the pressures on the Russian people in Anglo-Saxon terms of comfort and liberty. At the same time he shows more clearly than most writers how the strains on the Soviet citizen react against the makers of Soviet policy and the ways in which the regime might conceivably disintegrate or undergo large-scale transformation. In general he endeavors to deflate the nightmare menace that threatens to rattle us into our own form of garrison state and to bring the reality out into the daylight, where we may look at it soberly and take its measure in a manly and rational fashion. In the resulting image one may question important lines and perhaps even some of the major proportions, yet have nothing but praise for the endeavor. Our alternative to this endeavor, as the author says, is a "blind, convulsive effort. . . . Perhaps we should be dropping atom bombs on the cities of Russia on one of these fine nights to make a bonfire which will allay our fears of the dark—until the fire burns down and the darkness returns. That is a point of view, but not, I think, a very good point of view." I agree.

BARRINGTON MOORE, JR.

Books in Brief

THE MELODIES LINGER ON. Fifty Years of Popular Song. By Larry Freeman. Century House. Watkins Glen, N. Y. \$5. This is primarily a Tin-Pan-Alley picture-book of song-covers and singers. There is a running text, with many highly original misspellings, but with a lot of information. A fast job of look-up, write-up and paste-up, which has produced a good reminiscent conversation-piece for passing around in company. There is no music.

FOLKSONGS OF FLORIDA. Collected and Edited by Alton C. Morris. Musical Transcriptions by Leonhard Deutsch. University of Florida Press. \$7.50. A large, scholarly, and well-annotated collection, the first from Florida, a region which has of course attracted settlers with their songs from many other states, both hot and cold. The range of this book is correspondingly wide, and along with much cheap, mutilated, or garbled material there are some superior examples, particularly in the large Scotch and English section, the play-party songs, and the fiddler pieces. One grim lyric, Poor Old Woman, is quite extraordinary; maybe "folk" but certainly art—where is its tune? Piano accompaniments are not given.

A. N.

RAYMOND OF THE TIMES. By Francis Brown. Norton. \$5. Henry Jarvis Raymond founded the New York Times in 1851 after serving an apprenticeship in the cutthroat journalism of the period on Greeley's Tribune and Webb's Courier and Enquirer. He died at the age of forty-nine in a faint aura of scandal, having been deposited at his door, late at night, and barely alive, by two unknown men after what was rumored to have been a farewell visit to his mistress. During his short but excessively active life he built the Times into a solid and profitable enterprise with an enduring reputation for thorough coverage and independent policy. A protégé of Seward and of Thurlow Weed, Raymond swam indefatigably in the turbulent sea of Civil War politics, and the most interesting sections of the biography are those dealing with the political intrigues and personalities of

PULITZER PRIZE and CRITICS' AWARD
RICHARD RODGERS & OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN
 present in association with
LELAND HAYWARD & JOSHUA LOGAN

ROGER RICO
MARTHA WRIGHT
 in
South Pacific

Musical by **RICHARD RODGERS**
 Lyrics by **OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd**
 Book by
OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd & JOSHUA LOGAN
 Adapted from **JAMES A. MICHENER'S** Pulitzer
 Prize Winning **"TALES OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC"**
 Directed by **JOSHUA LOGAN**
 Scenery & Lighting by **Jo Mielziner**
 with **MYRON MCCORMICK**

MAJESTIC, 44 St. W. of B'way - Air-Cond.
 Evenings 8:30. Matinees Wed. & Sat.

the fifties and sixties. Solid rather than brilliant, Mr. Brown's book admirably reflects the qualities of the paper that Raymond founded and on which the author is employed.

Records

B. H.
HAGGIN

THE continuing flood of new recordings has delayed until now my report on RCA Victor's Treasury of Immortal Performances, a number of LP records with dubbings of vocal and instrumental recordings by famous artists of the past, under such titles as Caruso, The Golden Age at the Metropolitan, Chaliapin as Boris, Magic Strings, Genius at the Keyboard.

The performances on the Caruso record, dating from 1906 to 1920, document not only the change in his voice but the improvement in acoustic recording, so that the 1920 "La Juive" recording reproduces in extraordinarily lifelike manner the dark magnificence that I heard many times in those last years. As for the lighter color of the early years, none of the performances on this record exhibit it as breathtakingly as the one I have of *Spirito gentil* from "La Favorita," which ought to be included in the next series. One thing these performances make clear: we have heard other beautiful tenor voices, some used by infinitely better musicians (McCormack, Schipa, Bjoerling); but we have not heard a tenor voice anything like Caruso's.

The Golden Age has until now been the name of the period which ended, roughly, with Caruso's death; but the Victor LP record of that title includes performances by singers of the later twenties. I am all for establishing the fact that great singing didn't end with the Golden Age—that Ponselle, Rethberg, and Schipa could have held their own with Farrar and McCormack; but I don't see that this necessitates or justifies misplacing them in time and changing the accepted meaning of the term Golden Age. Misplaced on this record they occupy the space that might have been given to several of the greats of the Golden Age who are missing, including two of the greatest—Destinn and Hempel; and I would say these two

had prior claim to the places given Bori and Journet (when I commented to someone at Victor a few years ago on the failure to include Hempel in the first three issues of the Heritage Series, he replied that the man in charge of that series didn't like Hempel; and the same ignoramus would seem to have his hand in the present series). Sembrich and Eames are also missing, and rightly since their recordings convey little or nothing of their greatness; but this reason should also have caused the omission of Calvé, which would have provided a place for Melba who is missing. However, with McCormack's famous *Il mio tesoro*, with Caruso, Farrar, Tetrizzini, the early Galli-Curci, Chaliapin, Ponselle, Rethberg, and Schipa, the record offers a profusion of delights to the ear.

Golden Duets also offers performances from the Golden Age and the twenties. The later ones give us Gigli and Ruffo in a "Giaconda" duet which provides the only example of Gigli's singing and a poor one; the justly famous Ponselle-Telva *Mira, o Norma*; and Ponselle and Martinelli in the final scene of "Aida," with some of Ponselle's finest singing. The earlier ones include Farrar and Caruso in pieces of the garden duet from "Faust," in which we hear not only the lovely voice Farrar had, but the musical taste she had that Caruso did not have. Caruso, reaching the climactic high note of *Laisse moi*, stops and opens up in power and splendor until his breath gives out, whereupon he breaks off, takes breath, and goes on. Farrar, reaching the same note, expands it for proper emphasis but connects it with the rest of the phrase.

The exquisite voice and art of Farrar once delighted me in a recording with Scotti of *Là ci darem la mano* which I would have preferred now to the Farrar-Scotti duet from "La Bohème" on Golden Age Ensembles. This record also gives us a 1919 recording of a trio from "Samson et Dalila" which reproduces not only the dark magnificence of Caruso's voice but the beauty of Homer's contralto as I recall it in that opera and that period; we can distinguish DeLuca in the 1917 "Lucia" Sextet and "Rigoletto" Quartet with Caruso and Galli-Curci; we hear a couple of phrases from Hempel in the quintet

from "Un Ballo in Maschera" with Caruso (perhaps the next series will give us the quartet, which has one of his most superb performances). And on the other hand we get Ponselle and Pinza in a scene from "La Forza del Destino"; and the "Meistersinger" Quintet with Schumann, Melchior, and Schorr.

The Wagner record offers, for the most part, the two beautiful "Meistersinger" monologues sung by Schorr, and some of the inferior Wagner music impressively sung by Frida Leider, Rethberg (why not instead the Rethberg-Schorr "Meistersinger" duet?), and Lotte Lehmann, whose recorded singing of *Du bist der Lenz* will forever testify to the magic achieved by her unique voice and personal warmth. It also offers a 1915 Gadske recording of the embarrassingly silly *Ho-ya-to-ho* which misrepresents this singer, whose greatness is to be heard in her early recordings of Italian opera—e. g. of a "Trovatore" duet with Amato that I have.

On Composers' Favorite Interpretations are Tamagno's unimpressive 1904 recording of the final scene of "Otello," and for the rest impressive singing of lower-grade music, including Mary Garden's of the aria from "Louise," and Lehmann's of two excerpts from "Der Rosenkavalier" (the first defectively reproduced).

Golden Voices Sing Light Music provides our only hearing of Alma Gluck's lovely voice; Sacred Songs our only hearing of the voice and art of the great Margarete Matzenauer; otherwise they are things to skip.

Additional suggestions for the next series: Battistini, the 1911 Chaliapin, DeLuca, Schipa's "Barber of Seville" recording, Rethberg's *Ave Maria* from "Otello," Elisabeth Schumann's *L'amerò, sarò costante*, her performances of Schubert songs.

The instrumental records next time.

CONTRIBUTORS

JOHN PILLEY is a member of the Department of Education at Wellesley College.

BARRINGTON MOORE, JR., a research associate at the Russian Research Center of Harvard University, is the author of "Soviet Politics: The Dilemma of Power."

the dream resort you've been looking for
and looking for and looking for!

THE NEW Glenmere PRIVATE GOLF COURSE

Chester, N. Y. in the beautiful Ramapos
Phone: Chester 2151 - N. Y. REctor 5-3047



AN ADULT CAMP IN THE ADIRONDACKS

Limited to 100 • Dancing • All Sports
New York Office: 33 W. 42 St. LO 5-3074

The Rare Charm of an Intimate Congenial Group

SUMMER COTTAGE

FOR SALE, WHEELOCK, VERMONT, Cape Cod summer cottage, large pine-paneled living room, completely furnished, all modern conveniences. Mountain top, superb 50-mile view of White Mountains, altitude 1,660 feet, complete seclusion. 185 acres. For details write Howard A. Cressman, Wheelock, Vt., or William H. French, Peddie School, Hightstown, N. J.

FOR SALE OR RENT

LAKEWOOD, N. J. (Vicinity)—Rustic 3-room, all-year Cottage, furnished, all conveniences, transportation, shopping; brook, woods. Yearly rental \$780, sale price \$9500. Box 238, c/o The Nation.

SUMMER RENTAL

QUIET CATSKILL FARM, vicinity Lake Mohonk—Golf, Swimming—Rooms, kitchen, \$16 weekly. Box 239, c/o The Nation.

FARMS & ACREAGE

SIX-ROOM authentic colonial; new bath; 2 fireplaces; new garage; 5 acres; panoramic view. \$4950. Berkshire Farm Agency, East Chatham, New York.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING analysis. Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel. WA 4-1575. Cooperating with doctors, psychologists, schools, firms, industries. Lessons by appointment, evenings. Marital, educational, vocational, psychological problems. Fee, \$5.00.

PUBLISHING SERVICE

AUTHORS! Sales Department available for your short stories, articles, books and plays. Free booklet, write today! Mead Agency, 419 Fourth Avenue, N. Y. 16 (OR 9-1150).

PERSONALS

exit loneliness

Somewhere there is
you would like to know.
Somewhere there is
who would like to know you.
We can help you find a richer,
happier life through discreet,
disguised "social introductions."
Write for booklet, or phone
MAY RICHARDSON
Dept. TN, 111 West 72 Street
New York City EN 2-2033



CAPABLE Spanish Secretary and Translator, Minnesota B. A., 2½ years' experience in veterinary medical line seeking advancement in export field. Woman, 28. Box 237, c/o The Nation.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Senators Kefauver . . .

Dear Sirs: I find myself in agreement with parts of Professor Wilson's article, *The Pressure to Buy and Corrupt*, which appeared in your July 21 issue, and in disagreement with others. I should like very much to see an analytical study, such as he discusses, which would utilize the findings of our committee, the Fulbright committee, the Truman committee, and the Douglas committee, exploring the social, economic, and political factors in crime causation.

We have recommended a Federal Crime Commission to follow through with the study.

However, I should think that there is ample material for fundamental research by one or more of the universities or foundations, and that they should pursue this research independent of Congress. Congress is, after all, a legislative body—and such a study of the nature of American society should go far beyond the scope of a legislative body.

This is one of my chief criticisms of Professor Wilson's article: he does not recognize the limitations of a legislative body in his advocacy of fundamental research.

Another criticism that I have is the light manner in which our findings are dismissed. Some observers of the work of our Senate Crime Committee—and I believe that it is not unfair to place Professor Wilson in this group—show a tendency to say that "many able newspapermen from Lincoln Steffens's day to this" have discovered crime and corruption; so, therefore, what's new?

I believe that this view lacks a discriminating understanding of American history and developments. Steffens, and before him Lord Bryce, found corruption and exposed it. Since their time—and, in large measure, because of them—there have been various developments which show the beneficial results of a periodic airing and cleansing by a democracy from within. For instance, since Lord Bryce found that the American city was the one conspicuous failure of American democracy, there have been improvements in the form of city government—the substitution of the unicameral legislature, the development of the commission method, then the strong-mayor and the manager form.

The experiences of citizens' groups in campaigning for these improvements in the form of government—and the later experiences of citizens' groups, such as the Kansas City Citizens' Association, the Cincinnati Charter Committee, and others in establishing and protecting non-political local government—would tend to contradict Dr. Wilson's tendency to dismiss the importance of exposure, per se, for the body politic.

I think it is usually true that some facts are known concerning any situation that needs legislative correction. However, the fact that certain information is known to some people and the assembly of that information in such a way that a legislative program can be based on it are two quite different things.

This was the situation as far as crime in the United States was concerned: some persons knew various things about crime and had known these things for some time. We developed some information that was not heretofore known and put it all together in a form on which a legislative program could be based. The fact that, while a general knowledge of conditions had existed for many years, no particular legislative program had been evolved to attempt to meet those conditions would indicate the need for such an investigation as ours to assemble the facts for a legislative program. We hope now to be successful with this program.

Washington

ESTES KEFAUVER

. . . and Fulbright Reply to Wilson

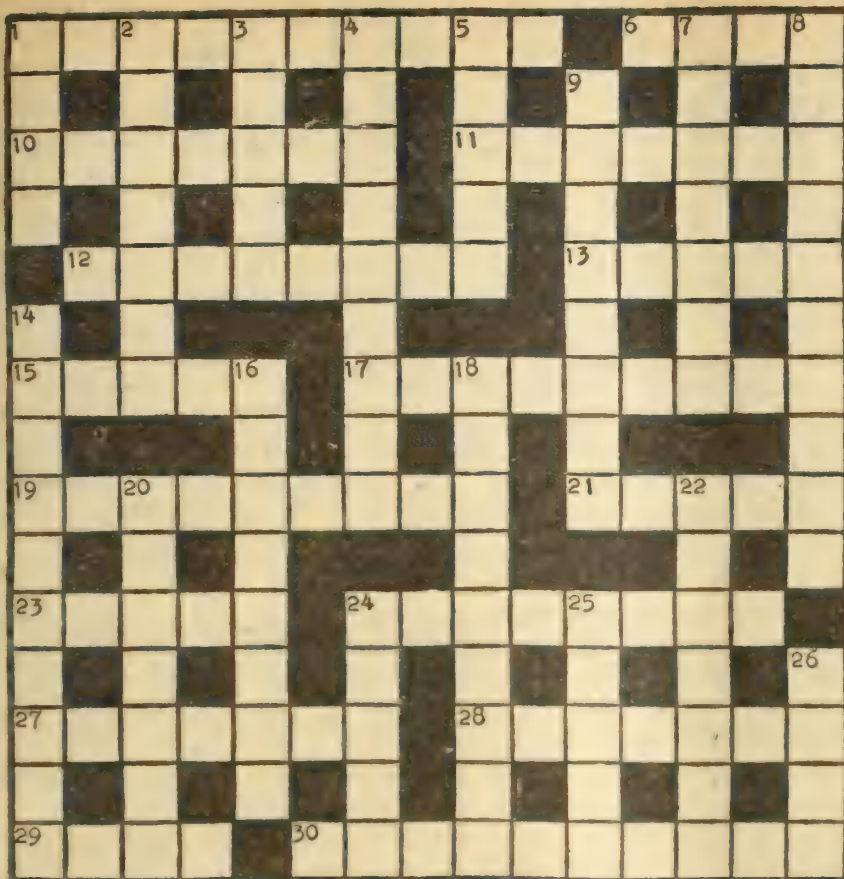
Dear Sirs: Dr. Wilson's article, *The Pressure to Buy and Corrupt*, naturally appeals to me, since it is in accord with my thoughts about the necessity for a study of the moral aspects of our society. As you know, I introduced a resolution providing for the appointment of a commission of eminent private citizens to study these problems. I am very hopeful that Congress will authorize such a commission, as I believe it will be the vehicle for a sustained examination of these problems and may well cause our people to look critically at many of the practices which we have come to accept without sufficient consideration of their ultimate effect.

Washington

J. W. FULBRIGHT

Crossword Puzzle No. 426

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 Singular trousers? A thin mixture, but in character. (10)
- 6, 22 down and 13 across. That's what you get for buying cheap hosiery! (1, 3, 3, 4, 5)
- 10 Tender, perhaps from being on the range so long? (3, 4)
- 11 An essay. (7)
- 12 Just the girl to thrash grain! (8)
- 13 See 6.
- 15 Pertaining to a surface, it's certainly not a false clue. (5)
- 17 We are all, terrestrially speaking. (2, 3, 4)
- 19 Cannot see the tongue. (9)
- 21 Libel finally shows it. (5)
- 23 Lady bachelor whose bite is certain death?
- 24 A strange family in 18-27. (8)
- 27 See 18 down.
- 28 Large lady-bug? (7)
- 29 Bread-list? (4)
- 30 This bird must have voted like everybody else! (4, 6)

DOWN

- 1 The measure of a bad boy's father. (4)
- 2 Presently at this place, yet not any place at all. (7)
- 3 Different from what many have on top. (5)
- 4 Savoyards would recognize it alternatively as the Witches' Curse. (9)

- 5 Get away from the first lady, who's around all these years? (5)
- 7 Country where they have a craving for eggs? (7)
- 8 and 26. Odds imply the race should be won by the favorite, but ----- (3, 2, 1, 4, 4)
- 9 10 doesn't like to see such a charge made on the hoof. (8)
- 14 Krueger, Richard, or just Smetana's Kezul? (10)
- 16 They're pretty close to an ounce! (8)
- 18 and 27. Governed by the head of 16? (3, 6, 7)
- 20 So-called lion-man. (7)
- 22 See 6 across.
- 24 Rate of movement. (5)
- 25 Does the third letter spell danger? (5)
- 26 See 8 down.

.....

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 425

ACROSS:—1 EFFECTS; 5 DURABLE; 12 SHRUBS; 16 ATELIER; 17 SETS; 19 GOAD; 21 SMASHED; 22 UPON; 23 ZENO; 25 ACCENTS; 27 NAUTCH; 29 HOLD UP; 33 RISER; 34 and 5 down ICH DIEN; 35 THEIR; 36 EXTREME; 37 NEEDLES.

DOWN:—1 EPHESUS; 2 FLAIR; 3 CASABA; 4 SPAR; 6 ROBBER; 7 BRUNT; 8 ENDURED; 14 and 24 PLASTER OF PARIS; 15 BENEATH; 18, 9, 10, 15 across, 32 and 20 TWO HEADS ARE BETTER THAN ONE; 22 UNMERVE; 25 ACCRUE; 26 SORTIE; 28 and 13 UPSET STOMACH; 30 DWELL; 31 and 11 HIDE-BOUND.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York

RESORTS

Lakecrest

90 Miles from N. Y. C. on HUNN'S LAKE
STANFORDVILLE, NEW YORK

A former Dutchess County Estate, now a rendezvous for discerning adults. Cool lake breezes, high altitude and comfortable furnishings make it a most pleasurable vacation. Sports for the enthusiast, scenery for the artist and savory meals for all.

CALL OR WRITE FOR RESERVATIONS NOW
Eva Berg, Director Stanfordville 2982-2098

50 MILES TO FOREST HOUSE

Near enough for easy travel, far enough for an unforgettable vacation. Forest House achieves levels of gay relaxation in inspiring surroundings. Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality. Two grand lakes. All sports.

FOREST HOUSE

Lake Mahopac, N. Y. • Tel. MAhopac 8-3449



Year 'round Adult Activities

Hathaway Lodge

Formerly the palatial 592-acre Macy estate. Luxurious rooms, many with open fireplaces. Swimming pool, clay tennis courts, handball, badminton. Horseback riding, hiking—magnificent mountain trails. Recordings, library, informal dancing. Delicious American-Jewish food. Easy transportation. Attractive Rates. For reservations see booklet N:

HATHAWAY LODGE

Haines Falls, N. Y. • Phone Tannersville

MERRIEWOODE

A CAMP FOR ADULTS

HIGHLAND LAKE - STODDARD, N. H.

Where Interesting People Meet for the Perfect Vacation. Enjoy beautiful 10-mile lake. All Land and Water Sports. Interesting hiking objectives thru woodland trails. Arts and Crafts. Square and Folk Dancing Instruction. 4 hours by train from New York.

OLIVE "HATTIE" BARON, Director

Write Dept. N for literature. Tel: Hancock 98-Ring 13

50 MI.
FROM
NEW YORK



MAMANASCO Lake Lodge

RIDGEFIELD, CONN.
Phone 6-7000

A beautiful country estate converted into a delightful retreat for vacations and weekends. All outdoor activities. Mile-long lake. Tennis. Golf nearby. Informal, congenial atmosphere. Television, recordings. Excellent cuisine and accommodations. Moderate rates.

WINDY HILL

ON ORANGE LAKE

A pleasantly informal vacation in friendly atmosphere. Books, Records, Ping-pong, a two-mile lake for boating, fishing, swimming. Food of excellent quality in generous quantity. Rate: \$50 weekly, \$7.50 daily.

65 Miles From N. Y. C.

JANE C. ARENZ, R. D. No. 1, Walden, N. Y.
Phone: Newburgh 115 W 2

BEAUTIFUL CATSKILLS

FRIENDLY ATMOSPHERE

EXCELLENT FOOD

Rates: \$40.00 Per Week, Up

COLD BROOK HOUSE

BOICEVILLE

NEW YORK

THIRD JAZZ ROUNDTABLE with Dr. Marshall Stearns, Dr. Richard Waterman, musicians and dancers—August 25th–September 3rd. Write: MUSIC INN, LENOX, MASS, N. Y. Tel. MU 5-0866.

The NATION

RESORT CLASSIFIED DISPLAY

\$7.42 per inch, one insertion

Generous discounts for multiple insertions
Write or phone today for further information.

ADVERTISING DEPARTMENT

The NATION

20 VESSEY STREET, NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

BArelay 7-1060

For Your Convenience

^{THE}*Nation* with
☐ Harper's Magazine..\$9.50
You Save \$2.50

^{THE}*Nation* with
☐ Consumer Reports.\$10.75
You Save \$1.25

These club combinations are for one year and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses. Remittance must accompany all combination orders.

^{THE}*Nation* by itself:

☐ One Year \$7 ☐ Two Years \$12
☐ Three Years \$17

SERVICEMEN'S RATE \$5 A YEAR

Canadian and Foreign Postage \$1 a year extra

The NATION

20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

- I want to subscribe to *The Nation* for _____ years.
☐ Remittance enclosed. ☐ Bill me.
- I enclose my remittance for the following *Nation* combinations as listed below.

 NAME _____
 STREET _____
 CITY _____ ZONE _____ STATE _____

8/18/61

SPECIAL NOTICE TO NATION READERS:

To Subscribers:

We are asking subscribers who wish to change their address to give us at least three weeks' notice, indicating the old as well as the new address.

If you will renew your subscription on receipt of the first notice of expiration, your cooperation will be much appreciated. It will help us simplify our record-keeping, saving us time and expense, and shield you from further renewal letters. At the same time you will avoid interruption in receiving *The Nation*.

To Newsstand Readers:

Since *The Nation* is distributed on key newsstands only, you may have difficulty in obtaining your copy. Therefore, the only certain way of getting *The Nation* regularly is to enter a subscription. By doing so you will not only be sure of receiving your copy promptly every week but save considerable money.

W. R. Hearst—1898 and 1951

THE *Nation*

August 25, 1951

Quakers in Moscow

'Peacemaking Is a Two-Way Enterprise'

BY GERALD BAILEY

✱

Our "Racket" Society

BY ROBERT S. LYND

✱

Germany Today: II

The Rearmament Debate

BY MARK GAYN

✱

Del Vayo Reports from Paris

YELLOW JOURNALISM—1898

[The following editorial appeared in *The Nation* of May 5, 1898. One of the first significant comments on the emerging "yellow journalism" of the period, it was widely quoted at the time and later became known as "The Nation's famous editorial" on the subject of the youthful William Randolph Hearst (see, for example, "The Martial Spirit" by Walter Millis, 1931, page 198). Published fifty-three years ago, the editorial retains much of its original interest—and pertinence.]

The New Political Force

THE power of making war in a democracy must always, in the last resort, no matter what the constitutional arrangements may be, reside in the mass of the people. From them must come the demand which makes either war or peace inevitable. This, in a free state, there is no getting over. It is the popular will which puts armies in motion or says there has been fighting enough. When war breaks out, therefore, it is really brought about by the influences which have acted most powerfully on the popular mind in its favor. When one sets about a minute examination of these influences, one is apt to be astonished by the number of them that are in some way irrelevant, such as misinformation about the causes of the war, about its cost, about its duration, about the character or doings of the enemy, about his motives in fighting, about the motives of our own public men, about international rights and duties, about the government's state of preparation to fight. This can hardly be otherwise; it is so in every free country, when the war is an offensive one or is conducted at a distance from home. It is rare in any war, except a war of independence, that the public thoroughly understands what it is fighting about. . . .

Our public men have long ceased to try to exercise this sort of influence. However much opposed to a war they may be, they dislike extremely to say so openly. They communicate their doubts or hesitations to their friends privately, but in public they shrink so much

from the charge of want of "patriotism," which is the warrior's chief weapon, that their influence through speeches is almost always on the side of war. . . .

In default of other influences, the power of molding opinion is passing—in fact, has long since passed—into the hands of the press. As a strange fate would have it, too, the subject on which the very worst portion of the press exerts most influence is war. The fomenting of war and the publication of mendacious accounts of war have, in fact, become almost a special function of that portion of the press which is known as "yellow journals." The war increases their circulation immensely. They profit enormously by what inflicts sorrow and loss on the rest of the community. They talk incessantly of war, not in the way of instruction, but simply to excite by false news, and stimulate savage passions by atrocious suggestions. Read this, O fighting parsons! clipped from a recent number of one which claims a circulation of over a million copies:

Occasionally we hear croaks from peace men. "How sad to kill sons and fathers of sad-eyed women," they say, etc. No sadder than to kill cousins and aunts of sad-eyed rattlesnakes. The man who would object to this war would object to the wholesale destruction of poisonous reptiles in India. And as for the American who has any feeling about the war other than a red-hot desire to hear of victories and Spanish ships sunk, all we can say is that he reminds us of the cannibal toad now on exhibition in the Paris Jardin d'Acclimatation.

Now the characteristic of these papers, which, as we have said, so powerfully influence opinions, is that they are, for the first time in American history, an irresponsible force, and the only one in the state. Every other influence in the community, not openly criminal, acknowledges some sort of restraint. The gamblers and policy-dealers live in fear of the police; the venders of obscene literature all have Anthony Comstock before their eyes; the dishonest business men live in dread of the loss of reputation or credit. . . . In short, it would be difficult to name any body of men, pursuing a calling not

openly criminal, who do not live and labor under some sort of discipline, seen or unseen, which constantly reminds them that they, too, have duties which they must perform or suffer in some way.

From every such discipline or restraint, except libel suits, the yellow journalist is absolutely free. His one object is to circulate widely and make money. And he does circulate widely. He treats war as a prize-fight, and begets in hundreds of thousands of the class which enjoys prize-fights an eager desire to hear about it or read about it. These hundreds of thousands write to their Congressmen clamoring for war, as the Romans used to clamor for *panem et circenses*; and since the timid and quiet are generally attending only too closely to their business, the Congressman concludes that if he, too, does not shout for war, he will lose his seat.

This is an absolutely new state of things. In none of our former wars did anything like the modern press play any part. . . . The great newspapers were serious publications. Our cheap press today speaks in tones never before heard out of Paris. It urges upon ignorant people schemes more savage, disregard of either policy, or justice, or experience more complete, than has witnessed since the Revolution. It is true it attracts a multitude mainly or only of the ignorant and the pious do not read it. But it is mainly, and not the ignorant and the pious, who are in motion, war and acquiescence on the word "war" is men successfully that they are deterred with, by either until they have had their fill. They have already seen in which a blackguard has made millions of dollars and more influence on the use of a great nation may make of its credit, of its army and navy, of its name and traditions, than all the statesmen and philosophers and professors in the country. If this does not supply food for reflection about the future of the nation to thoughtful men, it must be because the practice of reflection has ceased. . . .

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 173

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • AUGUST 25, 1951

NUMBER 8

The Shape of Things

WITH THE SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE UNITED Nations and Communist delegates talking behind closed doors, the news from Kaesong has amounted to little more than gossip and guesses purveyed by frustrated newsmen on the premises who, through window and keyhole, have been able to catch an occasional smile or frown or sound of laughter. Secrecy is essential, however, if the talks are to succeed and it is only unfortunate that the press should continue to speculate in tall black type on the possibility of a backdown or a new deadlock. Even under the best circumstances neither side can avoid paying a political price for positions surrendered in negotiation. Already the pro-MacArthur diehards in Washington are announcing that a peace which recognized the Thirty-eighth Parallel as the boundary between North and South Korea would be a Communist victory. And the *New York Times* last Sunday expounded the same line in an editorial proclaiming, "If the Communists can jockey us into a position where we give even the appearance of recognizing the permanent partition of Korea at the Thirty-eighth Parallel they will have won by guile which should have been transparent what they were unable to win by aggressive invasion." Statements like these are untrue and inflammatory. They also flatly contradict the views expressed not long ago by General Ridgway and Secretary Acheson, both of whom approved the Parallel as an acceptable stopping place for a victorious war against Communist aggression. More important, they served to warn the American negotiators at Kaesong that any concessions made in the interest of agreement will be denounced as aid to the enemy. The Communists too are captives of their own stubborn pugnacity; to have to settle, as they surely must, for a less favorable line than the Thirty-eighth Parallel will mean a bad loss of face. Their position will be far more difficult if American opinion insists that a cease-fire line north of the border implies a political division along the same line. If a compromise at Kaesong is possible, its only chance of being worked out in the first place and accepted afterward lies in a merciful absence of publicity while the bargaining goes on. A cease-fire in being—the guns silent, the killing over—would be the best argument against intransigence on both sides.

THE LOW- AND MIDDLE-INCOME GROUPS, hard hit already by a lobby-written "price-control" law, are about to have thrust upon them a disproportionate share of the increased tax burden. The need for increased taxes is obvious; but how should the increase be distributed? Senators who were blind to the perils of inflation a few weeks ago have suddenly decided that "the fight against inflation" requires a lowering of the purchasing power of the lowest income groups. The House, operating under the traditional principle of proportionate increases, has voted to raise \$2,850,000,000 by increasing all payments 12½ per cent. The 12½ per cent increase would be based on *payments*—a figure which already reflects the graduated tax rates. Thus an individual paying a 20 per cent rate would be raised to 22½ per cent, an increase of only 2½ per cent, while an individual paying 33 per cent of his income in taxes would pay approximately 37 per cent—an increase of 4 per cent. In the Senate, however, a movement is under way to substitute a plan which would place a flat 3 per cent increase on all rates. Under this plan everyone's tax rate would increase equally, but the actual payments of lower-income groups would increase by a greater percentage than those of the higher-income groups.

✱

DEFENDERS OF THE PLAN ARGUE THAT A TAX which bears heavily on low- and middle-income groups is a more effective weapon against inflation than one which strikes at individuals who save a portion of their income. But economic arguments cannot be considered in a vacuum. Having recently enacted a so-called price-control law which gives business a great opportunity to raise prices, it would be manifestly unjust for Congress to turn about and punish those who will be hardest hit by the increases. It is absurd to think that a 3 per cent rise in rates will check inflationary pressures once the full impact of the rearmament program is felt. Should the House bill be revised in the Senate and a flat-rate increase be imposed, the net result would still be inflationary, since no effective legislation exists to control prices. If Congress were genuinely concerned with inflation, it would revise a bad control law rather than impose a greater tax burden on groups already severely burdened.

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things	141
"This Terrible Business"	142
William Randolph Hearst	143

ARTICLES

Report from Paris <i>by J. Alvarez del Vayo</i>	144
Quakers in Moscow <i>by Gerald Bailey</i>	146
Our "Racket" Society <i>by Robert S. Lynd</i>	150
The Germans Debate Rearmament <i>by Mark Gayn</i>	152

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

No Trip to the Moon—Yet <i>by Joseph Wood Krutch</i>	155
"The Run to the Sea" <i>by Hayden Carruth</i>	155
Britain's Fall from Grace <i>by Felix Grendon</i>	156
Short Story Annual <i>by Harvey Swados</i>	158
Records <i>by B. H. Haggin</i>	158

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 160

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 427 *by Frank W. Lewis* opposite 160

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Associate Editor: Carey McWilliams

Foreign Editor J. Alvarez del Vayo *Literary Editor* Margaret Marshall

Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin

Assistant Editor: Charles R. Allen, Jr.

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside

Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting

Staff Contributors

Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: Mary Simon

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1951, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas, Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$7; Two years \$12; Three years \$17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: *The Nation* is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

TECHNICAL IMPROVEMENTS INTRODUCED IN Syrian agriculture have created a genuine paradox: the resulting increase in profits and the size of holdings has so widened the gap between rich and poor that the privileged position of a small clique of wealthy landlords face a serious challenge. A recent protest meeting of landlords in Homs indicates how effectively the idea of land reform has captured the imagination of the entire country. The anguished cries about "law and order" and "Islamic tradition" which echoed at this meeting would doubtless have touched off severe repressions in the days when the landlords completely dominated the government, but today the situation is somewhat changed. The land-reform movement is being directed by Akram Hourani, Socialist Party leader and member of Parliament from Hama, and by Maarroof el Dawalibi, speaker of the Syrian Parliament, who has introduced legislation under which the government would take over holdings in excess of fifty acres. If Washington intends to promote land reform in the so-called "backward areas," Syria would be a good place to start. But technical assistance unaccompanied by land reform can prove embarrassing, as the experience there indicates.

"This Terrible Business"

AUGUST 14 was an important and busy day for President Truman. First he virtually announced his candidacy for the Democratic nomination by giving tacit approval to Senator Hubert H. Humphrey's proposal to enter his name in the Minnesota primary on March 18—one of the earliest state primaries. Then, in a speech dedicating the new American Legion national headquarters, he deliberately made McCarthyism an issue in the 1952 campaign by lashing out at "this terrible business" of slander, lies, and character assassination.

Graduates of Kansas City's school of politics are known for their adeptness as catch-as-catch-can tactics, and the most distinguished alumnus is no exception. Foreign policy is not likely to be a major issue in next year's election, particularly if General Eisenhower should be the Republican nominee, and both parties share responsibility for the more glaring errors and omissions of the Congress. What the President needs, of course, is a good lively issue which can be used to distinguish Democrats from Republicans and enable him to appear in his most attractive public role—that of the "scrappy fighter," "the good little man" battling against heavy odds. The issue of McCarthyism meets these requirements. Besides, a reaction to McCarthyism is in the making; it is not much larger than a man's fist today, but it could become quite a cloud by November, 1952.

This is not to imply, of course, that the President intends to challenge McCarthyism in its fundamental aspects. "The President," as Doris Fleeason observed recently in the *New York Post*, "talks a big hate against

McCarthy, but efforts to enlist the Executive in a battle to root out McCarthyism have been unrewarding." The trouble is, of course, that there is more to McCarthyism than Senator Joe McCarthy; like his namesake Charlie, Joe is a puppet. Mr. Truman can be relied on to attack the puppet, but he is much less likely to attack those who pull the strings. The fight against McCarthyism, however, could turn out to be more of a slugging match than the President may now realize.

It should not be overlooked that the President has been driven into the corner from which he intends "to come out fighting," much in the manner of his 1948 campaign. It is no secret, for example, that the Taft-Dixiecrat-McCarran alliance is determined to obtain from the current investigation of the Institute of Pacific Relations one or more sensational indictments. As his Detroit and Washington speeches indicate, Mr. Truman is well aware that he will be viciously attacked in next year's campaign as a harbinger of "reds" and "subversives," the dupe of "intellectuals" and "fellow-travelers." With his usual political shrewdness he has spotted the attack well in advance and has decided to counter-attack.

In the drama of politics the chief actors often steal lines as well as scenes and attempt to make off with a fine part which was intended for someone else. It will be a little hard, at least at first, to accept Mr. Truman in his new role—what with the unrescinded loyalty order, the Smith act indictments, and his failure to call for repeal of the McCarran act, to mention only a few items. But there are times when the lines become so important that one can overlook inappropriate castings and even an inadequate performance. Mr. Truman spoke the right lines to the right audience when he told the American Legion that Americanism is under attack today by some people "who are loudly proclaiming that they are its chief defenders. . . . Character assassination is their stock in trade. Guilt by association is their motto. They have created such a wave of fear and uncertainty that their attacks upon our liberties go almost unchallenged. Many people are growing frightened—and frightened people don't protest. Stop and think where this is leading us."

Our main interest, however, is not in the lines but in the plot. On the day the President spoke, Senator McCarthy announced that 20,000—not 19,999—letters had been "stolen" from his offices in the Senate Office Building. Accepting the challenge, the Senator said, "It ill befits the President of this great nation to try to protect the dupes and stooges of the Kremlin. . . . I would like to ask the President why he so viciously attacks in general terms those who expose Communists? Why does the President fear discussing the evidence against his planners, who have been responsible for the loss of 100,000,000 people a year [not 99,999,999] to communism

since 1945?" In other words: Mr. Truman, are you now or have you ever been . . . ?

Speaking from a platform in front of the new Legion building, the President was interrupted by applause only a few times and only once after he reached the heart of his speech and declared that false charges of communism and corruption have been leveled against the finest and most loyal group of civil servants in the nation's history. Erle Cocke, Jr., the Legion's national commander, told reporters he was "not wildly enthusiastic" about the President's speech and would not lead the Legion in any campaign against Senator McCarthy. But one may safely assume that Mr. Truman, who is a dues-paying member of four Missouri Legion posts, hardly expected the National Commander to lead the attack against McCarthyism and that he is much too experienced a politician to have been surprised, much less discouraged, by the reception his remarks received. The President knows that he has placed the Republicans in the position of having to indorse, repudiate, or remain silent about McCarthyism. Indeed, he could make the same effective use of a civil-liberties plank in the 1952 platform that he made of a civil-rights plank in 1948. To note the opportunity, however, is not to predict that it will be fully exploited.

William Randolph Hearst

WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST, whose sixty years in American journalism and politics came to a close last week, had three major advantages and handicaps: he was subsidized; he was imitative; he was self-centered.

Subsidies from his father's mining and cattle interests in the West enabled Hearst to start his newspaper empire. The wealth left him by his mother many years later enabled him to pay for the results of his errors and extravagances. Without his father's money Hearst might have been a success in the raucous journalism of the turn of the century—he had many of the qualities needed for success in this field—but he could not have started from the top or indulged in so many costly experiments.

Hearst did not originate "yellow journalism"; he merely gave it its name and developed its techniques. Joseph Pulitzer, a man of greater principle than Hearst, had taken over the *World* in New York more than ten years before Hearst arrived from San Francisco. Pulitzer combined an enthusiasm for crusading with a taste for sensationalism and was in many respects Hearst's model. Hearst spent more money than Pulitzer because he had more money to spend. He bought up Pulitzer's men as he bought whatever he thought he needed. For him it was merely a question of paying more than anybody else for anyone or anything he wanted. His associates,

even the loyal ones, have always agreed that the whim of the "Chief" was their law.

Whenever originality was required or money was not sufficient, William Randolph Hearst failed. In politics he tried hard to become mayor of New York City, governor of the state, and President of the United States. The public, which read his comics and his scandals and his murder stories, did not give him its confidence. But he had great power and influence none the less. A large part of "the American newspaper ferocity toward Spain," which was an important factor in our involvement in the Spanish-American War, may be traced, as Walter Millis has pointed out, "to the accidental circumstance that Mr. Hearst and Mr. Pulitzer were at the time locked in their famous struggle for supremacy in the field of sensational journalism in New York." Hearst tried before both world wars to make the United States pro-German. When war made it treason to be otherwise, he became a passive patriot. He stirred up animosity against the Mexicans and the Japanese because they seemed to him to interfere or compete with his interests; and on at least one occasion the Senate inquired into his extraordinary fondness for forged documents. He hated the English, and if he loved the United States it was in some special, private, cryptic sense, for he always showed a cynical contempt of its inhabitants. Though his own private life was far from strait-laced, he did not hesitate to ruin, for purposes of circulation, the private lives of those who could not retaliate.

In many ways William Randolph Hearst was the poor little rich boy of "Citizen Kane." He asked for a newspaper as some children might ask for a peppermint stick. An indulgent father gave him one in San Francisco which he had picked up for a bad debt. And then bought him another in New York. When Hearst wanted a castle in England, eager agents paid any price. It lay for years in a warehouse, each brick marked for reconstruction at San Simeon whenever the Chief might get around to it. His adventure in motion pictures was another colossal failure. Though a purchaser of art, he was never a patron of it. He merely bought whatever seemed appropriately expensive. Although Hearst's impact on American journalism is much too complex a subject to be dealt with briefly, his newspapers and magazines contributed little to the development of literature or to progress.

The Manchester *Guardian* summed up the career of Hearst in these words: "William Randolph Hearst is dead, and it is hard even now to think of him with charity. Perhaps no other man ever did so much to debase the standards of journalism." But charity should be extended to the man if not to the public figure. Mr. Hearst unquestionably possessed personal qualities that won for him the admiration of many who worked for him, including some former employees whose feeling

were not prompted by self-interest and who were by no means blind to his shortcomings. And it should be obvious that Hearst did not fashion the social morality of the generation of tycoons to which his father belonged.

But it is possible to believe that Hearst was not a moral monster without accepting the nearly unanimous adulation that followed his death. Have American values become so distorted that a gargoyle can be mistaken for the image of a saint? That Hearst should be honored as a public figure in public statements by high government officials and leaders from all walks of American life is a most disturbing evidence of the idolatry of sheer wealth and power and magnitude which seems to obsess so many Americans. The unctuous eulogy of Mayor Impellitteri of New York only emphasized the degrading spectacle of the American flag being flown at half-mast on the City Hall out of respect to the memory of a man of whose public accomplishments it would be best to say nothing.

Report from Paris

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Paris, August 14

ON RETURNING to Europe after an absence of ten months, I get a strong impression that things are not going as well in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization as its promoters pretend or as badly as its enemies announce. Under the capable leadership of General Eisenhower the European divisions that a year ago existed only on paper seem to be materializing. When the interim report on the European army was signed at the Quai d'Orsay, the press that is close to the various Foreign Offices hailed the event enthusiastically, although it was generally recognized that the document was not an agreement and that its proposals were only tentative. Aside from what might be called the "classic" difficulty of German participation, many suspicions and prejudices must be overcome before a European army can be integrated in the Atlantic defense force. General Eisenhower sees an army made up of French, Benelux, German, and, he hopes, British troops as an important step toward the desired unification of Europe. London remains cool toward the idea for the same reason that it rejected the Schuman Plan and the aims of Strasbourg.

Meanwhile it looks as if the armies were beginning to march. In England the most extensive maneuvers since

THE FOREIGN EDITOR of *The Nation* will report from Geneva and Paris on the activities of the United Nations and will cover other European developments. His next article will deal with the Conference on East-West Relations at Helsingör, Denmark, which he attended as a delegate of *The Nation Associates*.

the end of the war will be carried on over eight counties from October 12 to 16. In France military activities are going full blast, though every other establishment in Paris from barbershops to laundries has closed its doors and gone on vacation.

The small nations of the Atlantic community are making the sacrifices demanded of them. Holland is devoting a billion and a half florins to rearmament; Denmark the fantastic sum of 650,000,000 kroner, although only a year ago the government had difficulty finding 45,000,000 for the purpose. The finance ministers of the larger states are working hard to square the circle and provide guns without taking away all the butter, while the man in the street, who sees the prices of necessities rising every day, grumbles and protests.

The guns-vs.-butter solution of the European problem, while simple in theory, presents practical difficulties. The best-intentioned attempts of European governments to shoulder the burden of rearmament collides with economic and social realities. It is becoming constantly more difficult to form a coalition government, even a government willing to renounce the luxury of a program in order to make it easier for the various parties to cooperate. In the latest French crisis it took five weeks and eight failures of would-be Premiers to produce the Pleven Cabinet. With the Socialists refusing to participate, the Herriot Radicals joining with bad grace, and the General Confederation of Labor declaring war, this government cannot last very long. In Italy, De Gasperi has won parliamentary support for his new Cabinet, but the competent Rome correspondent of the *Paris Monde*, Jean d'Hospital, writes: "You can build on ruins but not on quicksand. The government is fragile."

Perhaps a government would find its task easier if the people were convinced that while they were offering up sacrifices to rearmament their leaders were exploring all roads to a rapprochement with the East. Europeans are growing more and more skeptical that the Americans, believing "time is working for them, really want a settlement in the immediate future, even if one is possible. American foreign policy seems to be firmly based on the Acheson thesis of creating "situations of strength" and to be under the spell of the optimistic Charles E. Wilson, who has indicated that in eighteen months the United States will have reached such a level of production as to be invincible. The self-confidence of Americans, however, is frequently shaken by a wave of anxiety lest they be too late—when they read, for instance, that the Russians are building faster planes than theirs; and this emotional instability causes Europeans to fear that the United States may suddenly precipitate a war.

The European state of mind has been correctly described by an American who had enjoyed exceptional opportunities to inform himself about public opinion abroad. In a statement published rather inconspicuously

in New York newspapers, Kent Cooper, executive director of the Associated Press, said on his return from Europe on July 30: "They [the people of Europe] are frightened to death of our defense pressure. They are afraid it might turn into an aggressive policy." A little before that, a man whom nobody could call pro-Russian, M. Jacques Chastenet, on returning to Europe from the United States, wrote in the moderate *Journal de Genève*, "America, having made great sacrifices for its own security and that of the world, does not want to feel they have been in vain. Conscious of the justice of its cause, it may eventually send the enemy an ultimatum demanding that he withdraw to his 1939 borders or fight it out."

These worries of Europeans are aggravated by a growing discontent at being treated on some occasions as inferior allies expected to follow a policy laid down by the United States instead of sharing in its formulation. Americans do not realize how irritated people on this side of the Atlantic were by Washington's determination to make a deal with Franco regardless of the objections of the French and British.

THE British, very sensibly, are unwilling to be dragged into action which well serves the purposes of Russian propaganda, but that is not their only reason for not wanting to give up all liberty of action. "Economic diplomacy" laid the basis of Britain's past greatness, and the country is still a firm believer in its efficacy. Whether Labor or the Conservatives are in power, Englishmen by temperament and tradition are against all unnecessary barriers to trade. When Winston Churchill, in September, 1950, criticized the Labor government for carrying on a commercial flirtation with Russia, Mr. Attlee could reply that Mr. Churchill and his friends had not protested when the British-Russian trade agreements were signed in 1947. In spite of the tension produced by the Korean war, Mr. Attlee did not hesitate to add, "Our policy has never been to erect an iron curtain between the countries of Eastern and Western Europe in commercial matters. We have concluded a commercial agreement with the Soviet Union for our mutual advantage. The Russians have fulfilled their obligations; we have fulfilled ours."

Accustomed to doing business with the whole world, the British have been irked by the limitations imposed on their trade with the Eastern bloc by the Marshall Plan and the Atlantic Treaty.* While Britain agreed to the embargo on Communist China and has accepted severe restrictions on trade in goods properly designated as war material, it is safe to predict that both people and

*On August 16 the press reported that Sir Hartley Shawcross, president of the British Board of Trade, had appealed to the United States to recognize Britain's need to trade with Eastern Europe. Britain, he said, did not have the resources of the United States and must trade to live.—EDITORS THE NATION.

government would react favorably to any convincing indication that Russia was disposed to replace the cold war and the marginal wars with an economic peace in which exports and imports would again move normally between East and West.

I have always maintained that it is dangerous for American political strategists to forget that Russia is free to choose one of two courses: it can threaten Great Britain and France and the other West European powers and thus drive them into the arms of the United States, or it can calm their fears by giving tangible proof that peaceful coexistence is possible, that the Kremlin is "not exporting revolution," as Mr. Malik expressed it to the visiting Quakers in Moscow. Some exceptionally well-informed people with whom I have talked here are inclined to think that the Soviet Union has been sufficiently disturbed by the rearming of Germany and the American deal with Franco to decide on the second course. They also believe that its moves in this direction will be speeded up between now and the meeting of the General Assembly in the fall. This view has been confirmed by Moscow's announcement that it would send representatives to the Japanese-peace-treaty conference at San Francisco.

So far the Soviet peace offensive has had very limited

results. But the British Conservative leader, Anthony Eden, who is always sensitive to world opinion, commented on the Shvernik letter very differently from Washington officials. "The Soviets," he said, "may from time to time offer friendly gestures. We should not of course rebuff them but should test them out." The Paris *Monde* asked Mr. Acheson if it was not illogical to refuse to admit Communist China to the discussions in the United Nations when its existence had to be recognized at Kaesong. Russia's peace drive, however, has not yet changed the disposition of the West European governments to follow Washington's directives. Whether they wait months before complying, as in the matter of German rearmament, or weeks, as when the issue was whether the French, the British, or the American rifle should be adopted by the new European army, in the end American ideas and American weapons will be accepted.

All this may have convinced the Russians that if they are going to stop the piling up of Western war preparations before a dangerous point of disequilibrium is reached they must do something that will force the European governments, under the pressure of public opinion, to reconsider the whole situation and regain liberty of action in world affairs.

Quakers in Moscow

London, August 12

THANKS largely to the three-and-a-half-hour interview given us by Deputy Foreign Minister Malik, the recent visit of a group of British Quakers to the Soviet Union has received wide notice through press and radio—perhaps more notice than as Friends we temperamentally enjoy. Elsewhere I have described in some detail our meetings with Russian Christians, notably with the Patriarch Alexius and the Metropolitan Nikolai of the Russian Orthodox Church, and with the leaders of the Baptist Evangelicals, who are the largest non-conformist religious group in the Soviet Union. Here I want to report upon our talks with newspaper editors, say something more about the perhaps historic Malik interview, and attempt, however rashly, some evaluation of the "peace" situation as viewed from the Russian end by a group of Britishers after a too brief stay in the Soviet Union.

GERALD BAILEY is secretary of the East-West Relations Committee of the British Society of Friends. He contributed an article to *The Nation's* special issue on Peace with Russia: *Can It Be Negotiated?*

BY GERALD BAILEY

First, however, let me clear up certain points about the background of our visit. The desire of the London Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends to send a delegation to Russia sprang from the general and long-standing concern of Friends to promote, especially at the focal points of international tension, a true peace between the nations, and more particularly from the special work which British Friends, in close cooperation with American Quakers, have been doing for more than a year to encourage constructive solutions of the East-West problem. We have probed this issue with American and British statesmen and with representative leaders of other countries, including the Soviet Union, in the corridors of the United Nations. Why not go, as we were often urged to, and talk these problems over face to face with the highest authorities we could reach in Moscow itself? Unlike most delegations currently visiting the Soviet Union, we could not possibly be suspected of Communist sympathies, overt or covert.

In a crowded fortnight we achieved, we felt, a good balance between "sight-seeing" and frank conversations with representative persons on the problems of peace. In Moscow, Leningrad, and Kiev we saw the historic

places, secular and religious, and the priceless art treasures of the Russian past, all of which the Soviet government is maintaining and restoring with infinite care and plentiful funds. We saw also the typical achievements of the Soviet present—the collective farms, the large factories with their often quite impressive cultural and welfare facilities, the Gorki Park for Rest and Culture, the ornate stations of the new Metro, a vast rehousing scheme on the edge of Moscow where a dozen or so large apartment houses are going up, a kindergarten at Kiev for two hundred sun-tanned babies, and the immense stadium in Moscow where the *Dinamos* play football.

These varied excursions, if the word is appropriate, made us appreciate the immense stake which for domestic reasons the Soviet Union has in the avoidance of world war. To say this is not to approve its external policies or to minimize the perhaps decisive contributions which the Soviet government has to make to the insuring of peace. It is simply to recognize that the Russians are faced with the modernization of a still largely primitive country covering the biggest single land mass in the world, that they have only touched the fringe of this task as yet, that they have an intense desire to complete it, and that a new war would set the job back for decades if not indefinitely.

THE most important of our formal conversations were with Mr. Malik at the Foreign Ministry, with the Orthodox and Baptist religious leaders, with officials of the Federation of Trade Unions, with the editorial staff, led by the poet Simonov, of the influential *Literary Gazette* of Moscow, and with Professor Morozov, editor of the recently founded English-language fortnightly *News*, and members of his staff. Incidentally, though this was aside from our main mission, we talked with the Indian, Burmese, and British ambassadors and, in the absence of the ambassador, with the *chargé d'affaires* of the government of the People's Republic of China.

In all our conversations with the Russians we were concerned to emphasize the contributions which in our judgment the Soviet government and press could make to the lessening of international tension and the achievement of positive agreements between East and West. We explained that we were constantly urging corresponding action on the governments of the West, particularly in Britain and the United States. We found ourselves speaking with complete frankness of the obstacles to peaceful understanding raised by the uncooperativeness of the Soviet government in international relations and especially in the work of the United Nations, by the West's uncertainty about the precise relationship of Russia's "peace propaganda" to its desire to foment world revolution and extend Soviet power, by Russia's refusal to facilitate normal intercourse between its people and the people of the West, and by the constantly hostile propa-

ganda against the governments of the West disseminated by Soviet radio and press.

In raising these issues we were careful to emphasize three principles which seemed to us basic to the purpose of reaching proper understandings and practical agreements between the peoples and governments of the Soviet Union and the West: first, the crucial importance of inculcating a spirit of peace and of abstaining therefore from words and actions which increase bitterness and suspicion; second, the hardly less vital need to enable more Russians and more Westerners to come into contact with each other and know each other's way of life better; and, third, the importance of seeing true peacemaking as a two-way enterprise requiring concessions and contributions from both sides. We were the better pleased to conduct the discussion on these terms because, as we explained, we were frequent critics of aspects of the foreign policy of our own government.

I will add a word of detail about two of our conversations only—the talk with Professor Morozov and his associates and the talk with Mr. Malik. Mr. Morozov, a genial, English-speaking Shakespearean scholar, presided with commendable informality and restraint over a two-hour round-table conference between the editorial staff of *News* and ourselves, in which we submitted the contents of the first number of the journal to a thorough analysis from the standpoint of its declared aim of promoting Soviet-Western and particularly Soviet-American and Soviet-British understanding. This English-language magazine has been regarded by Western observers in Moscow as a not unimportant straw showing a wind blowing more favorably toward the West. Its articles on Soviet-American and Soviet-British relations were, it was felt, couched in comparatively friendly terms and, what is more, had been reproduced in *Pravda* and *Izvestia* and were thus available for the Russian as well as the foreign reader.

Nevertheless, we saw room for improvement, and before an extremely courteous and attentive audience we pointed out gross misstatements in an article on Liverpool by a Russian doctor who had visited that city. We urged that as far as possible articles about the life and culture of the West should be written by Westerners who were not Communists. And we suggested that if the paper really aimed to be a "searchlight on world events," it should not become merely a vehicle for Soviet propaganda but should seek with some measure of objectivity to appraise international problems from a Russian angle. All this was received with great good-will. We were asked to send further comments from home whenever we felt like it and were promised they would be published.

Our interview with Mr. Malik perhaps put our mission a little out of perspective, since there was much more in our total purpose than this extended conversa-

tion at the Foreign Ministry. We had brought to Moscow a document which urged the Soviet government to "take the initiative in presenting a program of reciprocally based action to extend and consolidate a true peace before all governments and particularly the governments of the great powers," and then formulated seven points which such a program might include. These were: (1) restraint upon hostile propaganda; (2) permission for a measured opening up of intercourse on a non-political basis through visits and correspondence between professional groups and individuals in the Soviet Union and the countries of the West; (3) the giving of pledges, on a reciprocal basis, of non-intervention, in action or in spirit, directly or indirectly, in the internal affairs of non-Communist countries; (4) a new approach to disarmament discussions, with greater flexibility as regards methods of disarming; (5) cooperation in a world plan for mutual economic aid so long as the plan was used to promote and not to prevent desirable social change in "backward" areas; (6) willingness to facilitate the early admission of waiting applicants for membership in the United Nations and to consult on ways and means of increasing the effectiveness of the U. N. as an instrument of peaceful cooperation between peoples; and (7) a renewed declaration of willingness to enter into great-power conversations at the highest level designed to secure agreement on the major principles embodied in the foregoing proposals.

IN THE course of an interview lasting in all three and a half hours Mr. Malik delivered to the seven of us, sitting around a large table in a room of the Ministry decorated solely with a portrait of Lenin, an evidently carefully prepared reply to our seven points, with some improvised comment. During a friendly half-hour's interval for refreshment we sought to press, beyond the formal answers given, our plea for East-West intercourse and our contention that fears in the West sprang not so much from any direct official Russian intervention in the internal affairs of non-Communist countries as from the subversive activities of native Communist parties which were believed to be controlled from the Kremlin. At this point Mr. Malik sent for the text of the statement made by Stalin to Roy Howard in 1936, which said: "The export of revolution is nonsense. Each country, if it wishes, will make its own revolution, but if it doesn't wish, there will be no revolution. For instance, our country wanted to make revolution and did really make it and now we are building up a classless society. But to assert that we are allegedly desirous of making revolution in other countries, interfering in their life, is to assert what does not exist in reality and what we have never professed." When we questioned whether this squared with events in Czechoslovakia in 1948, we were reminded that the Western powers betrayed that country

at the time of the Munich crisis, with the inference that then and there the ultimate Communist revolution in Czechoslovakia became historically inevitable.

I would underline one other point in this interview. In reply to our suggestion that the Soviet Union should offer to cooperate in a mutual economic-aid plan to improve living standards, Mr. Malik recalled the principles enunciated by the Russian delegation to the U. N. in the course of the debate on the proposed twenty-year program for peace through the United Nations—a program which in the Soviet government's view should control relations between economically advanced and economically backward countries. My own view is that, taken at their face value, these principles have much to commend them. Whether that is so or not, we thought it right to urge that the Soviet government should take the lead in proposing a world-wide economic-aid plan based on these principles, in which the resources of the Soviet Union and the United States could be pooled for the benefit of mankind. And finally we urged that though the Soviet government might feel that it had already done all it could to promote peaceful agreements and that its efforts had been frustrated by the West, it should persist in trying to bring the great powers into conference on an agreed basis.

It is true that Mr. Malik's reply to the seven proposals was largely a restatement of policy declarations already made by the Soviet Union at the United Nations and elsewhere. Certainly at several points his reply was evasive, and no one would suggest that it carried us materially farther toward our goal. It could hardly have done so in the circumstances. But it is perhaps significant that in Moscow itself we were able to call on the Soviet government to initiate peaceful actions and that the government thought fit to treat our suggestions with considerable seriousness. Western observers in Moscow, who are hardly over-sanguine people, were much impressed by this treatment of the views of an unofficial group of persons from Great Britain. They were inclined to take it as yet another indication of a changing wind in the Soviet Union, bringing the possibility of more peaceful relations with the West.

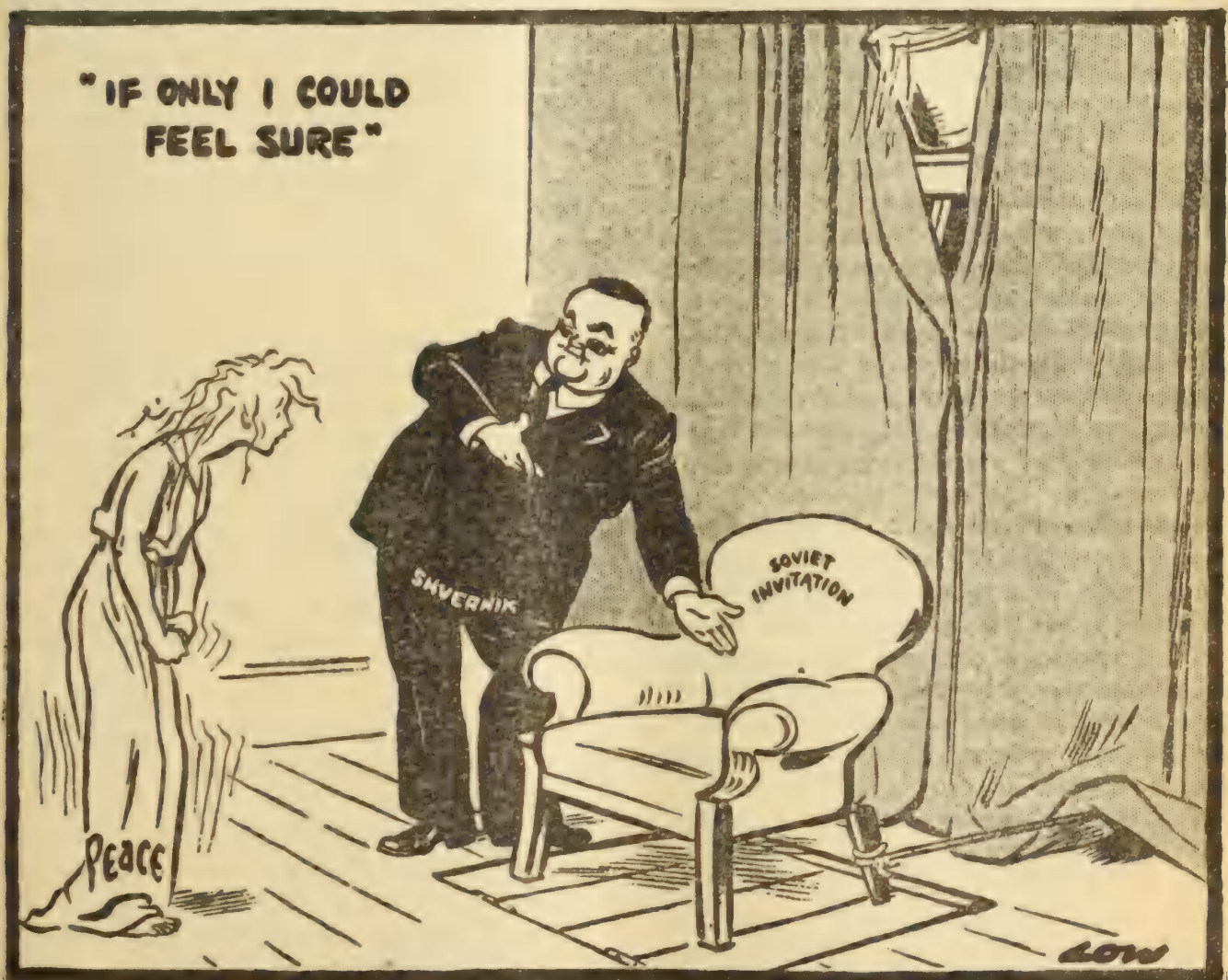
IF I venture one or two observations, it must be understood that they are made with the knowledge that they leave much unsaid that would have to be taken into account in any thorough assessment of the situation. What we saw of Soviet life certainly showed us a people of vigor and resource justifiably proud of their achievements, looking forward with confidence to their future tasks, and obviously anxious to have the peaceful conditions necessary to carry them out. Whatever the purpose of the regime's intensive internal propaganda in favor of peace and great-power agreements, it unquestionably gets a whole-hearted response from the people. They want

peace at least as much as the ordinary citizen of Britain or the United States. That is not to imply, of course, that the twelve men in the Kremlin are ready to abandon or modify aims and policies which, if persisted in, may ultimately make conflict with the West probable if not inevitable. But even they, bearing as they do the responsibility for an unprecedented social experiment, may well prefer to discharge it free from the threat or actuality of war.

I should like to make two final points. We in the West should guard against self-righteousness where our own peaceful intentions are concerned and should above all take care not to fall into the precise errors we attribute to the Russians. How often when we complained of belligerent Soviet press and radio propaganda, or of Russian inhospitality to Westerners, or of the lack of political freedom in the U. S. S. R.—how often were we reminded of wild talk by American Senators and newspapers, of the American and British governments' refusal of visas to Russians or irritating delay in issuing them, and of the penalizing of persons for unpopular political opinions. Of course we could and did explain some of these things and in any case could point out that

they were manifestations of international tension. But such exchanges made this observer feel more forcibly than ever how important it is that we should not, in resisting what we deem to be evil, ourselves fall into that very evil.

Lastly, may I also stress the vital importance of rejecting the temptation to adopt an attitude of complete skepticism with respect to even the more favorable actions and assertions of the Russians? I am not suggesting that those who are convinced of the necessity of rearmament should or could abandon rearmament forthwith because Malik spent three or four hours discussing peace with the Quakers, or because a new Soviet journal takes an unusual and friendly tone toward the West, or because of any other sign or portent that may come along. But I am sure it is the devil's work to attribute a Machiavellian purpose to every good thing that comes out of the Soviet Union. Statesmen and others in the West have an inescapable obligation to welcome and to meet halfway any declaration or action on the part of the Russians which even superficially reflects a new spirit or has in it the possibility of being used in the interest of a genuine peace.



Our "Racket" Society

BY ROBERT S. LYND

IT IS no inconsiderable part of wisdom," said Burke, "to know how much of an evil ought to be tolerated." His words point to a central responsibility of intellectuals: to appraise how seriously troublesome things should be taken, and to determine the precise nature of the options that exist for those seeking a way out of the difficulty.

In our society this process of intellectual appraisal is biased from the outset by the confidence with which Americans regard their institutions as unique, superior, and relatively final. We have no propensity for viewing ourselves and our institutions as in the melting pot of history. Misled by our good fortune in having the "American way" born coincidentally with the rise of modern industry and all our national life based on the settlement and development of an opulent new continent protected by its oceans from warring neighbors, we have ridden the tide of "progress" and come to endow all we are and do with a quality of invulnerability.

Thus we simply do not ask—the weather of opinion in this country would make it seem silly and unpatriotic—such long-range questions as: Can democracy be saved and revitalized? (The London *Economist* in its centennial issue of September 4, 1943, said, "Democracy in the twentieth century needs fire in its belly.") Is capitalism—that historical combination of "free competition" and "private enterprise" which business strategists today have conveniently cleansed and condensed into the "free enterprise" system—is capitalism from here on inevitably an increasingly uncooperative partner of democracy? Is the major movement in industrial society everywhere today away from "liberalism," with alternatives limited to a business-dominated planning fascism and an all-out planning socialism?

At whatever hazard to the asker, these questions must, I believe, be asked. And it is in their terms that a phenomenon like the Kefauver report, so ably discussed by H. H. Wilson in *The Nation* of July 21, must be analyzed. For if questions of the sort I have suggested are indeed in order, they undercut the familiar liberal fly-swatter techniques of investigations—Congressional or private—remedial legislation, and reliance on the moral indignation of "good" citizens.

I believe that our tendency to view our institutions and their problems as separate things to be worked at

piecemeal has blinded us to the need, now become acute, to view American society as an interacting whole and to ask: What kind of society do we want to be *as a whole society*? What real options to attain that end do we have? And what changes are necessary to realize the choice we elect?

Middle-class individualism has tried the novel and precarious experiment of hanging a large society together primarily by \$'s. This formula evoked prodigies of energy in an era when men moved out more or less single-handed over an empty continent. No need was felt to view this thin, spreading web of national life as in any important sense a collective enterprise. As a matter of fact, liberal democracy never envisaged, was not equipped for, the stating of positive collective purposes. Where we were going as a whole society was seen as the sum of our private short-run aims; to take care of longer-run goals "progress" was manifestly "happening," and we had only to throw the reins on the nag's back and let him move ahead. Our national purpose has been rediscovered anew at the end of each year, when the statistics revealed where our millions of striving enterprisers had gone during the past twelve months.

Such a theory of society may work in small communities living a basically self-contained existence. But today we are a society of 150,000,000 people living a highly interdependent urbanized existence with extreme division of labor. We are, in fact, a collective society in our functional interdependence, and national and personal welfare depends upon increasingly coordinated action to predefined collective ends. But our institutions and associated traditions, stemming from the middle-class break-away from centralized controls, have deterred us from attempting to state, let alone to implement, the potentials and conditions of the positive use of democratic power for democratic ends. As a result we still plunge along on the theory of "each for himself and God for all of us, as the elephant said as he danced among the chickens."

Reports like those of the Kefauver committee, the Temporary National Economic Committee, and the La Follette committee, repeated investigations of Congressional lobbying, and other largely helpless investigatory gestures by government agencies have shown how the elephants, both rogue and semi-tamed, have grown and luxuriated in the green pastures of power left vacant by democracy. Today we as a nation, our Congress, and our institutions are afraid of, and thrown into a posture of deference before, these private powers—organized

ROBERT S. LYND is professor of sociology in the Columbia University Graduate School and author of "Middletown" (with Helen Merrell Lynd) and "Middletown in Transition."

business, organized professions, organized labor, organized patriotism, organized religion.

Organized action is essential, increasingly so as a society grows in size and in specialization of function. But democracy has never attended to the problem of how to organize itself. Even our political parties arose as an *ad hoc* afterthought. The casual assumption has been that "if and when people feel the need to organize, they will do so." We take humorous confidence from the fact that we are called "a nation of joiners." But one has only to look at the poverty of organization around the vital consumer interest, in comparison with the organization of big business and of big professions, as in the American Medical Association, to realize that our "reins-on-the-nag's-back" theory of social organization leads to seriously askew results. It takes more than manifest need to create effective organization. The building of popular "fronts"—called, ironically, "backing"—is an increasingly competitive industry in which "to him that hath shall be given"; for the mass-organization "game" today is big, expensive business run by high-priced professionals.

THE upshot of all this is that we live in what Otto Kirchheimer has called a "racket stage of society." And this welter of private power, as it becomes tactically smarter, operates increasingly by indirection and secrecy, for as Tawney has remarked, "the great beasts of the jungle do not hunt by daylight." Big corporations today, for instance, are learning fast and do not intend again to be caught and publicized by a La Follette committee. This shift from the use of naked power is well reflected in *Fortune*, with its editorial policy of persuading big business to save its privacy by muting or changing some of its publicly aggravating tactics. Problem for the Front Office, for example, in the May issue offers this plausible case for the big corporation:

To a small but growing school [of corporate executives] the goal of the corporation has become the corporation itself. Its welfare has now become the great factor in so many lives, the argument goes, that the executive's No. 1 job must be to keep the corporation in a state of equilibrium; to so lubricate it that it gives meaning and satisfaction to those within it. Profits, in this view, serve only as measures of the health of the organization, not as ends in themselves.

But how the profits do roll in! It is reported from an informed source, though I cannot vouch for this, that General Motors could afford to undercut the low-price-car field by selling Chevrolets at \$300 to \$400 below present prices. Everybody, big and little, is caught in the momentum of the racket: the big ones fear to reveal their monopoly power lest they attract anti-trust lightning, while the rest of us who are not on the "inside" sweat out this inflated "American way" with

emulous secret hopes for our ten shares of General Motors.

This cumulating "racket" quality of private power in American life defeats efforts to strengthen the democratic process. Not only are private interests increasingly manipulating public opinion and diverting attention from democratically important issues with such false slogans as "The free-enterprise system is the basis of all our democratic freedoms"; but, ultimately more dangerous, all of us are being psychologically turned against such rationalizing steps as national economic planning by the contagious preoccupation with "getting a break," cutting in on a racket of our own. We tolerate and secretly approve breaches in the strict rule of law or in "democracy" because we so passionately hope to escape our social fate through "getting to know the right people" and thus "getting in on something good."

Few are exempt from this poison, precisely because the pressures on the individual, lost in a vast *saave qui pent* society, are so great and his insecurity so continuous. Robert Michels' "Political Parties" is a sobering book, not because his "iron law of oligarchy" is, as he claims, inevitable, but because it warns us that in a "racket" society of personalized aggression and self-defense it is too much to expect democratic, group-oriented behavior from the bureaucracies of even socialist organizations. A Wagner act squeezes through Congress as a guilty concession to the unorganized victims of a great

POINT OF HONOR

What sort of precept is it for cadets in the United States army to see one general in the army taking bribes and another accepting favors? Or to look at a long-honored member of Congress, whose responsibility was to supervise their army and their Point, betraying his trust?

Yet this is not the worst of it. The worst precepts are not crimes, for these will always occur, but the precepts of dubious honor condoned in the name of loyalty and friendship.

What should young men learn from the cronies of men in high places who receive fur coats and home freezers from political leaders who serve on double pay rolls, from public servants who unashamedly give favors of public moneys for favors received—cronies who do all this and find no disfavor because friendship is a greater virtue than honor?

When such things are, we must still grieve, but we ought not to be surprised that young men should think that friendship to a comrade-in-arms is a greater virtue than a little matter of formal honor on an examination.

(From an editorial in the *Wall Street Journal*, August 8, 1951.)

depression; but it results in more big unions, which join in the going fight on the terms set by the prevailing power system. Labor's problem here, in Britain, and elsewhere is whether it will, and can, rally the nation to a new and more genuine version of democracy "with fire in its belly," or will become the junior partner of big business and complacently take its cut from the common racket.

NOW such a situation of ramified disorder and insecurity is not hopeless. But it cannot be changed by superficial measures. And private power does not intend to allow major surgery. Besides, who, what, exists in the United States that sees, let alone is prepared to carry through, the major operation the situation requires?

One of our critical weaknesses inheres in the fact that the potential "organ for thinking through and ahead" represented by the social sciences and other socially oriented intellectuals, on all levels down to the public-school teacher and the newspaper reporter, has so largely abdicated its role or been intimidated into silence. As a nation we have been propagandized and coerced to see the enemy as abroad, not here at home. And tactics inspired, as they can only be, by our domestic confusion dictate a foreign policy, with resulting orientation of all of us, that cumulatively encourages unreality in our appraisal of "what is wrong."

In our present anxiety and self-preoccupation, help is

not likely to come from within ourselves or from our plunging institutions. The democratic wing—and I do not mean those who identify democracy with the free-enterprise system—is fighting a losing fight. This fight must go on, because it is important to keep the issues identified and to maintain living contact with the possibilities of the future. But the great issue of our time, and man's hope in our time, probably lies overseas, where half the people of the earth are struggling to their feet from feudalism and colonialism. Unfortunately, Americans, despite our brave Point Four words, are against this momentous forward push. We want things our own way, and we cannot see, in the calculated twilight in which we are forced to live, that this is one of the historic periods of institutional change, when forgotten men are taking their fate into their own hands. In such a great moment all that our democratic experience inspires in us as a nation is the demand that the rest of the world fall into the trap in which we are caught.

As we fight our rear-guard fight, doing what we can, long time is on the side of democratic values. But the new tide will probably have to flow back to us from beyond the seas. Asia, Eastern Europe, Africa, if they can escape our net and also avoid an iron-clad bureaucratic set-up, may evolve new patterns of a living, collectively oriented democracy that might persuade us Americans to resume our own march forward toward a way of life we can respect and in which we can again respect ourselves.

The Germans Debate Rearmament

BY MARK GAYN

Düsseldorf, August

IT WILL take years of scrubbing and whitewashing to erase the anti-war slogans from the walls of German towns. You see them on factory fences in the Ruhr, in the Berlin subways, on the ruins facing the western zone of Berlin ("This building was destroyed by American bombers in December, 1944. Never again!"), and even on the macadam of highways. "*Ohne Uns!*" they scream, or "*Ami* [Americans], Go Home!"

East German radio stations saturate the air waves with passionate appeals to "Fight for Peace." In the coal towns of the Ruhr the tough and aggressive Communist Youth Organization, defying a police ban, stages mass-meetings to protest against West German remilitarization. In Hamburg 2,000 individuals pay a mark each for "neutral passports," put out by something called the

"Freedom League" and proclaiming their bearers' intention to remain neutral in any East-West conflict. And on the famous Potsdamer Platz in Berlin I have myself listened to a familiar cowboy song emanating from an oversized loudspeaker mounted on the Communist side of the boundary. The only novel twist about the song was its chorus, "*Ami, Go Home!*"

Such antics have helped to create the impression that the "*Ohne Mich*" movement is a Communist creation. It is not. The Communists have preempted this popular cause, as they have so many others. Their purpose is simply to thwart the creation of a West German army; the East German vote against remilitarization is obviously not meant to apply to Soviet troops or to the "People's Police." One hears of no "Russ, Go Home" signs in East Germany; in fact, the other day a youth was given a severe prison term for daubing on the wall the seditious word "Freedom."

Early last spring one of the eleven top leaders of the German Federation of Labor here showed me a thick

THIS is the second of three articles by Mr. Gayn on Germany Today. The third will deal with the boom in the Ruhr and the struggle between labor and the industrialists.

file of demands for an unequivocal stand against a new army. "I grant," he said, "the Communists are also against rearmament. But all these messages come from workers' mass-meetings and Works Councils most of which are dominated by Socialists. The people simply don't want to see Germany rearmed."

Behind the German attitude lies fear. Battle reports from Korea are eagerly followed. When news was black, the anti-rearmament feeling increased noticeably: if the Allies could not wipe out a second-stringer in Korea they could hardly be a match for the first team in Europe. The greatest fear is that the West could not, would not even try to, halt the Red Army on the Elbe. This fear has been fed by tales of Soviet military power that refugees have brought back from Poland and Prussia, by the inadequacy of the Western forces here, and by the reports of the mining of German bridges. Bankers, workers, and politicians alike believe that any rearmament move, unbacked by an adequate Allied force, would provoke Russia into swift retaliation. One expression of this fear has been the practice among men of substance of secretly insuring themselves against the day of Red conquest by donations to the Communists.

LABOR and Social Democratic circles see another reason for concern. Anxiously watching the rise of neo-Nazism and its efforts to tie up with veterans' groups, many thoughtful leftists think the new army might become a monster, allied with the neo-Nazis and independent of Bonn. Caught between its dread of a Soviet invasion and its equally strong fear of a rebirth of militarism, the German Federation of Labor has been squatting on the fence for many months.

This does not mean confusion in labor minds but only a sober appreciation of the problem and of the difficulty of getting the right answer. After months of soul-searching, the federation—represented by its new president, Christian Fette—finally came out in June with an indorsement of a German army, with certain guaranties. Not long ago I had a talk with one of the men who helped draft this indorsement. He had spent the Nazi years in exile and is thoroughly pro-Western in his sympathies. His views provided a needed counterpoint to Fette's statement. He said in effect:

When you speak of remilitarization to an average German today he thinks of several things. He feels, in the first place, that he has had enough of war. I should have never thought it, but the Germans no longer like to play soldiers. Secondly, a war means civil war for Germany, and we hate the idea. Thirdly, the Germans are fed up with the former military leaders. Bonn could get any number of mercenary soldiers, especially among the refugees from the East, but the West could hardly depend on them to defend democracy.

Now consider Western policy. How can the West

demand remilitarization and at the same time dismantle our factories? How can the West say that it would defend Germany on the Rhine, or in Paris, or in the Pyrenees? New Yorkers would flee if you told them you expected to defend the United States along the Mississippi. And why do you say you'll be ready by 1953? What about 1952? Must you rearm France first so that it will have no fear of a remilitarized Germany?

Are we expected to fight a rear-guard action for the Americans? You should have sent half a million soldiers here and then begun to rebuild the German army. What we want is a genuine European army. We fear our generals, and we would much prefer to see German units under the command of foreign generals. They are no threat to democracy here. Our answer to bolshevism is no. But we have no political philosophy in combating communism today; we only have fear. Some of us think we can stop communism if we get enough arms; others put their faith in neutralism; still others take to drink. But we haven't been able to produce a creative, progressive idea for which our people—especially the workers—would fight. Perhaps the nearest thing we have to a philosophy is that we don't want to be a satellite of either Russia or America.

One can assume that this widespread reluctance to rearm was one reason why Washington dropped so hastily its proposal to create a new German army. A mercenary army could have been recruited. But it would not only have lacked public support but have become an explosive political issue. Dr. Kurt Schumacher's Socialists scored important gains in provincial elections on precisely this question.

THE latest attempt to exploit the anti-rearmament sentiment was made last June in the Communist "national plebiscite," in which everyone above the age of sixteen was asked whether he was against Germany's remilitarization and for a peace treaty this year. The campaign was launched last January, when Otto Grotewohl told the Communist *Volkskammer* that the plebiscite was "the most important ever." The stunt had both Bonn and the Allies in a tizzy, for the question was so loaded that it could not but give the Communists the answer they wanted. Nearly everyone obviously was against remilitarization, as nearly everyone is against hunger. The problem was finally settled by banning the "referendum" in West Germany. The Communists went ahead in the east zone and obtained the scheduled 96 per cent majority.

It can already be doubted that they would have obtained the same overwhelming majority in the western zones. There are numerous signs of a slow but profound change in West German opinion. Christian Fette's statement, mentioned above, is certainly such a sign. Even more definite are the latest opinion soundings taken by High Commissioner John J. McCloy's Office of

Public Affairs. These intelligently worded surveys have enabled the Americans to keep a close tab on public opinion in their zone and must have been responsible for Washington's decision not to press for a German army last fall. In recent weeks the polls have been indicating a different attitude.

It is now announced that for the first time those ready to accept the creation of an army outnumber those opposed. (Sentiment used to run three to one against.) These figures can be broken down in social terms. Remilitarization, for instance, is favored by people with good incomes more than by workers, by right-wing parties more than by Social Democrats, by city dwellers more than by farmers, by men more than by women. Western Berlin is for rearmament four to one any day in the week, even though most of its people vote Socialist. The reason is obvious. Berlin is a daily eyewitness of communism in action, and its decision is emotional.

When the Germans are given a number of choices instead of a categorical "Are you for or against remilitarization?" the findings become still more interesting. Fear of war remains a stable and dominant factor, and there is a vast yearning for neutrality, but an increasing number of West Germans now concede that they cannot remain neutral and that a choice must be made. Roughly three Germans in five would settle for German participation in an Atlantic Pact army—the shift is particularly striking among the better-educated and better-fed people, who in 1949 were saying "a plague on both your houses." But this majority shrinks rapidly when the Germans are asked if they are for a draft, or if they are willing to pay higher occupation costs for a bigger Allied force in Germany.

What it boils down to is this: while last fall the creation of a German army might have caused an uproar, today it would be accepted—with reluctance, but accepted. The way, therefore, is open for the Allies to press the issue. The big questions now are whether the army is to be big enough to protect itself; whether it is to be a German army commanded by German generals; whether it would want to fight; and whether in a crisis German soldiers would be capable of individual sacrifice, as most Russians would certainly be.

THERE are many reasons for the German change of mind. One is the wave of Allied successes in Korea since General MacArthur's dismissal. Another is the steady arrival of American and British troops and their display in parades and maneuvers, one purpose of which is to impress the Germans with the strength of the Allies and their determination to hold on here. A third reason is the growing belief among better-educated West Germans that they have no choice but to side with the West. A fourth is the spectacular rise of neo-Nazism, with its fervent appeal to patriotism.

The sudden reappearance of ex-servicemen's groups

shows how the wind is blowing. At the reunion of the Gross Deutschland Panzer Korps in Kassel in June some 800 ex-officers and men heard a succession of speakers recall their military victories. The keynoter was General von Manteuffel, who said that the German soldier had a useful contribution to make to public life and only "asked to be permitted to help in the building of a Europe united against communism." But, the General added, it was about time for the West to make up its mind. "They cannot treat the German soldier as an ally and an enemy at the same time. We belong to the Western community, but we distrust the maneuvers of Western politicians." The rally, one suspects, was inspired by the rightist Free Democratic Party, in which von Manteuffel is active. One can also see this party's hand behind the forthcoming reunion of the Afrika Korps, the call for which was issued in the name of Marshal Rommel's chief of staff.

The psychological climate is favorable, and the blueprints are ready, prepared by Chancellor Adenauer's military aides. Bonn plans at the moment an army of 250,000, presumably volunteer at the start. In its talks with Paris in July it was adamant against the French proposal for "combat teams" and demanded the normal organization—divisional and corps units fully equipped with tanks, artillery, and tactical aircraft. The equipment will doubtless come from the West, though one already hears talk of making at least the lighter weapons right here in the Ruhr. It begins to look as if the main obstacle to a German army were no longer popular opposition but inter-Allied squabbles, American clumsiness, and Bonn's efforts to win other political and economic concessions by holding out on rearmament.

Once an army is in being, one can assume that people in general will begin to take interest and perhaps pride in it. The labor leader I quoted above may think that the Germans no longer want to play soldiers, but the scores of young men to whom I have talked all over West Germany sounded as if they would not mind. For many restless youth in the grimy Ruhr towns or in the distressed northwest this, in fact, is the most tempting opportunity in sight.

It is idle to consider the moral effect of the revival of the German army while so many millions of Germans still think wistfully of the Hitler days and while repentance and a sense of guilt are notably absent. But some of the dangers inherent in Germany's rearmament should be pointed out. One will be the temptation to keep expanding the new Wehrmacht until it again becomes the dominant military power in Europe this side of the Communist world. Another is the distinct possibility that the worried civilians in Bonn will be unable to control their generals. Finally, there is the frightening likelihood of a new alliance between the generals and the unrepentant Nazis. It is this last thought that gives nightmares to labor leaders here.

BOOKS and the ARTS

No Trip to the Moon—Yet

ROCKETS, MISSILES, AND SPACE TRAVEL. By Willy Ley. The Viking Press. \$5.95.

IN 1862 Jules Verne's hero shot a projectile to the moon, using a gun barrel 900 feet long and a charge of 400,000 pounds of guncotton. It took four days to reach its destination, and the account, at the time, sounded reasonably convincing. Today, says the author of the present book, a rocket to the moon is not far outside the range of physical possibility, but we know that if Jules Verne's experiment had been tried, his projectile, to the vast surprise of everybody, would have risen perhaps a hundred feet and fallen to the ground about the same distance from the muzzle. These facts give a fair indication of the progress made during less than a hundred years in the theory and practice of "space travel."

Mr. Ley, who belonged to the little group of pre-war German rocket enthusiasts, offers in this volume an introduction to the history and elementary theory of rocket design. The history runs from the probable invention of a military weapon by the Chinese sometime before 1232 A.D. down through the recent experiments at White Sands, where in 1949 a double or two-stage rocket rose 250 miles and thus reached into what may fairly be called "space" as distinguished from the atmospheric envelope of the earth. The theory includes the simplest mathematical statement of the fundamental principles.

As offensive weapons rockets were in common use in the early nineteenth century, and it is to them that "the rockets' red glare" refers. But they dropped out of use because they were not so effective as projectiles, and the new developments are possible less because of new materials than because, in the case of the airplane, design is no longer empirical but based upon sound theoretical knowledge. It is perfectly possible to calculate—though far from possible to realize in construction—the characteristics of a rocket which would, say, reach Mars.

An impossible gun which could launch a projectile with a muzzle velocity of seven miles per second would have reached the "escape velocity" at which the missile would be carried beyond the grip of the earth's gravity. But though it is impossible to conceive how such a gun could be constructed, the problem of rockets is different. Here it is principally a question of two things: "mass ratio," which means the ratio of the total weight of the rocket to its weight after the fuel has been consumed; and "exhaust velocity," which is a characteristic of the propellant. If, for instance, you want to know how close a given rocket will come to escaping from the earth's gravity you can consult a formula—which looks worse than it is—and which reads "mass ratio equals e to the $v\text{-over-}c$ power," v being the rocket's velocity, c the exhaust velocity, and e a constant somewhat less well known popularly than π but likely to turn up almost as often in calculations.

In actual rocket design the mass ratios and the exhaust velocities realized have been getting better and better. No rocket actually constructed has ever achieved "escape velocity," but it has been approached closely enough so that Mr. Ley feels safe in saying that it does not look very far away. Nevertheless, and fortunately or unfortunately according to one's point of view, that does not mean that general space travel is probable in the immediate future.

Putting aside all the problems of sustaining life under the conditions to be met inside rockets and outside the earth's atmosphere, there is a vast difference between what would be required to send a missile ("moon messenger" Mr. Ley calls it) to the moon and what would be required of one which would carry a man and make a return journey. Moreover, even that would be child's play compared to an attempt to send a "messenger" to Mars. Since the moon is close enough to the earth to be part of the same system, we could get to it without meeting any significant change in the effect of the sun's gravitational pull, but nothing

could reach any of the planets without expending a vast amount of energy in moving from one orbit to another. If, in other words, the engineers should decide to put their minds to the task, you and I might live to hear that astronomers had been able to detect through telescopes the white splash on the moon's surface made by some chalk sent in a rocket from the earth. But not even our children are likely to visit interplanetary space except via the pages of the comic books—unless, of course, a manageable atomic fuel should make the impossible possible.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

"The Run to the Sea"

PATERSON (BOOK FOUR). By William Carlos Williams. New Directions. \$3.

THE publication of Book Four, entitled "The Run to the Sea," completes Dr. Williams's long poem and is, I believe, an event of primary importance in American literature. "Paterson," in the first place, is a poem intense, complicated, and absorbing, one of the best illustrations of the concision of poetry that I know; a prosaic paraphrase of its ideas and attitudes would occupy many hundreds of pages. And in the second place, "Paterson" is the major work—it has been so announced—of a poet who has already achieved great distinction as an American author, a poet who has demonstrated often his ability to write well. There can be no question that in the years ahead "Paterson" will receive the close attention of the critics, whatever may be the outcome of their deliberations, and here in this first, short notice of the poem, my most useful service will be a limited one—a statement of the superficial responses that occur on a first reading of "Paterson" and a forecast of some of the problems that will attract the critics in their more prolonged scrutiny.

One of the first accomplishments that strike a reader who has read through the four books of "Paterson" is the ease and naturalness on the one hand and the compactness and com-

plteness on the other which Dr. Williams has given to the symbols, or, as he would prefer to call them, the *objects*, of his poem. In this respect, it is instructive, albeit somewhat risky, to compare "Paterson" with other long poems of our time—"The Bridge," say, and "The Waste Land." One sees immediately that whereas those two poems were written by young men, "Paterson" is the work of a poet who has lived with his material for many years; his thoughts, complex though they are, are altogether familiar to him, almost instinctive. With a minimum of juggling, fixing, and contriving—such as shows through here and there in both the other poems—Dr. Williams obtains a maximum of work from his objects. They have many values, many extensions; yet they are precisely related at all levels. In spite of his assertion several times in "Paterson" that a "whole poem" is impossible, he has obviously had the whole poem in mind all along, and he has constructed it around objects which are as complex and powerful and consistent at the beginning as at the end.

The interpretation of these objects—the city, the park, the falls, the elements, the man with a dog, the flower, the crow, and so on and so on—will be one of the critics' jobs; it will be neither an easy job nor a job that one man can hope to accomplish by himself. Yet the main theme is clear. Modern society has been divorced from its healthy and natural sources by the corruptions of church, state, commerce, and education; we can be saved only through language, a new language, a newly *invented* language, which will be free from the traditions of intellectual society and will constitute an act of marriage with nature as it appears in the earth, in men and women, and in ourselves. In other words, the poet can save us if we will listen. Two objections can be raised to this theme: first, that it is "untrue"; second, that it is worn out. To the former I should reply that this theme may be untrue and even perilous, but like any genuine emotional response, it is a valid subject for a work of art and is proved to be so by the existence of the work of art itself. And in response to the second objection, I should admonish us to remember that this theme has been worn out—at least in our time—by poets younger than Dr.

Williams, those who have come after him and have lacked his skill and his vision. Certainly "Paterson," whatever its defects may be, is as fresh and vigorous as any critic could ask.

The great questions raised by "Paterson" are technical ones, and this in itself should have a momentous effect on contemporary criticism, our science of nebulosities—if, that is, the critics will meet the challenge. The question of prosody, for instance: Can a poet, as Dr. Williams contends, invent a new poetic language, free from traditional meters, free even from traditional syntax, based solely on contemporary American speech? Is the American ear truly as anti-European or as anti-classical as all that? We need many essays, good ones, on this subject. Furthermore, the question of structure, especially Dr. Williams's use of prose passages. These occur frequently. They are documentary—letters, newspaper clippings, medical records, and the like—and they are well chosen and interesting. But one does not want to read them twice. Do they derive literary value from their juxtaposition with verse? Is this not perhaps carrying the catalogue-of-ships device too far? Can a poem survive in the public mind which contains so much unquotable—that is, unrememberable—material?

A word should be said about Book Four itself. Unfortunately, it seems to me less satisfactory than the preceding books. It is less well integrated and gives the impression of having been more hurriedly written. It begins with a mock pastoral, satiric and sardonic in intent. The middle section concerns the paradox of science that both heals and destroys, and it contains also a digression on the similar faculties of money and credit. The final part is a long lyric of recollection; Paterson, the man-city, remembers the many murders that have occurred and thinks of the sea of blood toward which his people are flowing. All these phases refer to aspects of the previous books. The poem ends with a last picture of the poet who bathes harmlessly and carelessly in the sea.

Among the lines of an episode about his son, the poet gives us, in Book Four, this parenthetical prose sentence: "(What I miss, said your mother, is the poetry, the pure poem of the first parts.)" This happens to be a true

statement, for the final parts of "Paterson" do not have the lyric intensity of the two first books. But my reason for quoting it here is not to illustrate something about the quality of the poem but rather to give an instance of something that Dr. Williams does over and over again and to point out another, rather unusual problem for the critics. Dr. Williams utterly destroys the convenient fiction that the poet and the man are separable. What are we to say honestly about this sentence except that the poet is giving us a criticism of his own poem, made by his wife? Such intimacies occur often, some of them much more pointed than this, all of them expressed in the most direct manner. Nothing could be more precisely contrary to the common practice of poets who think they are more important than themselves and therefore give themselves, even when they are dealing with obviously personal experience, a larger character and a more public decorum than the individual can claim in reality. Dr. Williams is more unassuming and more difficult. For this practice has several effects: it obstructs our understanding, since most of us are not lucky enough to know the poet; it embarrasses the critics, who do not want to discuss such matters even if they can; and it restricts the applicability of the poem's meaning, which is much broader than the personal.

"Paterson" has been called a "personal epic." I think this is a contradiction in terms, and I should prefer to call it a long, often superlatively good, lyrical meditation. Parts of it will seem to every reader both puzzling and foolish, yet in the end it becomes an expression of mature and convincing emotion, a poem in a versatile language that is often beautiful.

HAYDEN CARRUTH

Britain's Fall from Grace

ENGLAND: PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE. By Douglas Jerrold. W. W. Norton and Company. \$4.

THIS is not a history of England in the usual sense. It is a review of the political landmarks and historical forces that made Britain the world's greatest empire in the nineteenth century, reduced it to a junior Anglo-American partnership in the twentieth, and pre-

sented it with those foreign and domestic problems it is trying to solve today. The author, who edits the *New English Review*, is a post-war "Conservative of the new school." He considers socialism an unworkable program that outrages the very wellsprings of human nature. For similar reasons, he has little use for the welfare state. He believes that if England has come to grief it is not because the private-property system is wrong in itself but because British rulers divorced free enterprise from social justice. He tries to show that England rose to greatness in the thirteenth and eighteenth centuries, when its leaders acted with moral and social responsibility, and that it fell from grace and power when its leaders, having repudiated moral controls, failed to check the material forces by which wealth accumulates and men decay.

The first twelve chapters survey England's political development from pre-Stonehenge days to the present time. Though an avowed enemy of socialism, Mr. Jerrold makes full use of the economic interpretation of history, and in his hands this method yields brilliant and highly unconventional accounts of historic turning-points. Thus, in the case of the Norman conquest, he explodes the Ivanhoe myth which pictures the patriotic Saxon writhing beneath the terrible war machine of William the Conqueror. His substitute version is that the Saxon landowner, who had led a dog's life under the feeble rule of the kings of Wessex, cordially welcomed the Duke of Normandy as the only royal claimant strong enough to protect Saxon property from Welsh freebooters and Danish marauders. Coming to King John, we learn that Magna Charta was not the foundation of Anglo-Saxon liberty the schoolbooks declare it to be. It was a thoroughly reactionary document that enabled the top-dog barons to pass the buck—the cost of government—to the little man of that day, the country knight and the city trader.

A third instance of the triumph of money over morals appears in the history of the Bank of England. "In 1694," says Mr. Jerrold, "our capacity for effective intervention in war had been established by the foundation of the Bank of England. The City [England's Wall Street] realized that by lending money

to the government it could . . . control the policy of the government over an indefinite period." This is straight from the handle. The Bank of England was established, not, as the public was then told, to enable the government to control the money-lenders, but to enable the money-lenders to control the government.

In the concluding chapters Mr. Jerrold drives home his theme. Because England sowed the wind by devoting itself to Mammon instead of to God, it reaped the whirlwind in a couple of global wars which in the end left it with two hateful problems: the cold war with Russia abroad, and the drive for the welfare state at home. The author regards the two problems as different aspects of the one problem of a free community. In defining freedom he avoids rhetorical contrasts between the cruel tyranny of Moscow and the long-suffering gentleness of Washington and London, and comes down to Tory brass tacks with refreshing candor. The free

peoples, he declares, hold that private property and free enterprise are essential to the fulfilment of deep-seated needs of human nature. It is the denial of these needs, and the destruction of the institutions which satisfy them, that makes Russia the arch-enemy of mankind.

To the Socialist objection that there are still more deep-seated needs of human evolution which the competitive system stifles, Mr. Jerrold offers no other reply than to repeat that free enterprise is a fundamental condition of civilized life. It is therefore no surprise to find that he is hardly more attracted to the American welfare state, pivoted on free enterprise, than to the British welfare state headed for socialism. His strong suspicion is that the free-enterprise element in the Truman state will soon be obliterated by the soulless power of the bureaucrats who administer the social services. Mr. Jerrold has no ready-made solution for the prevailing crisis. He feels certain that if a strong

Exposing the weaknesses Russia tries to conceal from us

CRACKS in the KREMLIN WALL by EDWARD CRANKSHAW

author of
*Russia and
the Russians*

"An acute and perceptive book . . . outstanding." —DREW MIDDLETON,
N. Y. Times Book Review

"Brilliant and analytical . . . ~~must~~ to be made to order for this moment." —HARRISON SMITH,
Saturday Review Syndicate

"The best book on Russia I have read for years. . . . He apparently knows precisely their strong points and their weak ones. He furnishes no arguments for relaxation but plenty for keeping one's shirt on."

—DOROTHY THOMPSON,
On The Record

"Fearful Americans who regard Stalin as infallible and invincible should find this hard-headed book a healthy counter-irritant . . . heartening and always absorbing."

—WILLIAM SOSKIN,
Book-of-the-Month Club News

"The most notable and valuable contribution of recent years to the successful defense of the Free World . . . which should be thoughtfully pondered by all Americans if they would avoid the dangers of complacency and the perils of panic."

—PROF. FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN
\$3.50

THE VIKING PRESS • 18 East 48th St. • New York 17, N. Y.

Western Union stands heavily armed from the Rhine to the Danube, Russia will not turn the cold war into a shooting war. As to the domestic problem, he demands a moral and social regeneration that will turn England into a nation of small property-owners and producers grouped into guilds or corporations like those in the golden age of the thirteenth century. It reminds one of Chesterton's distributive state. In such a corporate economy the free enterprise of the individual would be subject only or chiefly to the disciplinary control of his own professional guild. There is surely much that is generous and admirable in this medieval dream, forgetful though it is that the guild system was based on serfdom. But can the world build its future on dreams of its past?

Mr. Jerrold advocates the new conservatism with passionate sincerity. Perhaps he is a little too sure that his verities are the eternal ones. But he fights a clean, hard-hitting fight that never descends to abuse or rancor. Intelligent people of all parties should read his book to learn which way the Conservative winds are blowing.

FELIX GRENDON

Short Story Annual

THE BEST AMERICAN SHORT STORIES OF 1951. Edited by Martha Foley, assisted by Joyce F. Hartman. Houghton Mifflin Company. \$3.75.

IT HAS become something of a game for reviewers of the annual short-story anthologies to spot trends. Either they view the short story as a microcosm and proceed to draw conclusions from it as to the state of the world, or they deduce literary tendencies solely from the types of stories that have been anthologized. Even the latter more

modest activity would seem pretty risky for anyone less familiar with the total American product than Martha Foley, who is herself hesitant to say more than that current short stories seem to be increasingly concerned with basic moral problems in a way that is almost Victorian.

I must confess that I can discern no trends in the newest Best Short Story annual. It does include the kind of thing that one would expect: a mannered Tennessee Williams story in his usual fruit-and-nut-cake style, a horror story by Shirley Jackson, and the customary New Yorker pieces treating of middle-class anxieties (the best by far is Hortense Calisher's *In Greenwich There Are Many Gravelled Walks*). There are also a number of sketches from a child's viewpoint—apparently a perennially interesting problem for short-story writers—and quite a few "regional" stories, of which William Goyen's *Her Breath upon the Windowpane*, actually an excerpt from his novel *"The House of Breath,"* stands out as a subtle and beautifully executed description of a lonely old maid.

The best stories in this collection are those which, like Goyen's, or Bernard Malamud's *The Prison* (a bitter little vignette of depression life in a candy store), or R. V. Cassill's *Larchmoor Is Not the World* (dealing with the seamier side of academic life), yield fresh insights into themes that have hitherto seemed used up because of the hackneyed way in which they have been handled by less talented writers.

Miss Foley's prefatory comments are very much to the point. She has included only one story from the large-circulation magazines because their editors now rely on statistical "reader surveys" rather than on their individual editorial judgment, with a consequent deterioration in the quality of their fiction. The literary quarterlies on the other hand are printing so much writing about writing that they have very little space left for new fiction. The reader—and the writer—interested in serious short fiction must therefore turn to such college periodicals as Cornell's *Epoch* and Carlton College's *Furioso*. Miss Foley deserves our thanks for bringing these pertinent facts to the attention of her large audience.

HARVEY SWADOS

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

OF THE two LP records in RCA Victor's Treasury of Immortal Performances devoted to instrumentalists, *Genius at the Keyboard* offers a bad performance by Rosenthal and several undistinguished ones by de Pachmann and Paderewski, a sober Schweitzer performance of Bach, Prokofiev's excellent performances of four of his "Visions Fugitives," and Rachmaninov's individual and often magnificent playing in one of his *Etudes Tableaux*, his most popular Prelude, and a Schubert Impromptu. And aside from two Bach transcriptions beautifully played by Casals, *Magic Strings* offers inconsequential little pieces played by Casals, Kreisler, Elman, and Segovia.

The proper comment was made by a reader who wrote: "Instead of fooling around with odds and ends they'd do better to couple, say, Casals playing Beethoven's Sonata Opus 69 on one record with Kreisler and Rachmaninov playing Beethoven's Opus 30 No. 3. Then we'd hear them at their best, playing music that's worth buying." But when I spoke of this to a Victor executive—mentioning additional immortal performances like those by Cortot, Thibaud, and Casals of Schubert and Beethoven trios, by Schnabel of Mozart concertos—he answered that the "odds and ends" were what the public had demanded, by the evidence of previous sales and present requests, and that the recordings I had mentioned would be reissued if there were a similar demand, of which there had been as yet no manifestation.

It is true that by the time the Cortot-Thibaud-Casals recordings were withdrawn public interest, as indicated by sales figures, had become saddeningly small. But I contend it is no less true that if they were reissued in a Treasury of Immortal Performances series and thus newly brought to the public's attention as something of outstanding artistic and historical importance, interest and sales would be stimulated. Victor has done exactly that with some of the things on the Treasury records for which I cannot imagine a great public demand—e. g. the Schweitzer perform-

BOOKS OF ALL KINDS FROM THE USSR

Just Arrived! **A. GONCHAROV**

STANDARD BEARERS

In English — 252 pp. — \$1.50
And Its Sequel

GOLDEN PRAGUE

In English — 164 pp. — 60¢
BOTH FOR \$2.00

Latest Soviet Records, Sheet Music, Handicrafts
1951 Subscriptions Open for Soviet Periodicals
Ask for Complete Catalogue P-51

FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.
55 W. 56 Street, N. Y. 19 MUrray HHI 9-2000

ance of Bach, Paderewski's of "Reflets dans l'eau," Mary Garden's and Edward Johnson's of arias from "Louise."

But if the sales of the Cortot-Thibaud-Casals or Kreisler-Rachmaninov recordings did not satisfy Victor's high standards than I contend those recordings are the kind that a record company has an obligation to keep available in some way—e. g. in a special request section of its catalogue. Business firms allow the profits on some items to carry others that are not profitable; there was a time, I believe, when Victor allowed its popular records to carry its Red Seal section; a few years ago it was still paying this principle lip service, claiming that it had to put out all the big-sale recordings by popular Red Seal artists to pay for the small-sale connoisseur recording, but never actually getting around to produce the small-sale connoisseur recording which it was earning the money to pay for; but today it is frank enough to say that every recording must be profitable.

From Decca, which without calling it by that name has been issuing on LP a treasury of the immortal performances in the old Parlophone catalogue—most notably the Goldberg-Kraus recordings of Mozart's violin sonatas (though not yet of Beethoven's) and Haydn's trios—we get the first of two Lotte Lehmann records, with performances (all in German) of arias from "The Magic Flute" (poorly reproduced), "Figaro," "Fidelio," "Tannhäuser," "Lohengrin," "Madame Butterfly," and D'Albert's "Die toten Augen." In them we hear her distinctively luscious voice in its prime, the short-breathed singing which broke Mozart's and Beethoven's phrases even then, the unique suffusion of the singing with a personal warmth that achieves the miracle we used to witness at the Metropolitan—of dull Elisabeth and pallid Elsa being transformed into radiant, warm beings who touch our hearts.

With books I have to wait for summer in the country, when there is time to read them and write about them; but the excessive lateness of this paragraph on the final collection of Tovey's writings, "The Mainstream of Music and Other Essays" (Oxford; \$4), is the fault of the person who was to review it and, after many months, didn't. I feel

impelled to write about it even at this late date because with the increasing awareness of Tovey's faults and limitations there is need of emphasizing the greatness of his achievement where they did not operate. His limitations of sympathy and understanding, it was pointed out to me recently, represented the ideas on the history of music that he absorbed from his teacher Parry; but it was also from Parry, he tells us somewhere, that he learned his procedure of point-to-point analysis of music; and this procedure, applied to works of composers for whom he did have sympathy and understanding, gave us those excitingly illuminating descriptions of the courses of events in Mozart's concertos and Haydn's symphonies, and thus enabled him, in dealing with these works, to fulfil the primary purpose of criticism as it was so well defined by E. M. Forster: "It considers the [individual work of art] in itself, as an entity, and tells us what it can about its life." Moreover, this examination and description of the life of particular works underlay Tovey's general statements about a composer's practice, such as he put into the monumental essays on Schubert and Haydn reprinted in this last collection. In these, it should be noted, there are not the mannerisms and obscurities of the later essays and lectures in the collection, but richly perceptive and beautifully formulated observations, one of which may be applied to his own work. "Neither Shakespeare nor Schubert," he wrote, "will ever be understood by any critic or artist who regards their weaknesses and inequalities as proof that they are artists of less than the highest rank." Nobody has produced anything like Tovey's essays on Schubert and Haydn; and nothing he did elsewhere can make him less than one of the greatest of music critics.

Those who have not yet had their fill of material about Wagner's life will find in "Letters of Richard Wagner" (Macmillan, \$10.50) the letters of the Burrell Collection, which the Burrell family withheld even from scholars, and which now—as a result of their purchase by the present Mrs. Efrem Zimbalist—are published as edited, annotated, and placed in a context of explanatory narrative by John N. Burk.

"Source Readings in Music History" (Norton; \$8.50) gives us the texts of

writings about music from ancient Greece to the nineteenth century. From these writings, selected and annotated by Professor Oliver Strunk of Princeton, we learn what ideas about music as an art were held at various times and how particular developments in the art were regarded by contemporary musicians and theorists. In the section devoted to the nineteenth century this purpose is achieved largely by means of critical essays of Weber, Berlioz, Schumann, and Liszt on particular pieces of music; and Berlioz's discussion of Rossini's "William Tell" turns out to be another of the Berlioz writings which bring tears to one's eyes with their musical perception, literary brilliance, and personal warmth and nobility.

CONTRIBUTORS

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH, drama critic of *The Nation* now on leave, is the author of "The Twelve Seasons" and other books.

HAYDEN CARRUTH, formerly editor of *Poetry*, is associate editor of the University of Chicago Press.

FELIX GRENDON, novelist and critic, is the author of "No Other Caesar."

HARVEY SWADOS has published short stories in the little magazines and contributed to the *Progressive* and the *Menorah Journal*.

SUMMER SPECIAL

For July and August

SELECTED LIST OF L. P.'S

33 1/3% OFF

Send 15¢ for catalog

DISCOUNT RECORD CLUB

DEPT. N-30

Box 535, Grand Central Station, New York 17, N. Y.

PULITZER PRIZE and CRITICS' AWARD
RICHARD RODGERS & OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd
 present in association with
LELAND HAYWARD & JOSHUA LOGAN

ROGER RICO
MARTHA WRIGHT

South Pacific

Music by **RICHARD RODGERS**
 Lyrics by **OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd**
 Book by
OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd & JOSHUA LOGAN
 Adapted from **JAMES A. MICHENER'S** Pulitzer
 Prize Winning "TALES OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC"
 Directed by **JOSHUA LOGAN**
 Scenery & Lighting by **Jo Mielziner**
 with **MYRON MCCORMICK**

MAJESTIC, 44 St. W. of B'way - Air-Cond.
 Evenings 8:30. Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:30

Lakecrest

90 Miles from N. Y. C. on HUNN'S LAKE
STANFORDVILLE, NEW YORK

A former Dutchess County Estate, now a rendezvous for discerning adults. Cool lake breezes, high altitude and comfortable furnishings assure a most pleasurable vacation. Sports for the enthusiast, scenery for the artistic and savory meals for all.

CALL OR WRITE FOR RESERVATIONS NOW
Eva Berg, Director Stanfordville 2982-2096

50 MI.
FROM
NEW YORK



MAMANASCO
Lake Lodge

RIDGEFIELD, CONN.
Phone 6-7000

A beautiful country estate converted into a delightful retreat for vacations and weekends. All outdoor activities. Mile-long lake. Tennis. Golf nearby. Informal, congenial atmosphere. Television, recordings. Excellent cuisine and accommodations. Moderate rates.

THIRD JAZZ ROUNDTABLE with Dr. Marshall Stearns, Dr. Richard Waterman, musicians and dancers—August 25th-September 3rd. Write: MUSIC INN, LENOX, MASS., N. Y. Tel. MU 5-0866.

PUBLISHING SERVICE

AUTHORS! Sales Department available for your short stories, articles, books and plays. Free booklet, write today! Mead Agency, 419 Fourth Avenue, N. Y. 16 (OR 9-1150).

PERSONALS

exit loneliness

Somewhere there is someone you would like to know.
Somewhere there is someone who would like to know you.
We can help you find a richer, happier life through discreet, dignified "social introductions."

Write for booklet, or phone
MAY RICHARDSON
Dept. TN, 111 West 72 Street
New York City EN 2-2033



Buy Your Books through THE Nation



Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C. O. D. No C. O. D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to
Miss Le Pach

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
10 Vesey Street New York 7, N. Y.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

White-Collar Crime

Dear Sirs: Congratulations on the splendid article by H. H. Wilson, *The Pressure to Buy and Corrupt* [July 21]. In the lush verbiage which mushroomed up overnight after each appearance of the Kefauver crime carnival, Dr. Wilson's calm and lucid commentary stands as a refreshing reminder that there are yet among us men who can see beyond their noses—at least in our universities, if not in higher places.

In an article the length of which was, of course, limited, he achieved a miracle of compression and comprehensiveness. His opinion that white-collar crime is the breeding ground for more spectacular kinds of deviant behavior must gain much wider acceptance if our society is to be protected from the inner pressures and contradictions that may destroy it. Otherwise, investigations such as this latest may serve as nothing more than the circuses which entertained another politically sluggish populace quite some time ago.

It is useless periodically to throw someone to the lions when the root causes of the evil are studiously avoided. It may be upsetting to our time-honored credo of "business is business," and all of the other shopworn theories with which we justify unjustifiable commercial activity, but the role of white-collar crime as an infectious frame of reference for the less respectable varieties of criminal experience can no longer be denied. It is here, in the area where we find not only violations of government price and priority controls, of federal and state tax statutes, of food-and-drug legislation, but also attempts to achieve anti-social ends through the corruption of the legislative process itself—it is here that a fruitful and revealing study could be made. A well-informed public would provide the necessary impetus and support to see it carried through. We might all begin by reading Dr. Wilson's book, *"Congress: Corruption and Compromise."*

As a melancholy footnote to Dr. Wilson's observation that "the conflict between socially approved goals and means has been [apparently] less acute in Great Britain than in this country," I may add that when I was in England during the winter of 1948-49 all London was talking of the activity of a peculiarly offensive Mr. Stanley, whose record of questionable deals and cor-

ruption of public servants caused the resignation of one Minister of rank and a full-dress inquiry by the Attorney General. The behavior of the press was much what one might expect from American papers—before Mr. Stanley disappeared from the country, the story of his life was featured prominently in a leading London daily. While public opinion was pretty solidly against the unfortunate member of Parliament whose career was blasted by the incident—unlike those of the receivers of deep-freezers and seaside vacations in this country—it could hardly suppress its mixed admiration and envy of a man who had "gotten his" while the getting was good.

HENRY SHERMAN

Forest Hills, N. Y.

An Indian Student's Request

Dear Sirs: This letter comes to you from a student in India.

An advertisement in the London *New Statesman and Nation* aroused my curiosity about your magazine, and when I heard that students would no longer be able to read *The Nation* in American school libraries, I was all the more eager to see it.

I know your paper must be as good as the *New Statesman*, but your foreign subscription rates amount to as much as a student can earn in many months. Can you allow me some concession? I speak the truth when I say that I will not be able to afford a subscription for many years. Soon after my graduation I will join a liberal newspaper in Delhi as an unpaid apprentice for a year, and then, if I succeed, they may pay me as much as \$20 a year.

Recently an editorial in the *New Statesman* commented upon your anniversary number and said it was worth reading. My heart aches. I can afford at the most about \$4 a year. I assure you I will make up the deficit in annual instalments.

I know your financial position may not be strong enough to afford such a concession. If, however, you will accept \$4 a year, I will send you now the money I have already saved and eventually send you all I owe.

[NAME WITHHELD]

Lundhiana, India

[Our correspondent has been sent the anniversary issue and a complimentary subscription.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Crossword Puzzle No. 427

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 Everything in fun? Eventually! (3, 2, 4, 4)
- 10 Just a short way to attempt to make an appointment. (5)
- 11 Isometric change. (9)
- 12 What one is likely to make on the premises. (9)
- 13 One can't win! (5)
- 14 The finance company might be not quite as favorably impressive. (12)
- 19 and 27. Implying the venerable jester is unexcelled. (6, 2, 4, 4, 2, 3, 4)
- 22 Dump, perhaps. (5)
- 24 The contents of its liquid form are not quite so hot as the contents of its solid form. (6, 3)
- 25 360 degrees about the 14th letter. (9)
- 26 The Lady of the Lake haunted her isle. (5)
- 27 See 19.

DOWN

- 2 Retirement is quite the opposite of a challenge to Macduff. (3-3)
- 3 Surrender after getting put into a grave. (9)
- 4 Amateur Gabriel? (9)
- 5 Where one goes to the magic city? (5)
- 'Twon't make the fabric? On the contrary! (5)

- 7 Sail over the main? Still contrary! (8)

- 8 It's an other form of mark. (5)
- 9 and 18. Service, Mac! I go up to him who gave us our names! (7, 8)
- 15 Damper underfoot. (4, 5)
- 16 Such a person might not be expected to hear some sermons! (5-4)
- 17 Bossed like 23, perhaps. (7)
- 18 See 9.
- 20 A head with nothing on it! (6)
- 21 When some people lunch, and make amends for it? (5)
- 23 Great shield. (5)
- 24 You'd have to get around this to win the Bendix. (5)

.....

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 426

ACROSS:—1 PANTAGRUEL; 2, 22 and 13 A RUN FOR YOUR MONEY; 10 COW HAND; 11 ATTEMPT; 12 BEATRICE; 13 AREAL; 17 ON THE BALL; 19 CANTONESE; 21 ELFIN; 23 MAMBA; 24 TANAGERS; 25 MAMMOTH; 26 ROLL; 30 POLL PARROT.

DOWN:—1 PECK; 2 NOWHERE; 3 APART; 4 RUDDIGORE; 5 EVADE; 7 ROMANIA; 8 and 26 NOT BY A LONG SHOT; 11 STAMPEDE; 14 MATCHMAKER; 16 LEOPARDS; 18 and 27 THE ANIMAL KINGDOM; 20 NOMINAL; 24 TEMPO; GAMMA.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York

Hathaway Lodge

Formerly the palatial 592-acre Macy estate. Luxurious rooms, many with open fireplaces. Swimming pool, clay tennis courts, handball, badminton. Horseback riding, hiking—magnificent mountain trails. Recordings, library, informal dancing. Delicious American-Jewish food. Easy transportation. Attractive Rates. For reservations or booklet N:

HATHAWAY LODGE
Haines Falls, N. Y. • Phone Tannersville 100

50 MILES TO FOREST HOUSE

Near enough for easy travel, far enough for an unforgettable vacation. Forest House achieves new levels of relaxation in inspiring surroundings. Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality. Two grand lakes. All sports.

FOREST HOUSE

Lake Mahopac, N. Y. • Tel. MAhopac 8-3449

OAKWOOD

marvelous food
53 MILES
Informal, charming colonial estate. Pvt. lake. Sports. Golf nearby. T.V. Excell. American Jewish cuisine. Instruct. in folk & social dancing. Accom. 100 adults.
New Windsor, N. Y. NEWBURGH 4477

MERRIEWOODE

A CAMP FOR ADULTS

HIGHLAND LAKE — STODDARD, N. H.

Where Interesting People Meet for the Perfect Vacation. Enjoy beautiful 10-mile lake. All Land and Water Sports. Interesting hiking objectives thru woodland trails. Arts and Crafts, Square and Folk Dancing instruction. 4 hours by train from New York.

OLIVE "HATTIE" BARON, Director
Write Dept. N for literature. Tel: Hancock 98-Ring 13

the dream resort you've been looking for
and looking for and looking for!

THE NEW Glenmere PRIVATE GOLF COURSE

Chester, N. Y. in the beautiful Ramapos
Phone: Chester 2151 — N. Y. REctor 2-5047

Timberland POTTSVILLE, N. Y.

AN ADULT CAMP IN THE ADIRONDACKS
SPECIAL FALL RATES NOW!
Limited to 100 • Dancing • All Sports
New York Office: 83 W. 42 St. LO 5-3674

The Rare Charm of an Intimate Congenial Group

Butcher... Baker... ? Candlestick Maker

Where will they spend their vacations this year?

Why not tell them about your resort in the pages of

THE Nation

RESORT CLASSIFIED DISPLAY

\$7.42 per inch, one insertion

Generous discounts for multiple insertions.

Write or phone today for further information.

ADVERTISING DEPARTMENT

The NATION

20 VESEY STREET, NEW YORK 7, N. Y.
BARclay 7-1066

For Your Convenience

THE *Nation* with

☐ Harper's Magazine..\$9.50

You Save \$2.50

THE *Nation* with

☐ Consumer Reports.\$10.75

You Save \$1.25

These club combinations are for one year and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses. Remittance must accompany all combination orders.

THE *Nation* by itself:

☐ One Year \$7 ☐ Two Years \$12

☐ Three Years \$17

SERVICEMEN'S RATE \$5 A YEAR

Canadian and Foreign Postage \$1 a year extra

The NATION

20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

- ☐ I want to subscribe to *The Nation* for _____ years.
- ☐ Remittance enclosed. ☐ Bill me.
- ☐ I enclose my remittance for the following *Nation* combinations as listed below.

NAME _____

STREET _____

CITY _____ ZONE _____ STATE _____

8/25/61

SPECIAL NOTICE TO NATION READERS:

To Subscribers:

We are asking subscribers who wish to change their address to give us at least three weeks' notice, indicating the old as well as the new address.

If you will renew your subscription on receipt of the first notice of expiration, your cooperation will be much appreciated. It will help us simplify our record-keeping, saving us time and expense, and shield you from further renewal letters. At the same time you will avoid interruption in receiving *The Nation*.

To Newsstand Readers:

Since *The Nation* is distributed on key newsstands only, you may have difficulty in obtaining your copy. Therefore, the only certain way of getting *The Nation* regularly is to enter a subscription. By doing so you will not only be sure of receiving your copy promptly every week but save considerable money.

By Any Other Name—*Willard Shelton*

THE *Nation*



September 1, 1951

How Democratic Is Japan?

BY HUGH H. SMYTHE

✱

Germany Today: III

Boom in the Ruhr

BY MARK GAYN

✱

Accident in Austria - - - - - *R. Wuliger*

Look Homeward, Senator - - *Brownie Lee Jones*

The Guide of the Novels - - - - *Henri Peyre*

They Shall Be Free - - - - *Rayford W. Logan*

"CANADA NOT A COLONY"

[The American press has not given much space to the significant reaction in Canada to the attempt to "smear" E. Herbert Norman, acting chief of Canada's delegation to the United Nations, at a recent hearing of the Subcommittee on Internal Security of the Senate Judiciary Committee, which is "investigating" the Institute of Pacific Relations. The editorials reprinted on this page make it quite clear that the reference to Mr. Norman was not inadvertent. They also give some measure of the indignation which this incident has aroused in Canada.]

The Contemptible Attack On Mr. Norman

THE Canadian government has cleared Mr. E. H. Norman, acting chief of Canada's delegation to the United Nations, of the Communist taint smeared on him by the United States Senate's Internal Security Subcommittee. In so far as Canadians are concerned—and that is all that matters—the incident in which Mr. Norman has become involved may be considered closed. Yet three points of principle arising from the insinuations made against Mr. Norman may properly be discussed.

Mr. Norman's name was mentioned during a hearing of the committee. Mr. Robert Morris, the committee's chief counsel had asked a witness, Dr. Karl August Wittfogel, what he knew of Mr. Norman. The witness had named Mr. Norman as a man who belonged to a "Communist Party student group at Cape Cod in 1939." Dr. Wittfogel has said that "it was obvious" that Mr. Norman was a Communist at the time. Dr. Wittfogel himself is a former Communist. The result of this statement was sensational headlines in the newspapers.

Mr. Norman says he had never been to Cape Cod, and in 1938 and 1939 was in New York on a Rockefeller Foundation scholarship. Between 1942 and 1947 he attended several meetings of the Institute of Pacific Relations, as a representative of the Canadian government. The I. P. R. is presently under investigation by the United States Congress, which is trying to prove that it is a Communist-inspired organization. Friends of the corrupt Chiang Kai-shek

government of Nationalist China, known as the China Lobby, are reported to be behind this investigation. Some I. P. R. studies have been unfavorable to the Chiang Kai-shek regime, as any scholar who has the best interests of the free world at heart must be. This is the background to the flimsy allegations made against Mr. Norman.

The attack on Mr. Norman is also an assault on certain principles for which the United States is supposed to stand, and for which the free world is being asked to fight. First, it attacks the principle that there cannot be guilt by association. A man should be able to attend whatever meetings he pleases, read whatever he wishes, listen to whatever discussions interest him, associate with whomever he desires, without necessarily being considered as subscribing to the views of the persons with whom he associates.

The second great principle under attack here is that of national sovereignty. If a committee of the United States Congress feels that a member of the Canadian civil service endangers United States security, then that should be a problem for the Canadian authorities to handle. By trying to deal with it themselves, the United States Congressmen show as much contempt for Canada's sovereignty as the Soviet Union does for Bulgaria's. Treating Canada as a satellite is not the kind of basis on which a coalition of free countries can be solidly built.

The attack on the third principle involved is the most contemptible of all. In Washington, apparently, denunciation, character assassination, and partisan politics replace the sober, detached methods generally associated with a search for truth. United States Senators would do the cause of world freedom a great service if they confined their star-chamber procedures to their own citizens.

—From the *Ottawa Morning Citizen*, August 11, 1951.

The Smear Comes North

WHATEVER else it may be necessary to do in the case of Mr. E. Herbert Norman, the Federal Government should protest strongly to Wash-

ington against the manner in which this Canadian diplomat was "smeared" with allegations of Communist sympathies. Canadians want no part of the current Washington witch-hunt. They are justifiably resentful when some of the red paint being splashed about for the edification of Congress comes flying across the border. If American authorities have any cause for suspicion of a Canadian public servant, there is a method of conveying the information without risking injustice to the person involved. . . . Canada has diplomatic relations with the U. S. There is no iron curtain. . . .

This is, of course, not the first time that persons in authority in Washington have behaved as if Canada were a poor relation living in the porter's lodge of Uncle Sam's estate. In the period of Britain's world leadership Ottawa used to be touchy about what it regarded as London interference in Canadian affairs. Almost any British suggestion, no matter how proper the channel of communication, was likely to meet resentment. The men of Whitehall and Downing Street were shrinking violets, they were models of consideration and punctilio, by comparison with the men of Washington with whom Canada now has to deal on many matters of common concern. The spectacle of a British Parliamentary committee inquiring into the loyalty of a Canadian civil servant, at the behest of one Dr. Karl Wittfogel, would be unbelievable even in a comic opera. . . . What Canadians complain about is an attitude of total indifference, or perhaps it is oblivion, to the existence of Canada as a separate and distinct nation with its own separate and distinct opinions, interests, and systems of life.

In the case of Mr. Norman a sharp cleavage on the right handle an urgent public Canada is as anxious as the United States to keep Communists out of positions. . . . The American people believe that a public inquiry names freely bandied about tations freely damaged, is method. The fact that Canadians agree is, perhaps, something Washington neither knows about nor cares about. Granting that, it is senseless for Washington, in common courtesy, to do our own probing in our own country. —From the *Toronto Globe and Mail*, August 11, 1951.

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 173

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • SEPTEMBER 1, 1951

NUMBER 9

The Shape of Things

THREE CRUCIAL TESTS OF THE GEORGIA county unit system of electing governors were successfully passed by the Talmadge forces during July. A travesty of the Presidential Electoral College, the system is based upon obsolete population figures which give sparsely settled rural counties an inordinate number of unit votes as compared to more populous urban counties; it has often brought about the election of a governor whose opponent received a majority of the popular vote. Federal-court decisions outlawing the "white" primary are responsible for the recent efforts to void the county unit system. In an unprecedented suit R. E. Martin of Savannah executed a deed conveying a lot to Dr. C. B. Gosnell, head of Emory University's Political Science department, on condition that the county unit system is constitutional; if it is unconstitutional, title of the land would go to State Representative James R. Wood! The suit was dismissed on the ground that the condition was improper, but both sides will appeal. In another suit, brought against Georgia Democratic officials, Edward T. Methvin, editor of the Dodge County *Advertiser*, contends that the county unit system "devalues" his vote. This suit has also been dismissed, but an appeal is being taken. The same Methvin caused quite a stir some time ago when he erected a street banner which read: "First We Had Sherman. Now We Got Herman." Also dismissed was a suit by W. M. Cox, a Cherokee County farmer, who maintained that the county unit system gave Negroes disproportionate political power in the forty-six counties in which Negroes constitute the majority—thus depriving him, "as a white man," of equality under the law.

✱

DESPITE THESE TESTS OF THE COUNTY UNIT system, the Talmadge forces are clinging to the time-honored means of keeping rural Negroes from the polls—economic compulsion and KKK terrorism. Rural Negroes who dare to vote may find themselves deprived of leases, homes, jobs, credit, or even their lives—witness the lynchings of Robert Mallard and Isaiah Nixon following recent elections. With at least one active Klavern in each of the state's 169 counties, they are so thoroughly "kluxed" that the Talmadge forces believe they can have

their county unit system and quasi-white primaries too. Remembering Ole Gene Talmadge's famous boast: "I can carry any county that ain't got street cars," Young Hummon Talmadge has ignored all suggestions that the county unit system be "modified." He even sought a constitutional amendment to extend the system to the general election, but this move was defeated in last year's referendum. He has now proposed to the legislature that no candidate shall be eligible to participate in a general election who has not been nominated in a primary governed by the county unit system. The vote on this proposal will come up in 1952. Regardless of the attacks on the county unit system, Young Hummon carries on in the best tradition of his father. Georgia's elections may not be lily-white, he says, but "they'll be as white as we can get them."

✱

CHARLES E. WILSON, DIRECTOR OF DEFENSE Mobilization, has declared a sixty-day moratorium on the issuance of further certificates of necessity for tax-amortization benefits in order to permit a review of "administrative procedures and of the criteria on which certificates are to be granted and percentages determined." The moratorium is welcome news, but it fails to correct the abuses inherent in this "the biggest bonanza that ever came down the government pike" (see *Bonanza Unlimited*, in *The Nation* of June 30). In the first place, the moratorium was declared too late; most of the damage has already been done. Certificates have been issued on 2,464 projects for defense-plant expansions costing in all \$7,721,975,741. But more important than the tax advantages conferred by certificates of necessity is their effect on the prices of the products which the firms receiving them sell to the government. Under the Renegotiation Act of 1951 all items allowable as deductions and exclusions for tax purposes are allowed as items of cost in renegotiation. The government, of course, is the principal if not the only purchaser of the products manufactured by the new facilities whose construction the accelerated amortization program is supposed to "encourage." The government, therefore, will not only be forgoing tax revenue to get the new facility built but will be bearing practically the full cost of construction through paying legally sanctioned higher prices for the products manufactured. This latter "gouge" will not be in any way checked by the moratorium.

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things	161
The Remington Reversal	164
A Treaty with the Past <i>by Freda Kirchwey</i>	164

ARTICLES

Incident in Austria <i>by R. Wuliger</i>	167
By Any Other Name, McCarthyism <i>by Willard Shelton</i>	166
How Democratic Is Japan? <i>by Hugh H. Smythe</i>	168
Boom in the Ruhr <i>by Mark Gayn</i>	170
Look Homeward, Senator <i>by Brownie Lee Jones</i>	173

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

The Gide of the Novels <i>by Henri Peyre</i>	174
Do We Want a World State? <i>by Crane Brinton</i>	175
They Shall Be Free <i>by Rayford W. Logan</i>	175
"Case History of All of Us" <i>by Ernest Jones</i>	176
The Imagist Doctrine <i>by Jacob Korg</i>	176
Books in Brief	177
Films <i>by Manny Farber</i>	177
Records <i>by B. H. Haggin</i>	178

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 180

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 428 *by Frank W. Lewis* opposite 180

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Associate Editor: Carey McWilliams

Foreign Editor J. Alvarez del Vayo *Literary Editor* Margaret Marshall

Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin

Assistant Editor: Charles R. Allen, Jr.

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside

Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting

Staff Contributors

Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: Mary Simon

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1951, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

Entered as second-class matter, December 18, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas. Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$7; Two years \$12; Three years \$17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: *The Nation* is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

ENCOURAGED BY CONTINUING PROOFS OF American friendship, Generalissimo Franco is preparing to extract from this country three times the amount of money proposed in the report of the Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee after its recent visit to Europe. The report recommended a sum of \$200,000,000 in military aid and a like amount in economic assistance to Spain. While going along with the popular rationale that Spain offers "strategic and material potential" in the event of attack by Russia, the report contained a significant admission: "Yet many people do question whether the acquisition of such an ally is worth the price that would be extracted by way of compromising the moral and spiritual values shared by the free nations of the Atlantic area." The Foreign Relations Committee suppressed this comment along with a paragraph likening Spain to Yugoslavia and then approved an allocation of \$400,000,000. But apparently this is not enough to satisfy the Spanish dictator. Reliable reports from Madrid indicate that the Spanish government has set its minimum needs at \$750,000,000. That was the figure, we recall, mentioned by the Banco Urquijo in its report on the amount required to insure Spain's economic recovery. Owen Brewster, Republican Senator from Maine, admitted that he was responsible for expunging these sections from the subcommittee's report. Not only that, but the gentleman from Down East indicated that in spite of the wishes of the people who live in the North Atlantic community, the United States will insist upon Franco's early admission into N. A. T. O.

★

A STAFF REPORT OF THE EXPENDITURES Committee of the Senate calls attention to the extravagance, friction, and overlapping to be found in current Congressional investigations. From January, 1947, to January, 1951, Congress spent \$6,805,000 on special investigations. In the first five months of this year the Senate alone ran up a bill of \$1,167,720 for special investigations, and this does not include the \$10,000 investigations fund allocated to each standing committee in every Congress. At this session of the Eighty-second Congress six legislative probes have been completed, fifteen are in progress, and twelve additional ones have been proposed. But the current craze for investigations can be indicted on more serious counts than extravagance. Congress has shown an increasing tendency to build up huge transcripts and to engage in hearings which do not directly relate to pending legislation. Members of Congress cannot attend to their many duties and responsibilities and give even a portion of their time to a study of the investigations which have been undertaken in recent months. The more Congress investigates, the less work it seems to get done. The staff report suggests that many special inquiries might well be undertaken by the subcommittee of the Commit-

tee on Expenditures in the Executive Department, which has a staff of well-trained investigators, lawyers, and experts. If a central body were used for special inquiries, it might be possible to establish certain minimum standards and procedures which would eliminate much of the criticism that has been leveled at Congressional investigations.

★

THE FUNCTION OF THE DISPLACED PERSONS

Commission is to screen persons eligible for this special type of immigration, to bring the D. P.'s over, and to establish them in this country. Much of the domestic program is carried out by voluntary accredited agencies. Recently the commission discovered that several of the voluntary agencies had contracts with the Social Service Employees Union, Local 19, the leadership of which has been cited as Communist-dominated. The commission at once issued a fiat that the voluntary agencies must cease to have contractual relationships with Local 19 or suffer loss of accreditation. The agencies have complied, the workers have no contracts, and the union is now pressing an injunction suit against the commission. The commission may or may not have a case, but it was guilty of a brand of authoritarianism when it proceeded as though the fact at issue had been proved. Once again it is the story of the Atomic Energy Commission, General Electric, and the United Electrical Workers, without even the saving element of close proximity to defense operations. The rule applied in these situations now seems to be: any government agency can demand that cooperating private organizations denounce their labor contracts by simply asserting that its work involves national security and that the union in question is run by Communists. Since most activities nowadays touch on national security in some form, workers by the thousand may awake to find themselves ingeniously divested of the hard-won rights and gains of collective bargaining.

★

THE COMMODITY EXCHANGE AUTHORITY

has just imposed firm limits on speculative trading in soybeans—and thereby hangs a tale. Several weeks before the outbreak of the Korean War, a group of Chinese in this country virtually cornered the soybean market on the Chicago Board of Trade. Before the Chinese got out of the market they had cleared an estimated profit of \$30,000,000 and had raised the price of soybeans to American consumers from \$2.31 to \$3.45 a bushel. The names of the Chinese who participated in the soybean market-rigging are known to the Department of Agriculture but the law forbids their publication. It is known, however, that one of the wealthy but lesser-known relatives of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, living in this country, held approximately 500,000 bushels and that a Chinese woman in New York held ap-

proximately 1,000,000 bushels. It is also known that some fifty-one individuals with Chinese names were involved and that most of them were active Chinese Nationalists. The attention of the Department of Agriculture was first drawn to this interesting transaction by the excessive interest which a group of resident Chinese seemed to be showing in soybeans on the eve of the Korean War. This interest, it is said, "aroused official suspicions . . . that they had had advance knowledge of a war that caught this country wholly unprepared" (New York Times, July 6). The suspicion remains, and the American public is certainly entitled to know who these Chinese were, how they happened to have advance notice of the likelihood of war in Korea, and the source of the funds which were so profitably used in cornering the soybean market. Of special interest is the fact that the huge sums advanced to the Chinese Nationalists included \$200,000,000 in "hard gold." Members of Congress and government officials have publicly charged that as much as the full amount of this credit found its way back into this country and ended up in the accounts of wealthy resident Chinese. The "investigation" of the Institute of Pacific Relations merely points up the fear of the China Lobby that the spotlight, after veering erratically on various irrelevant targets, may yet be focused where it belongs: on the activities of the China Lobby.

★

AN EMPLOYER CAPABLE OF MIXING HUMOR

with intransigence during his next round of labor negotiations might refer to the recent statement of Dr. Karl Menninger, head of the Menninger Psychiatric Foundation in Topeka, Kansas. Speaking before an up-state New York audience, the one-time adviser to the Surgeon General of the United States Army pointed out the danger endemic in such contractual provisions as the retirement plan and the paid vacation. Desire for a vacation is just "a psychological symptom in nice evening clothes," he shrugged. Furthermore, "when most people go on a vacation they are taking a rest from a winter of doing nothing." Although retirement plans might be desired by trade unions, Dr. Menninger feels they are not conducive to "sound mental health." "Vacational and leisure time tend to push people into imaginary worlds."

★

THE TECHNIQUE OF POLITICAL CRIME

detection is daily becoming more refined. Lie detectors, Dean Acheson now admits, have been in use for some time in determining the loyalty of State Department personnel. The machines are doubtless wheeled into action during the oral part of the foreign-service examination when the testers come to the big question: "Are you now or have you ever been . . . ?" Taking a leaf from the government's book, private enterprise is also

putting the lie detector to novel uses. Banking and insurance firms in particular, according to the *Wall Street Journal* of July 30, are using the machines to detect the craven "subversives" who peddle trade secrets to competitors. In the hands of Harry Jung and J. B. Matthews, who now "screen" employees for a modest fee, the lie detector can probably insure elimination of the last quivering heretic from industrial and commercial employment. But the use of this ingenious device should not be limited; it might be applied to Senator McCarthy when next he swears, on his honor as a gentleman and a Senator, that he has a list of twenty-nine or fifty-seven "subversives" in the State Department.

The Remington Reversal

THE United States Court of Appeals, in a unanimous decision, has reversed the conviction of William W. Remington arising out of a charge of perjury based on a denial of membership in the Communist Party.

As the basic reason for the reversal the court cited the "inadequacy" of Judge Gregory F. Noonan's charge to the jury on the question of membership. Although Judge Noonan told the jury that "the act of joining" the Communist Party was crucial, he failed to specify what particular overt acts, if taken as true, could be accepted as proof of membership. Criticizing the charge as "vague and indefinite," the court pointed out that in reliance on it the jury might have assumed that they were free to convict on circumstantial evidence alone, despite the recital, in other portions of the charge, of the rule which requires the testimony of two witnesses or of one corroborated witness in perjury prosecutions.

Although the decision may seem to be narrowly limited, it does establish important safeguards against abuses implicit in this type of prosecution. To be sure, the court did not define membership, but it did place upon the trial judge the burden of specifying what facts, if found to be true, a jury might accept as proof of membership. In effect, the court held that membership in the Communist Party is not some mystical communion but a fact which should be capable of fairly precise proof and which, like any essential fact, must actually be established and not assumed. Juries, in other words, are not at liberty to decide that a defendant *must* have been a member in the light of purely circumstantial evidence.

To strengthen its conclusion, the court gave certain important directives in case a retrial should be ordered. The defense had urged, as a ground for reversal, that the witness Elizabeth Bentley was being assisted in writing a book on communism by the foreman of the grand jury which returned the indictment. The court held that this relationship did not in itself warrant a reversal but might be improper if it could be shown that the foreman had abused his powers or used undue influence in secur-

ing the indictment. The court also ruled that the defense was entitled to inspect the minutes of Remington's testimony before the grand jury, and that Remington should be furnished with a bill of particulars setting forth the facts upon which the prosecution intended to rely as proof of his membership in the party. In a most significant passage the court emphasized that the prosecution had been permitted to range so far afield that Remington, even at the conclusion of the government's case, did not know what issues he had to meet; he could only guess what facts the prosecution would cite as proof of membership.

During the trial United States Attorney Irving H. Saypol had brought out the fact that a defense witness had legally changed his name from Rothenberg to Redmont, for professional reasons. He continued to harp on this fact in his cross-examination long after it had become abundantly clear that the change of name had no relevance to the issues. In a sharp admonition to Mr. Saypol, the court pointed out that this emphasis "could only serve to arouse possible racial prejudice on the part of the jury." The court also criticized Judge Noonan for permitting Mr. Saypol to make numerous references to the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations, holding that "the list is a purely hearsay declaration. . . . It could have no conceivable tendency to prove the defendant's alleged perjury even if it were shown that he belonged to some or all of the organizations listed."

Written by Chief Judge Thomas W. Swan, who has never shown any special solicitude for civil liberties, and concurred in by Judges Augustus N. Hand and Learned Hand, the decision reflects a gradual stiffening of judicial resistance to the notion that established procedures should be set aside in "political" prosecutions and to the companion notion that the courts should condone, in such cases, the "lawless enforcement of the law."

A Treaty with the Past

BY FRED A. KIRCHWEY

UNTIL the Soviet Union horrified Washington by accepting its invitation to the Japanese Treaty Conference, the State Department had reason to expect that those who came would sign without argument and then possibly disperse. All the nations invited had at least been given a look at the treaty, a good many had been consulted, and a few strong objections had actually been taken care of in the final draft. The result pleased nobody much, including the United States. But since the United States had said the conference was to be merely a ceremonial signing, it was assumed that any remaining doubts, disagreements, or improvements would go unvoiced.

Russia's acceptance has blasted those hopes. The treaty will be signed, but not until some delegates have

said things they originally intended to repress and Mr. Gromyko and his colleagues have said what they came to say. The treaty's weak points will have been lifted out for inspection and its good points will have to fight for the spotlight instead of occupying the whole stage as had been planned. This will happen no matter how many rules are drawn up to prevent debate, limit the number and length of speeches, and prohibit suggestions to change the treaty. The rules themselves, most people in Washington agree, will be the first objective of Soviet attack; and on this point Gromyko may have considerable support, for many nations resent the steamroller procedure planned by the State Department.

If he uses his opportunity well Gromyko will also win backing for several of his substantive objections. Obviously the United States, as sponsor of the treaty, could not ask the Peking government to be a signer; its decision to leave out both the Chinese Communists and Chiang Kai-shek was an attempt to avoid an issue that might have wrecked both conference and treaty. Just the same China's absence creates a monstrous vacuum which is exaggerated rather than diminished by the quaint provision that Japan shall itself decide which Chinese regime it will make peace with. (Premier Yoshida has apparently turned down this dubious privilege, since he told the Japanese Parliament the other day that the decision was strictly up to the Allied powers.) Russia has a ready-made issue in China's exclusion, for no one can possibly argue that Japan will achieve a normal peacetime existence until it establishes relations with its great Asian neighbor.

The United States hoped to duck another explosive problem by a provision detaching Formosa from Japan but not explicitly restoring it to China. Here too Gromyko can rally important support for a demand that the plain promise made at Cairo, and repeated at Potsdam, be written into the Japanese treaty. He won't win on this, but he will have a good case and the advantage that the American attitude on Formosa, now embodied in large-scale military assistance to Chiang, has been opposed from the start by most of our Western allies as well as by the friendly Asian nations.

But certainly the strongest issue the Russians will have is that of unlimited Japanese rearmament. The reparations issue may appeal more concretely to the sense of injury and outrage still dominating the countries which were overrun by Japan. But fear of Japanese militarism is a deeper and more permanent emotion. It is an emotion Russia itself shares. And in Asia at least this fear will not be mitigated by the arrangement to keep American forces in Japan. On the contrary, Asia will regard any permanent United States garrison in Japan and the neighboring islands as a new installment of the old story of Western domination. The United States may partly allay the anxiety of Australia and New Zealand by the

mutual defense treaty just signed. The Philippines too, though with greater misgivings, will doubtless take comfort in the pact which binds this country to come to its aid in case of attack. But the free nations of Asia would still prefer to take their chances with Russia and China than with a determined Japan buttressed by American troops and war machinery established on Japanese territory.

This has been one of the strongest motives behind the refusal of India and Burma to come to San Francisco. Prime Minister Nehru believes that the proposed Japanese treaty violates the principle of "Asia for the Asians," particularly in its provision for "stationing or retention" of foreign troops in Japan, but also by permitting American occupation of the Ryukyu and Bonin Islands, and by failing to stipulate the return of Formosa to China, at least at some future date. To attend the conference and oppose these provisions would align India with Russia against the West. To remain away and refuse to sign enables the New Delhi government to avoid an open clash with the United States but does not disguise the depth of its difference. In fact Russia can use India's absence to point up Asia's profound suspicion of Western motives. In this connection Gromyko may be expected to emphasize Russia's own role as one of the three great Asian powers in order to expose the unreality of a Japanese peace to which Russia, China, and India will not be parties.

To answer this by reminding Asia that the revolutionary force of the Chinese-Russian alliance threatens to engulf the whole continent and that only a powerful United States, firmly based on island strongholds off the Asian coast can defend the area, will be to raise more doubts than are dispelled. Even the Korean war, though it gave evidence both of Communist aggression and of American power and will to repel it, has increased Asia's doubts. Russia's part in touching off the conflict was at least inconspicuous and unacknowledged, and China's intervention was accepted in much of Asia as a move to defend its own borders. While the attitude of the United States on Formosa, on the role of Syngman Rhee, on France in Indo-China; the destructive power of arms in Korea; and, perhaps above all, the racial antagonisms between Americans and Koreans—combine to give Russia the chance it will doubtless exploit to the limit of its ability at San Francisco.

The treaty that will be signed there is a weak one, not because it is "generous" to Japan, but because it embodies many of the relationships Asia most dislikes and fears. That we have made such a treaty, partly out of our own dislike and fear of Russia, is an ironic fact, but one which will not greatly influence the feelings of peoples who, having fought the Japanese and won, now demand freedom from foreign interference of all sorts—even interference in their own defense.

By Any Other Name, McCarthyism

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, August 23

THE biggest new show in this investigation-happy capital is Senator Pat McCarran's personally conducted subcommittee set up to investigate subversion, communism, conspiracy, America's intellectual life in the nineteen thirties, and the Truman Administration. The aged McCarran, presiding over the committee like a white-crested, impassive, but faintly malicious kewpie doll, is in an excellent position to give Mr. Truman the works.

The other day, during the committee's investigation of the Institute of Pacific Relations, Senator McCarran's impassivity cracked briefly to reveal a vein of humor. A witness had testified that an alleged former Communist colleague, one Finklestein, had changed his name to Finley and was now teaching in an Eastern college. "What name did you say this man was using?" McCarran asked, interrupting to get this vital matter clearly in his mind. "Finley," repeated the witness. The Senator brooded briefly and then said, "He would take an Irish name, wouldn't he?" And across the guarded face flickered for a moment the tight little glimmer of a self-congratulatory smile.

The McCarran committee is operating under a self-imposed discipline with a minimum of uproar, and this superficial restraint has led some ordinarily astute observers to imagine that its procedures are "objective" and that it intends to steer clear of "McCarthyism." No television cameras profane the small Judiciary Committee meeting room in which the hearings are held in preference to the ornate spaciousness of the caucus room used for most big shows. No "live" radio coverage is permitted; no photographers' flash bulbs blind the witnesses; and McCarran's manner toward Robert Morris, the committee's counsel, is as distant as a judge's attitude toward a prosecutor. But nobody should be fooled by this judicial atmosphere.

The subcommittee was handpicked by McCarran to seize the Communist-chasing hunting grounds long staked out for its own by the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Morris is the Republican who served last year as minority counsel for the Tydings committee. Many of the investigators are men hostile to the Administration and to the people smeared last year by Joe McCarthy. So far as the committee's ob-

jectives can be judged by its operations, it seeks to prove that the White House itself during Roosevelt's administration was penetrated by traitors and pro-Russians, and to get perjury indictments against celebrated McCarthy victims, including Owen Lattimore and Joseph Barnes.

If its consequences were not so serious, the jealous jousting between the McCarran committee and the reliable red-chasers of the House Un-American committee would seem ludicrous. Staff members of the latter told reporters that they hastily called on Oliver Edmund Clubb, a State Department employee, to explain acts and letters dredged up from two decades ago, in order to beat McCarran to the punch. Major General Charles A. Willoughby, MacArthur's chief of intelligence in Tokyo, was summoned with equal urgency to tell his tale about the Sorge spy ring in Japan. One staff member of Un-American, noting that McCarran had ruled that hearsay testimony would be permitted in the investigation of the Institute of Pacific Relations, grimly remarked, "If we had wanted to use hearsay, we could have built up a tremendous list of names."

The temper and approach of McCarran's committee were indicated from the beginning by its membership. McCarran himself not only sponsored the law for the control of subversive activities passed over President Truman's veto last year but prevented independent investigation of the effects of this law by the Nimitz Commission. A long-time chauvinist, he has been a bitter enemy of Mr. Truman ever since the President successfully campaigned for revisions in the "anti-Semitic, anti-Catholic" refugee law passed under McCarran's leadership in the Eightieth Congress. McCarran's Democratic colleagues are the Dixiecrat Senator Eastland of Mississippi, Senator O'Connor of Maryland, and Willis Smith of North Carolina, the anti-Truman Democrat who obtained the seat of Frank Graham. The three Republicans are Ferguson of Michigan, Jenner of Indiana, and Watkins of Utah. Not a man in the group would ever sign a "declaration of conscience" against McCarthyism or ask probing questions of a "friendly" witness—that is, any former Communist willing to brand a helpless victim as someone about whom some other person, now dead or abroad, allegedly used a phrase which the witness vaguely recollects as damning.

According to report, the committee has heard some forty "friendly" witnesses and has taken as yet unpublished testimony from some of their victims. At the

WILLARD SHELTON frequently reports from Washington for The Nation.

public hearings, which are scheduled to be held twice a week, the "friendly" witnesses will be given full scope to utter their hearsay accusations, while their targets will be unable to present their defense until the prosecution's case has been in the headlines for months.

McCarran's standards of objectivity are disclosed by a just-passed report warning that as many as 5,000,000 aliens, "including militant Communists, Sicilian bandits, and other criminals," are illegally resident in this country. The *New York Times* promptly pointed out that the only foreigner who doesn't seem to frighten McCarran to death is Francisco Franco, and that such "hair-raising statements" do nothing but feed latent fears that "ought to have been buried with the Know-Nothings a hundred years ago." In actual fact more than 95 per cent of the 685,000 persons deported or "voluntarily" departing from this country last year as illegal residents were unhappy Mexican "wetbacks" exploited by farmers and ranchers of our own Southwest.

One evil of such an investigation as McCarran's is that it seeks to destroy people in 1951 because of associations, ideas, intellectual curiosity, or isolated contacts they may have had in the vastly different climate of the thirties. Few people in the thirties or during the war years felt, as many feel today, the menace of a revolutionary world ferment manipulated by the Soviets with a powerful army and air force at their disposal. Yet authors are forced to explain isolated paragraphs and sentences in the books they wrote in the earlier period, private citizens and officials are compelled to account for what then were trivial actions, in the savage drive of politicians against intellectuals whom by the nature of things they can never understand.

In the rat race between the Senate and House Un-American committees, the abuses inherent in this type of investigation will certainly be magnified. From Martin Dies to Patrick "McCarthy" McCarran, inquisitors have come and gone, but the witch hunt continues, snaring more victims, manufacturing new heresies, mounting steadily in virulence. The big new show in Washington is the same old witch hunt, but it becomes more menacing with each new performance.

There is not much room for doubt about the political purposes which the current investigations are intended to serve. At their present pace, the hearings will probably continue through December and may well carry over into 1952. Thus twice a week for a period of months carefully timed headlines will hammer home the unstated but clearly implied line that a Republican sympathetic to MacArthur's views should succeed Mr. Truman. But the hearings also serve another purpose. On the eve of the San Francisco conference on the Japanese peace treaty, the China Lobby has not only successfully staved off an investigation into its own activities but has succeeded in lessening the effectiveness of its critics.

Incident in Austria

BY R. WULIGER

London, August 18

I WONDER whether all of you," the British Foreign Secretary asked the Soviet people in the columns of *Pravda* on August 1, "can honestly say that you have this same sense of personal security which every British citizen enjoys." Within twenty-four hours British citizens bound for Berlin, carrying valid passports, were refused permission to land at Dieppe.

"If you were . . . free to travel to Britain, this ignorance [of how the rest of the world lives and thinks] could be broken down," said Mr. Morrison. Within forty-eight hours other British citizens were refused freedom to travel through France and Belgium.

"In Britain we set great store by such manifestations of personal freedom. Among them is the freedom from arbitrary arrest." Just four days after Mr. Morrison's words were read in Russia, 350-odd British delegates and observers traveling to the Berlin Youth Festival through Austria were arbitrarily halted and turned back by military officers of Britain's main Western ally, the United States.

Proper immigration forms had been filled out; group visas had been granted; passports were in order. Yet British citizens were forced off trains by American soldiers, locked up in a barbed-wire compound, and, in some cases, denied the right to see their consul.

British citizens who want to visit the Soviet zone are supposed to carry "gray cards," but a UNESCO 1951 brochure called "Travel Abroad" says that gray cards are "not required for transit of the three western zones," and the group bound for the Berlin Youth Festival had received assurances that the gray cards would not be needed in East Berlin. In fact, the British consul at Innsbruck and the embassy at Vienna has said that gray cards are not necessary for travel to Linz on the border of East Germany. The concern was less with cards than with young people going to Berlin.

The results? Colin Sweet, assaulted by an American officer, required eight stitches above one eye. June Watson, knocked down by a passing train, is in the hospital with a concussion. Others were injured. Some 350 British citizens can now tell their friends how it feels to be arbitrarily arrested. Splendid headlines and pictures have been provided for the *Daily Worker*.

The last of this incident will not be heard for some time. What will it cost the Voice of America to counteract the free propaganda presented to the Soviets by such irresponsible stupidity?

R. WULIGER has done graduate work at the University of California and is now studying at the London School of Economics.

How Democratic Is Japan?

BY HUGH H. SMYTHE

Hikone City, Japan, August 17

NOW that a peace treaty is about to be signed with Japan, the question arises: Just how democratic is Japan? After almost six years of occupation and the official acceptance of democratic forms, what significant changes have taken place in the *mores* of the Japanese?

The current scene offers ample evidence to refute the claims of both Japanese and Occupation "authorities" that democracy flourishes in Japan. Of fundamental importance is the fact that the entrenched class system with its age-old sanctions is still intact. People continue to speak casually of "superiors" and "inferiors"; different grammatical forms are used in addressing persons of higher, equal, or lower social status. Women are still consigned to a lower place; marriages continue to be arranged with little deference to the wishes of the principals, especially the women, and even Christian churches generally seat women in a separate section. The language of democracy may have been adopted by officials, but its principles have not been accepted by the majority of the population, who do very much as they have done for generations.

As the Prime Minister's Review Committee goes about the task of reevaluating various post-war laws and ordinances, claims are made that this or that law must be revised or abolished because it is not suited to "the actual situation here." But the three or four years that these laws have been in force is too short a time in which to test their workability. The National Public Safety Commission and the Public Utilities Commission, for example, which, among others, are slated to be eliminated, have not had a chance to become effective in the present bureaucratic structure. The first never had sufficient authority to do a job, and the second is headed by men too closely connected with the electric industry to give primary attention to the public interest. The National Personnel Authority has been condemned as being "unadaptable" largely because it has impinged on the entrenched bureaucracy. Democratic reforms were supposed to create "new conditions" which would help the Japanese eliminate feudalistic survivals, but as it has

worked out, old conditions have been permitted to sabotage democratic reforms.

In addition to returning to public life such prominent persons as ex-Finance Minister Ishibashi, former Police Chief Tanikawa, the former president of the Liberal Party, Ichio Hatoyama, and important members of the old Zaibatsu, the Yoshida government has "depurged" former officers and directors of the Imperial Rule Assistance Association and its affiliated Youth Association, press and news-agency leaders, magazine and book publishers, Japan Broadcasting Corporation officers, motion-picture and theatrical company directors, bank and business executives, branch chiefs of the Imperial Reservists' Association, and officials of the Butokukai Martial Arts Association. More than 1,326 persons purged because of their connection with the "thought police" have already been cleared, and most of the others will probably soon be liberated. On August 6 the government lifted the ban on 13,904 individuals. Of the original 70,097 former officers of the army or navy of imperial-appointment rank those who have not yet been depurged are slated to be soon, together with all of the 40,891 ex-members of non-officer rank of the gendarmerie and "special service units."

The April elections brought conservative elements back to power in Japan. The victorious Liberal Party is led by men who have spent most of their careers in government service and have demonstrated a strong loyalty to the older patterns of Japanese society. Its landslide victory was not due to its democratic accomplishments but to a political platform concerned mainly with international problems connected with the peace settlement. The campaign was not in any sense fought on domestic issues. No attempt was made to evaluate or criticize the work accomplished in the four years since the first local elections. Not a single party—Liberal, Democrat, or Socialist—offered a positive program for correcting local ills; all were content with high-sounding, empty platitudes. There is not the slightest sign on the political horizon of the emergence of a healthy progressive party.

The Cabinet reshuffle in July, the seventh since Yoshida took over more than three years ago, does not seem to have improved matters. The Socialists contend that Yoshida has made Cabinet posts his private property, appointing whomever he wants without consulting other leaders. Business men consider the situation unchanged. Tokyo newspapers—the *Asahi*, *Yomiuri*, *Nihon Keizai*, and *Mainichi*—have expressed disappointment; the

HUGH H. SMYTHE, is spending two years as guest lecturer in sociology at Yamaguchi National University. He had studied the language, history, economics, politics, and culture of Japan intensively before going to Yamaguchi last March as one of the first thirty-five Americans invited to teach in the new Japanese national universities.

Mainichi observed that the changes would make it easier for the Prime Minister to control the Cabinet, many of the ministers having been "tamed" in bureaucratic life.

The peace treaty has divided the Socialists into a left and a right wing, thus reducing the party's chances of coming to power. The other opposition group, the Democratic Party, has experienced a series of crises and sizable desertions to the Liberals. Neither party is now a significant political force, and with the Communist Party outlawed, Japan is in fact a one-party nation.

REARMAMENT is no longer discussed as a possibility; it is accepted as a fact. On July 16 the Tokyo *Shimbun* said that the problem is not *whether* Japan should be rearmed but *when* and *how*, and pointed out that the United States-Japanese Pacific Security Pact presupposes that Japan will eventually be rearmed. Meanwhile, Japanese military strength is being gradually built up. Under the guise of a National Police Reserve 75,000 men have been formally organized into regular military units, with engineers, artillery, medical, and supply divisions, and given basic field training. But this is only a start. According to a report in the *Nippon Times* of July 9, "well-informed sources believe that the character of the National Police Reserve will change when a United States-Japanese defense pact is signed." The plan to create a Ministry of Public Security which will incorporate the existing national, rural, and local police systems also has military significance.

The people are already suffering from heavy taxes, and rearmament will lower their living standards still further. This can lead to serious unrest and once again push Japan toward a policy of exploitation and aggression. No wonder that India withholds approval of the draft treaty, that the Burmese newspaper, the *Burman*, fears a resurgent Japan, that the Philippines have expressed strong opposition, and that the Australian Labor Party leader, Herbert Evatt, has voiced grave concern for the future "as Japan becomes stronger and stronger."

The astute Japanese leaders are aware of Japan's strategic importance in the Far East and confident of their ability to exploit it. Mr. Yoshida soft-pedaled any reference in the treaty to the repatriation of thousands of Japanese who in violation of Article IX of the Potsdam Declaration, have not been permitted to return to Japan. The government must also refrain, he says, from taking up the question of relief of war invalids and families of the war dead in view of the rising suspicion of ultra-nationalism and militarism in Japan. But because of the deterioration of the international situation he feels free to raise territorial questions. He has told the Japanese people and the Allied powers that the question of the return of former Japanese territory is in an "elastic" state. The newspaper *Yomiuri* indicated the general attitude when it said: "People are greatly con-

cerned over the ultimate fate of the Bonins, Ryukyus, Habomai, Shikotan, and the Kurile Islands, which historically are Japanese." Another clear warning can be found in a statement in the *Nihon Keizai* that the American drafty treaty "is not an ideal one for us," but since it is the best to be had under *present circumstances*, "we have no alternative but to accept it."

The Keizai Doyu Kai (Japanese Management Association) and the great industrialists are pressing for the repeal of some of the troublesome restrictions on monopolies and trade associations, and the government is said to be about ready to rescind a series of laws passed for the purpose of dissolving the Zai-batsu. In spite of the approaching peace-treaty conference and the need for discretion, Prime Minister Yoshida, one of the strongest advocates of an American alliance, felt constrained to say recently: "In some quarters fear is entertained that a separate peace might



Prime Minister Yoshida

permanently sever Japan's trade with Red China. Red or white, China remains our next-door neighbor. Geography and economic law will, I believe, prevail in the long run over any ideological differences and artificial trade barriers." These are portentous words, and they are underscored by a recent statement of exporters and importers in the Kansai district calling for a revival of trade with Communist China.

The Japanese have never forgotten the pre-war racial insults. Their own "Asia for Asiatics" form of racialism is again being fostered. An editorial in the *Jiji Shimpō* said not long ago: "Nothing hurts the pride of the Asian peoples more than irresponsible statements to the effect that Europe should be defended against aggression in preference to Asia. Why should Asia's security be of only secondary importance? Some people may declare that the Europe First principle is supported by nothing but a theory of the white man's superiority over other races."

ASIDE from these evident developments there are disturbing sub-surface social trends in Japan. Democracy prospers in a nation if the young people mature within a framework of responsible citizenship. Japanese youth have for many years been subjected to a confusion of scenes and doctrines. During the war they were sent

to the coal mines or munition plants. What little education they received was far removed from accepted teaching practice. After the war they were set adrift in a way that had never been permitted before in Japanese society. Today young people live in a spiritual vacuum, without a compelling ideal of any kind. A similar vacuum created by the depression of the 1930's made it possible for the military to obtain a strong hold upon the young.

The restrictions on labor unions in Japan have called forth criticism from the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. Even the *Nippon Times* of July 22 warned that "steps against [the workers'] basic interests jeopardize their will to work on the one hand and on the other put up bars to the attainment of international confidence and good-will." The curbs on labor have contributed to the elimination of the only potential opposition, the Socialist Party. Business interests are now making demands that will further weaken the unions. The Tokyo Chamber of Commerce and Industry, for example, has called for major revisions in the Labor Standards law: to lengthen the working day from eight to ten hours, to ease restrictions on overtime and holiday work and on the hours for females and young workers, to abolish the monthly rest days for women workers, and to shorten the annual vacation with pay.

The trend in education is disturbing also. The system set up by the Board of Education, which seeks to decentralize education, is attacked as "unsuitable." Is greater centralization, then, desired? Centralized schools played a key role in the program of the pre-war militarists. The

Japan Education Society, before the war, was the gathering place of the "education bosses." Its resuscitation last April, with a membership composed largely of principals and school officials of the prefectural governments, is arousing fear that centralization will again be imposed.

Japan, it must be remembered, is economically insecure. The tax program has emphasized capital accumulation at the sacrifice of the people's welfare, and the tax burden falls most heavily upon those least able to bear it. Before the Korean war the living standard, always pitifully low, had recovered to 75 per cent of the 1930-34 level, but since then prices have risen almost 50 per cent, and the government has shown neither the ability to cope with inflation nor the inclination to strengthen the social-security system. The price of rice rose 18.46 per cent and of electricity 31 per cent in August. A poll of the National Public Opinion Research Institute in late March reported that 40 per cent of the Japanese people questioned said they were too engrossed in making a living to be interested in public affairs.

As in the past when they faced despair and want, the Japanese people are turning to their gods and looking for a "strong man" to lead them. The *London Times* said in April, "The forces of old Japan are again gathering." Those on the scene know that the present revival of conservatism is ominous. Japan has never looked with kindness upon those who would restrict its trade. A real danger exists that the union insecurity, inflation, and reaction may give impetus to totalitarian regimentation and turn Japan into paths of aggression.

Boom in the Ruhr

Düsseldorf, August

THE Königsallee in Düsseldorf is West Germany's loveliest street. A broad, tree-lined canal runs through it, with the great Ruhr banks and offices on one side and shops and cafes on the other. In one cafe the waiters wear three types of uniforms to mark their rank; a slice of cream-topped cake costs what is an hour's pay for most Germans; and a handsome indoor waterfall trickles down a tile wall, adding its sound to the genteel murmur of the clientèle.

The Ruhr is probably doing better today than any other industrial complex in Europe. Its back log of orders runs well into 1952, with new customers still queueing up. German shipyards and machine-tool factories, freed

of most restrictions, are clamoring for its steel. And ahead, of course, is the happy prospect of rich armament orders. Despite severe handicaps, such as the shortage of coal, the index of production has been soaring. With 1936 as the base, the index stood at 88 two years ago, rose to 109 last year, and is now in the 130's.

The Ruhr likes to keep mum about its earnings, but there are many tell-tale signs. It is known, for instance that the bigger steel plants, supervised by the Allies and subject to rigid price controls, earned some \$60,000,000 in 1947-50 after taxes and allowing \$70,000,000 for depreciation. British experts here report that these earnings are dwarfed by the profits in the uncontrolled industries, especially those making consumer goods.

Yet the boom is deceptive. The economic structure of West Germany, including the Ruhr, is badly out of shape, and it is not all a deformity of rapid growth. This should surprise no one. The country has been

BY MARK GAYN

MARK GAYN, after writing "Japan Diary," went to Europe and has lived in Germany for several years. This is the last of three articles on Germany Today.

forcibly split in two, with the grain of the East divided from the steel of the West. The national treasury is saddled with the support of some 9,500,000 refugees from the East. Western Berlin, necessary as it is politically, is an almost total economic liability. And American economic aid—some \$1,400,000,000 since April, 1948—would barely pay the Occupation costs for the current year.

THESE burdens, all of them beyond German control, have been compounded by financial folly at Bonn. The German economic policy has been a mixture of ill-advised liberalism, irresponsibility, and lack of foresight. With American support Bonn has long been an ecstatic champion of free enterprise. All early post-war controls have been scuttled. The free-economy boys, both German and American, argue that the policy would have worked but for Korea. The argument is academic. The fact is that the policy has exhausted foreign credits, flooded the country with such imported luxuries as fresh pineapples, and produced a major economic crisis. In April, being unable to meet its foreign debts, Bonn actually went into voluntary bankruptcy and surrendered control of its foreign trade for ninety days to the Organization for European Economic Coordination. It was only then that one began to hear American demands for the reimposition of controls.

The chief German exponent of free enterprise has been the Minister of Economics, Dr. Ludwig Erhard. He has opposed controls on imports, investments, prices, and profits. He has fought the proposal to levy a special tax to build up funds for industrial investment. Taxes, he argues, were meant to balance budgets and not to tamper with "the natural workings of the price system." His forecasts have been notoriously wrong, and one hears fantastic stories of how his aides sweat blood trying to buttress his pronouncements.

Erhard has been engaged in a bitter squabble with the Finance Minister, Fritz Schäffer, who pursues a more orthodox line. With strong Ruhr support Erhard recently beat out Schäffer at a party caucus.

What Germany needs is plain, painful remedies—a tight control of investments so that they do not pour into the luxury trades while the basic industries hunger for capital, plugs for the huge loopholes in the tax fabric, selective imports, and tight controls on prices and profits. Organized labor has been the only group to show a responsible attitude: though prices have been soaring for a year, it has waited until now to ask for higher wages. The coal miners have just been awarded a 10 to 12 per cent raise. But this increase does not match the rise in prices, and there is trouble ahead all along the labor front. Already the unions have denounced a hundred local wage contracts.

Meanwhile the battle for the Ruhr continues. All

interests—capital, labor, the Allies, the Communists, and the neo-Nazis—recognize the Ruhr for what it is, the source of German power. The last Allied controls here are about to go, and the rival forces are jockeying for advantage. Big business wants to be sure the "decartelized" coal and steel concerns are not split into too many parts and are returned to private hands. The Social Democrats and the unions clamor for nationalization of heavy industry. Paris and Washington, for different reasons, are opposed to a socialized Ruhr. London, badly outmaneuvered here in recent months, does not really know what it wants. The Laborites would like to see Ruhr heavy industry nationalized, but they fear that if it is, it may again become too strong a competitor.



Alfred Krupp Sellgson

Two rounds have already been fought, with the first going to labor. By threatening a general strike, the unions won *Mitbestimmungsrecht*, or an equal voice in policy decisions in the coal and steel industries. But at the headquarters of the German Federation of Labor I could find no one who thought the victory was final.

The industrialists took the second round. The agreement on decartelization reached with Bonn, drafted by German experts, but with U. S. High Commissioner John J. McCloy doing most of the negotiating, was considerably milder than anything proposed previously. Yet, nudged by the Ruhr, Bonn has been putting in new claims on an almost weekly schedule. After Bonn protested that a few years hence it might be sued for tampering with the property rights of former cartel owners, the Allied High Commission decided to allow the reimbursement of the ex-owners with shares of the new "decartelized" companies. Since one of the purposes of the famous Law No. 27 was to purge the industrialists who financed Hitler, the new pledge is a quaint addition to the story of German democratization.

Repentance is not a common quality in the Ruhr. The feeling is rather that Germany has been a victim of Allied injustice and that the West is now merely admitting some of its guilt. The Ruhr is demanding a billion dollars a year in American aid to help rebuild its industries and support the refugees from the East. The government is juggling figures to show that the Occupation costs are wrecking the German economy. And

there is a vast outpouring of propaganda to the effect that the Allies are depriving the Germans of their housing, living ostentatiously while Germans go without necessities, and including even diapers and brassières in Occupation expenses.

The week Alfried Krupp and his directors were let out of prison, a local newspaper ran a red-ink banner headline, "S. O. S. from Krupptown." The entire population of Essen, it reported, felt that Krupp's release vindicated both the much-maligned firm and the city. An Essen-Krupp lobby promptly launched a high-pressure campaign at Bonn. And a Krupp spokesman hastened to inform the world that Krupp steel would never again go into weapons—"not even if we're accused of sabotaging Europe's rearmament."

Near Essen, on a wooded hill overlooking the Ruhr, I find fuss and bustle at Villa Hugel, the old Krupp estate, now occupied by the Allied Coal Control Board. Its officials concede that they may not remain there long. The villa is still owned by the durable Bertha—for whom the gun that shelled Paris in World War I was named—and is being run by an old family retainer. Of the vast family properties, much has been destroyed, some dismantled; other plants are still being run by Allied trustees. But Allied officials show no inclination to sorrow over the Krupps. The property which survived the havoc is valued moderately at \$50,000,000. And no one here doubts that when Bonn gets around to the question of Ruhr ownership, the Krupps will get a very, very fair deal.

IT CAN be proved that the rich in Germany are getting richer and the poor poorer. The Federation of Labor estimates that while the total wage-and-salary bill in industry has risen only 130 per cent since 1936, gross profits have risen 330 per cent. If this evidence is not impartial, one need only turn to Jean Cattier, who has just marked his resignation as E. C. A. chief in Germany with a blast at the policy of a free economy. German manufacturing industries, he reports, paid out 22.5 per cent of the value of their sales in wages and salaries in 1948; 19.8 per cent in 1949; and 19.3 per cent last year.

But one needs no statistics to perceive the impoverishment of the masses. Any German housewife will testify to her increasing inability to buy even the essentials. American officials here are shocked by the mounting disparity between prices and wages. A German worker earns only about a fourth as much as an American worker, but must pay nearly the same prices. And no worker in the bigger Ruhr towns can fail to see the lavish display of luxury goods intended for the rich.

Thus the seeds of a bitter class struggle are being sown. In fact, the gong has just struck on Round Three, with the Federation of Labor formally demanding that the government change its economic policy or face an

open clash with the unions. In federation headquarters there is talk of non-cooperation, a slow-down of production, and even a general strike. Labor officials say they can tie up the entire German economy within thirty-three hours if the rights of workers continue to be disregarded. The Railway Workers' Union has jumped the gun by withdrawing its representatives from all government boards. The Social Democrats will certainly demand a vote on the socialization issue as soon as an opportunity offers.

Equally grim preparations are being made by the other side. The all-powerful Association of German Industries has just set up the Institute of German Industry for the purpose of "combating union propaganda." Business organizations in the United States have been invited to send emissaries here to help management resist labor demands. Bonn has proposed the formation of a special police detachment to prevent industrial sabotage by the Communists—the unions fear this might become a force of scabs. Labor has grave misgivings also about the Mobile State Police of 10,000 men, whose upper ranks, the Social Democrats charge, are filled with former storm troopers.

Both the unions and the Social Democrats profess to see behind the men of Bonn the same shadowy figures who dominated the Ruhr before Germany's defeat. Günther Henle, of the powerful firm of Klöckner, is Adenauer's closest adviser on steel. Robert Pferdemenges, the aged Cologne banker who is said to have played a part in the early contacts between the Ruhr industrialists and the Nazis, today helps both to fill the Christian Democratic treasury and to shape its social and economic policy.

In connection with these strains, the political flux in Germany appears extremely dangerous. It cannot be made safer by the proposed ban on extremist parties, by suppressing Communist newspapers, or by creating new police divisions. What is needed is fundamental economic reform, enlightened leadership, and freedom from anxiety over Russia's intentions. In this crisis Bonn offers no adequate leadership. The government is constitutionally weak, its economic policy is disastrous, and Dr. Adenauer's coalition is composed of elements that barely speak to one another. Nor can one put excessive hope in the Social Democrats, who in the past year have coasted along mainly on nationalist appeals.

Responsibility thus falls on the West, especially on Washington. Yet Germans feel that the Americans do not understand the forces at play here, do not know their own mind, and do not have any clear policy. Officials in Bonn, for instance, have not forgotten the peremptory manner in which they were told last fall that West Germany was to rearm. The timing, the phrasing, and the failure to understand the popular temper were major blunders. Many here fear now that Washington

will subordinate public welfare to the demands of rearmament. The other day an E. C. A. official told the Germans that "allotments of E. C. A. funds to agriculture could not be justified." This is a disastrous approach to a sick and devastated country.

Responsible German leaders do not dispute the need for an army. But they consider the need for progressive planning, fundamental reforms, increased aid for civilian projects, including housing, and firmness in dealing with pressure groups both at home and abroad just as urgent. Many here hope such a program will be sponsored by Washington, but few feel very confident.

Look Homeward, Senator

BY BROWNIE LEE JONES

Richmond, Virginia

VISITORS flocking to Williamsburg, Virginia, on Friday, August 4, to see "Common Glory," a play about the birth of American democracy, were unaware that fifty miles away a grass-roots drama of democracy was being staged in the historic old courthouse of Princess Anne County.

The story unfolded there before Judge M. Ray Doubles was one of almost unbelievable election fraud. The audience—farmers in overalls, townsfolk in informal summer dress, county officials in cool seersucker—listened with an eagerness which showed their interest was greater than that of mere onlookers. They seemed to be about equally divided between supporters of Senator Harry Byrd's conservative Democratic organization and backers of the anti-organization movement known as the People's Ticket.

The complainants—backers of the People's Ticket—were seeking an injunction from the court to prevent the county Election Board from delivering the absentee or "mail" ballots to the various precincts for counting. They charged that these ballots had been widely solicited from residents of the county, and witness after witness supported the charge. Many of these witnesses even testified, to the "utter amazement" of Judge Doubles, that they had no idea for whom they had voted, as their ballots had been delivered to them by persons interested in the candidacy of members of the Byrd organization, *already marked*. The only time the absentee voters had touched a pencil was when they signed the voucher required by law!

Among the witnesses were two members of the Election Board who said that upon the advice of the

Commonwealth Attorney, himself a candidate in the primary, they had ordered 23,800 ballots printed for the coming election, although the total number required by law was 7,418, or "twice the number of ballots cast in the last preceding election for President." Included in this order were 2,800 ballots which the clerk of the Election Board had specified were "mail" ballots and which were turned over to him, presumably for delivery to some 2,800 absentee voters. Yet only 470 applications for "mail" ballots had been received. With a son and son-in-law who were candidates, the clerk was kept busy distributing these ballots.

The chairman of the Election Board, an old man too ill to know what had taken place, testified that for ten years the control of the board's affairs had been left in the hands of the clerk. The minutes of the last meeting of the board, which he had signed, had been dictated in advance by the clerk.

Listening to his testimony, the spectators frequently burst into nervous laughter, but it was apparent that they were laughing to cover their embarrassment. A sense of shame was revealed by more than one face in the courtroom as "native white" witnesses were called to the stand who were so tragically devoid of education that the simplest questions had to be rephrased for them many times before they could grasp the meaning. It was clear that the ignorance of these simple people had been exploited by county officials whose duty it was to help them and not to abuse their confidence. At one point Judge Doubles turned in despair from a witness who had hesitantly confessed that her ballot had been marked by one of the candidates and sat with his head in his hands for five or ten minutes while the courtroom kept completely silent.

For twenty years the political life of Princess Anne County has been controlled by the "courthouse machine," which is allied with the dominant state organization. In the off-year Democratic primary in August the organization easily succeeded in retaining control of the legislature. Surely this fact is not unknown to Senator Byrd, who has been leveling charges of "moral turpitude" against persons in high places in the federal government. And surely the Senator knows that the absentee-voters scandal has long constituted, in the words of the *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, "the worst political cesspool" in the Old Dominion. Honest Virginians will readily concede, therefore, that "the creeping moral deterioration" of which Senator Byrd complains is not confined to the District of Columbia. A look homeward would reveal to the Senator that the house-cleaning he advocates might well be started in one of the machine-dominated counties of Virginia.

This year Virginia offers two dramas for students of history and government—"Common Glory" and "Common Shame."

BROWNIE LEE JONES is director of the Suffrage Project of the Virginia National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which has attracted wide attention.

BOOKS and the ARTS

The Gide of the Novels

ANDRE GIDE. By Albert J. Guerard.
Harvard University Press. \$4.

ARTICLES on Gide, and translations from his works have lately been much in evidence. In French letters this has been a Gidean year, and the unrelenting enemies of the "Satanic" writer have patiently taken it as the Mephistophelean revenge for the Holy Year. Gide, in his unquiet grave, must smile that his wish to disturb posthumously has been fulfilled. Parisians laughed about the telegram signed Gide and presumably sent from the other world which read: "Hell does not exist. Inform Paul Claudel."

There was no good book in English on Gide. Léon Pierre-Quint's biography and Klaus Mann's fervent study had not gone deep and had ceased to be adequate. The recent study by an Englishman, D. L. Thomas, is too narrowly ethical. This new volume by Albert J. Guerard will easily stand as the best book on Gide in English and, next to Jean Hytier's acute analysis of Gide's art, the best in any language.

The author, on the Harvard faculty, is academic in the beautiful sense of the word—impeccably informed, patient, thorough, penetrating. The son of a talented writer, a novelist himself, he is from the new generation of American professors who maintain a fruitful contact with living literature.

He has eschewed the strict biographical approach. Gide is everywhere present in his works and has been his own biographer as well as a constant diarist. There is very little invention in his novels, and his poverty of imagination would have hampered any other writer. When, if ever, we have the complete record of Gide's life and thought—for many passages of the *Journals* were obviously excised out of his regard for his wife—we shall realize the full tragedy of a man haunted by his sexual life, afflicted by secret remorse, flaunting his offense before the public, repeatedly submitting to the silent, resigned disapproval of Mme Gide and displaying

all his talent and not a little sophistry in his novels "in the vain hope of convincing her," as he said himself. It is too soon to add anything valuable to Gide's biographical study, and Albert Guerard has wisely preferred a purely critical approach.

His study falls within what is probably the most original contribution of America to literary criticism at the present time (as it has been since Henry James)—the analysis of the technique and structure of fiction. No province of criticism is strewn with more perils. Guerard avoids most of them with skill. He is appreciative, like all practitioners of the craft of fiction and even more like all professors attracted by intellectual and self-conscious novelists, of "The Counterfeiters" and its adroit reflection of life in an endless play of mirrors. But he perceives the deficiencies of such a novel for novelists. He is much too severe, in Gide's opinion and in mine, on "La Porte Etroite," and prefers what he calls the "realism" of "L'Immoraliste," which appears to me too blunt, too symmetrically composed, too spoilt by the insufferably didactic Ménalque to be a very great book. Rightly, Guerard stresses the interest and the beauty of Gide's early treatises. He spends great pains, without any adequate reward in my judgment, on an acute psychoanalytical interpretation of the difficult "Voyage d'Urien." He is less than fair to the superb achievement of "Philoctète" and of "Saul," and dismisses "Fruits of the Earth" with too much impatience. No book, to this day, has cast a comparable spell on youth.

Guerard has the full equipment of a modern critic, which includes a knowledge of modern psychology and, alas, the frequent use of a vocabulary, borrowed from Freud, Rank, and others, which pins labels on certain problems and saves the critic the effort of exploring them—trauma of birth, longing for the unconscious warmth of the womb, focal suicide, and so on. But he uses that vocabulary and those pseudo-explanations sparingly and intelligently. He reduces many of the Gidean contra-

dictions to one central conflict between opposing forces.

Gide's ego was a typically divided one, wavering between self-destructiveness (loved by him with Satanic fervor) and protection of the self; between a dissolving liberty and a Puritan restraint; a voluptuous submission to all influences (from foreign lands, foreign writers, primitive and so called abnormal impulses) and the antithetical urge to follow his slope upward, to integrate and proceed from disintegration to a Goethean expansion toward universality. The clash, often unresolved and half-concealed by the apparent serenity of the style, lies at the source of Gide's finest works and gives them their vibrating tremor. After he decided to drive sincerity to oneself to the utmost and to lay his heart, and his homosexuality, bare in "Corydon" and "If It Die," Gide had little more to say. His later years were sad. He had helped broaden minds and stifle Puritan prejudices so that there is no longer any woe unto him by whom the offense cometh, and Gide still thought he was offending. He who loved the devil should, like those whom the gods love, die young.

Gide, having read the earlier draft of this volume, advised its author to supplement it with a chapter on his influence and the significance of his work. He was right. As a pure novelist, Gide pales, not, as he sincerely but mischievously asserted, as compared with Simeon, "the greatest novelist alive," or with Proust (a memorialist, he insisted, rather than a novelist), but in comparison with Mauriac, Bernanos, Malraux. This volume was written as a companion volume to two others on Hardy and Conrad and contains multiple irrelevant allusions to those novelists, but Guerard could not give Gide all his due by treating him primarily as a writer of fiction.

His last chapter, added on Gide's suggestion, is the least satisfactory in the book. It is not adequately informed: it is very unfair, for example, to Jacques Rivière, who would deserve a full study in English; it fails to follow Gide's in-

fluence through several generations of French writers and on French life or to distinguish among the several masks that Gide's face assumed after 1900. In the last few years there has been a marked coolness to Gide among French youth, and Malraux first, then Camus, has replaced him as their leader. Is it because much of the Gidean message has already been assimilated? Homosexuality has become a conventional theme, and it is now a proof of boldness to treat of heterosexual love in literature; the revolt against any orthodoxy has become tame; Gide's stylistic devices have little appeal to French writers who have turned against language itself or are renovating the language through slang and a very unclassical prose. Even Gide's greatest lesson, that of sincerity in literature, which aligned him with Montaigne, Rousseau, and Stendhal, has borne its fruit, and sincerity driven to the point of brutality is now taken by many to be the only moral virtue left in a new ethical code. Many of Gide's works are promised to oblivion. His ultimate place is uncertain. But *Gidisme*, like *Renanisme*, *Beylisme*, *Rousseauisme*, has been a literary and social force in France and elsewhere.

HENRI PEYRE

Do We Want a World State?

THE IDEA AND PRACTICE OF WORLD GOVERNMENT By Gerard J. Mangone. Columbia University Press. \$3.75.

RECENT writing on the problem of world government has tended to focus on the question of whether or not such government is possible. The advocates of some form of world government, once they have outlined their plan, put their energies to persuading us that if we will but do such and such things we can get world government; opponents tend to emphasize the uselessness in the kind of world we have today of any effort to get beyond the *Staatenbund* of the United Nations into a true world state, a *Bundestaat*, or even a unitary state. Mr. Mangone has a somewhat different focus, and one which makes his book a definite contribution to one of the great debates of our time. He leads off rather cavalierly with the remark that of course world government is possible. But then he asks

the natural question, too often buried in our discussion: Are the more possible, the more likely forms of world government desirable, consistent with what we as democrats want of this world?

His book covers a vast ground, for he has sketched the background of political theory, international law, and actual international power relations from the treaty between Lagash and Umma in Mesopotamia about 3100 B.C. to the present. He has inevitably in so short a book a serious problem of compression and perspective, which he does not wholly solve. The book is too packed with material, too full of clumps of trees for the whole forest to stand out clearly. Yet he has crowded a lot into a small space, and his footnotes and bibliography together will give the student as full guidance to a difficult subject as he is likely to find between two covers.

Mr. Mangone's answer to the main question he sets himself is clear, though it will not satisfy those who want either to damn or join the movement—or rather, movements—to further the cause of world government. Briefly, he maintains that the most probable form an actual world government in the near future would take is that of a gigantic world bureaucracy in which the essential values of democracy—material as well as spiritual values—would be lost. Such a monolithic, totalitarian bureaucracy he regards as inevitable if the political unification of the world is carried out by the successful imperialistic domination of any one power; but he also thinks that a similar stultifying bureaucracy would emerge even were the unification achieved by voluntary agreement of the kind desired by World Federalists. We must, then, be critical even of the best intentions—indeed, above all, of the best intentions. A world state that would preserve the democratic values of diversity, experiment, dynamic growth, must be based on some sort of shared habits of thought and feeling, on the kind of political nexus Burke was trying to get at. We must move slowly and cautiously, perhaps first trying to build from existing "sovereign" states bigger units on a regional basis. Even here Mr. Mangone has his doubts, for he fears that half a dozen super-states would make for an even more ferocious international rivalry than does the present collection of seventy-odd.

At bottom, and from the point of view of the ardent advocate of world government now, Mr. Mangone is almost as discouraging as out-and-out opponents of any attempt to get much beyond the United Nations. But his heart is not wholly in accord with his head. He comes out almost where the skeptics, the hard-bitten realists, come out, but not quite. Something in him urges him on toward the side of the angels—if only they will be patient angels, and not ask for too much. CRANE BRINTON

They Shall Be Free

THEY SHALL BE FREE. By Allan K. Chalmers. Doubleday and Company. \$3.

ON APRIL 9, 1931, in Scottsboro, Alabama, eight colored boys were sentenced to death and one to life imprisonment for alleged rape upon two white girls less than three weeks before. The two girls had spent the previous night in a hobo jungle. One of them later declared that the boys had never touched her. One of the boys was thirteen years old; one was partially blind; and one was suffering from a venereal disease. All but two of the boys were released sometime in the last twelve years. Haywood Patterson escaped; Andy Wright, who had been returned to prison for violation of his parole, was released on June 9, 1950. The Scottsboro Case, one of the most disgraceful in the history of American judicial process, had come to an end. The thrilling story of the involved fight to secure the release of the defendants is here retold, with new details, by one of the most effective participants, a transplanted Southerner who was chairman of the Scottsboro Defense Committee from its establishment in 1935.

The author disclaims any intention of making himself an "interpreter of the social scene." He has done so none the less, for in any *cause célèbre* a community is as much on trial as are the accused. To be sure, he does not trace the deep-sunk roots of the South's illness—slavery, Civil War, Reconstruction, and the restoration of white supremacy. But he does point out their results at the time of the great depression. The nine defendants "were no worse off and no better off than thousands of their contemporaries in the

South. They were, in effect, nine normal boys in the grip of a depression-ridden society." If these nine boys were "normal" products of their society, it is easy to understand why that society sought to convict them of a crime of which they were manifestly innocent.

At first, practically all the respectable elements in Alabama—the clergy, the bar, the press, the universities—were discreetly or cravenly silent. Like other Alabamans they resented the fact that one of the defendants' lawyers, Samuel Leibowitz, was a New York Jew. In this early period, however, Judge James E. Horton achieved at least a minor niche in the annals of the independence of the American judiciary when in 1933 he granted a new trial. The next year he was defeated for reelection.

However, a few Alabamans—among them, Grover Hall, Guy Snavelly, James Chapell, Donald Comer, and Henry M. Edmonds—later formed an Alabama Scottsboro Defense Committee of forty-nine white and colored citizens who contributed mightily to ultimate victory for justice. Having lived for many years in the Deep South, I share the author's admiration for their courage in defying the vicious prejudices of their communities. But I cannot agree with Dr. Chalmers's categorical statement: "It is axiomatic that if one intends to change society, he will not be successful if he works from the outside." No attempt was being made to transform society but rather to free nine innocent boys. The author recognizes that Leibowitz's "contribution to the ultimate victory was immeasurable." So was that of the author, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the American Civil Liberties Union, and other outsiders, including the Supreme Court of the United States.

Perhaps the Communists also contributed to the ultimate victory. Dr. Chalmers records the cliché that their participation made it impossible either to execute or to acquit the accused. There can be little doubt that the Communists were more interested in laying bare the South's sickness than in obtaining an acquittal. And yet, as the author traces the developments, it was not until after the Communists had blatantly revealed the forces behind the conviction that Southern liberals entered the arena. *Post hoc, ergo propter hoc?*

I don't know, but liberals wherever they are would feel more sure of Southern liberalism in the early 1930's if it had entered the lists before the mother of one of the accused had spoken in twenty-eight European countries. Few of us, North or South, like to have our maladies laid bare for neighbors or strangers to see in all their malignancy.

The real value of this enthralling narrative lies, therefore, in its explicit and implicit interpretation of Alabama society from 1931 to 1950 and in its analysis of the forces within and without this society that achieved the ultimate victory for justice.

RAYFORD W. LOGAN

"Case History of All of Us"

THE CATCHER IN THE RYE. By J. D. Salinger. Little, Brown and Company. \$3.

ECHOES reach me of the popularity of "The Catcher in the Rye." Why has this unpretentious, mildly affecting chronicle of a few days in the life of a disturbed adolescent been read with enthusiasm by Book-of-the-Month Club and lending-library adults ordinarily concerned with fiction as a frivolous diversion or as a source of lofty, incontrovertible platitudes?

Entirely, I think, because, like many contemporary and highly praised novels written on the assumption that the mere record of budding sensitiveness automatically results in fiction, the book is a mirror. It reflects something not at all rich and strange but what every sensitive sixteen-year-old since Rousseau has felt, and of course what each one of us is certain he has felt.

Mr. Salinger attempts to make his story specific, but it is constantly escaping into generalities. Holden Caulfield is friendly, "democratic," well-bred, and snobbish in ways peculiar to adolescence. He has the beginnings of taste; "corny" is a term frequent in his speech. A virgin, he never knows exactly what any girl may be expecting of him and is afraid to make love to the prostitute supplied by an obliging bellhop. He mistakes whatever is spontaneous in his behavior for madness: "But I'm crazy. I swear to God I am"; if he acts on impulse he feels guilty, though also boastful: "I'm the most terrific liar you ever saw in your life." Bravado and buffoon-

ery imperfectly disguise his conviction of madness and guilt.

His sense of alienation is almost complete—from parents, from friends, from society in general as represented by the prep school from which he has been expelled and the night-club and hotel world of New York in which he endures a week-end exile while hiding out from his family. With his alienation go assorted hatreds—of the movies, of night clubs, of social and intellectual pretension, and so on. And physical disgust: pimples, sex, an old man picking his nose are all equally cause for nausea. It is of little importance that the alienation, the hatreds, and the disgust are those of a sixteen-year-old. Any reader, sharing or remembering something like them, will agree with the conclusion to be drawn from this unhappy odyssey: to borrow a line from Auden, "We must love one another or die." After every other human being has failed him, Caulfield still has his loving ten-year-old sister to love; she embodies the innocence we all hope we have preserved and the wisdom we all hope we have acquired.

The skill with which all this has been worked into 277 pages is most ingenious. But as it proceeds on its insights, which are not really insights since they are so general, "The Catcher in the Rye" becomes more and more a case history of all of us. Radically this writing depends on the reader's recollection of merely similar difficulties; the unique crisis and the unique anguish are not re-created. These emotional ups and downs become increasingly factitious—so much must be included to elicit memories of so many callow heart-breaks—and though always lively in its parts, the book as a whole is predictable and boring.

ERNEST JONES

The Imagist Doctrine

IMAGISM. A Chapter for the History of Modern Poetry. By Stanley K. Coffman, Jr. University of Oklahoma Press. \$3.

LITERATURE is formed less by movements than by men, less by men than by their writings. Unlike politics, it does not depend on organizational efficiency. If it did, the Imagist movement, which flourished between 1912 and 1917 in England and Amer-

ica, would have been a failure. Mr. Coffman's account of its short history is a tale of disunity, inconsistency, and occasional treason. Originally captained by Ezra Pound, the movement was stolen from him by Amy Lowell. Its critical theory, whose philosophical basis was formed by T. E. Hulme, was formulated into a set of principles by Miss Lowell, Richard Aldington, and others, developed in unexpected directions, and found to have affinities with poets as widely separated as the French Symbolists and the Chinese. The Imagists themselves persistently violated as poets the narrow limitations they had set themselves as critics. Instead of keeping to the irreducible particulars of sensuous experience, as their doctrine demanded, most of them wrote about the more general emotions involved in their relation to that experience.

But the organizational shortcomings of the movement did not prevent it from exerting an influence in modern poetry. Mr. Coffman makes a conservative estimate of this influence, claiming for it only a general effect which is difficult to isolate. Imagism avoided the extremes of such eccentric contemporary movements as futurism and vorticism. It did not offer poetry a cosmic revelation, but only a standard of conduct. This limitation is clear throughout Mr. Coffman's discussion, and especially in his comparison of imagism and symbolism. Apart from certain incidental resemblances, the two approach poetic imagery with very different expectations. The Symbolists regarded their vague, suggestive images as a means of approaching ultimates. Hulme, on the other hand, disclaimed the transcendental as subject matter for poetry and set the image to tasks of precise denotation. The moderate Imagist principles called for exactness, economy, and the honest use of materials, the virtues of all good workmanship. Many poets of decidedly independent talents like D. H. Lawrence and William Carlos Williams were temporarily attracted to the movement and drew from it a consciousness of craft which affected their later work. Even the poetry of T. S. Eliot, who may have learned of Hulme's theories through Pound, represents in many ways an application of Imagist doctrines.

JACOB KORG

Books in Brief

A CONGREVE GALLERY. By Kathleen M. Lynch. Harvard. \$3.50. Congreve was not fortunate in his early biographers. Ten years ago, however, John Hodges published the results of original researches, and it will probably never be possible to fill in any farther the rather sketchy outlines. Wisely therefore Professor Lynch has adopted another approach—brilliant little sketches of five persons intimately connected with him. They include the eccentric Dr. Monsey, who lived to be ninety-three and to figure briefly in Boswell; Henrietta, Duchess of Marlborough, the daughter of the great Duke; and Mary, Duchess of Leeds, who was legally the daughter of Henrietta and her husband but of whom, in all probability, Congreve was actually the father. Professor Lynch has uncovered much new material including many hitherto unpublished letters, and some of her subjects now emerge as among the most attractive and entertaining of early eighteenth-century personages. Her method is rigidly scholarly and precisely detailed, but she manages at the same time to be vivid and amusing. The result is a book indispensable to students of the period but also one which even the casual reader is certain to find fascinating if he has any appreciation at all of the wit and charm of eighteenth-century society and personality.

THE WRIGHT BROTHERS. By Fred C. Kelly. Farrar, Straus. \$5. The most curious chapter in the whole curious saga of the Wright brothers deals with the newspapers of the period and their skeptical disinterest in the new world that was taking shape before their eyes. The Kitty Hawk flight—certainly one of the great news stories of the century—was reported in the Norfolk *Virginian Pilot* and the story sent out to twenty-five leading papers. Only three of the twenty-five used it; nor did the A. P. consider it worthy of mention. The long series of experimental flights in Dayton during 1904 and 1905 was ignored even by the local papers, although by an odd quirk a full report appeared in a magazine entitled *Gleanings in Bee Culture*. In fact, it was only

after the brothers flew to fame in France that American skepticism faded. Mr. Kelly deals at tedious length with patent suits and the long controversy with the Smithsonian Institute but is strangely silent on the last forty years of Orville's life. To the average reader the recently published volume of the Wright brothers' letters will be more interesting and illuminating than this reissue of the authorized biography.

Films

MANNY
FARBER

THE grimmest phenomenon since Dagmar has been the fabulous nation-wide success of Jerry Lewis's sub-adolescent, masochistic mugging. Lewis has parlayed his apish physiognomy, rickety body, frenzied lack of coordination, paralyzing brashness, and limitless capacity for self-degradation into a gold mine for himself and the mannered crooner named Dean Martin who, draped artistically from a mike, serves as his ultra-suave straight man. When Jerry fakes swallowing a distasteful pill, twiddles "timid" fingers, whines, or walks "like Frankenstein," his sullen narcissistic insistence suggests that he would sandbag anyone who tried to keep him from the limelight. Lewis is a type I hoped to have left behind when I short-sheeted my last cot at Camp Kennekreplach. But today's bobby-soxers are rendered apoplectic by such Yahoo antics, a fact that can only be depressing for anyone reared on comedians like Valentino, Norma Shearer, Lewis Stone, Gregory Peck, Greer Garson, Elizabeth Taylor, or Vincent Impellitteri.

"That's My Boy" has to do with the transformation of an inept sissified bookworm (Lewis) into a halfback as sterling as glamour-boy Martin, a man who nonchalantly slaps off tacklers the way most of us shoo away mosquitoes. (For his part, Martin has modeled him-

BOOKS OF ALL
KINDS FROM THE **USSR**
Just Arrived! LEO TOLSTOY
TALES of SEVASTOPOL
Deluxe Edition — Beautifully Illustrated
In English — 154 pp. — \$1.50
Latest Soviet Records, Sheet Music, Handicrafts
1951 Subscriptions Open for Soviet Periodicals
Ask for Complete Catalogue P-51
FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.
W. 5th Street, N. Y. 19 Murray Hill 8-2680

self so carefully on Crosby and Como that he seems to jiggle like a mannered skeleton inside his heavily padded suits.) The film is almost saved by Eddie Mayehoff, a lantern-jawed bruiser with practically no mouth and a funny way of overemphasizing his role of an ancient Bronco Nagurski; I figure him for a terrible-tempered tuskless mastodon who never actually went to college but knows enough to despise this puerile TV-style pigskin parody. If I am right, he supports my opinion that the American public is now ready to laugh at lepers and gas-chambers.

Almost every Italian film trickling into the "art" theaters these days has been awarded a prize by a foreign film festival. They also have in common a flux of odd-angled shots of thighs and heaving bosoms; a quantity of daring propaganda against such ogres as war-mongers, pimps, non-leftist priests, prison wardens, Lesbians, and petty government officials; and an all-around frenzied unkemptness in cutting, lighting, make-up, and underlying purpose. Such a movie is "Women Without Names," a detention-camp melodrama which won the Selznick award in Venice and will probably play here to an almost solidly male audience—aesthetic to the core—drawn in by such ads as "women trapped by intrigue . . . and the heartless passion of ruthless men!" Not to mention stills like the one of Simone

Simon languishing in bra and shorts on a mattress of hay in order to tease the fat pervert who sits nearby, ogling her in a torment of frustration. With sharp Italian sense of irony and realism, the director has stuck a donkey into one corner of the frame and scoured the brassiere industry for a spectacular zebra-striped number—just what you'd expect a prisoner to wear on off-hours in the camp stable. The story behind this sly scene is that a gold-hearted hoyden is trying to seduce a fruity ice-cream vender into marriage so that she can promote herself and her pal, Valentina Cortesa, out of this corral for women without passports. The plan fails; the pal dies in childbirth while the camera, by way of no change, dollies down a line of sulky, dowdy onlookers. In Cortesa, my favorite actress of the moment, the film has at least one undebatable asset: no tricks, quiet grace, and a sensitive beauty which must have seen and lived wisely and well.

Just in case you've run out of sodium amytal for the week-end, here are a few substitutes with which I've just caught up. They've been floating around for some time. "Fabiola": Christian tribulations in the time of Constantine. A two-hour chaos of disconnected sequences snipped more or less at random from a much longer French production. English dubbed in; livestock by Barnum; male and female costumes by Claire

McCardell; lighting by Mr. Moon. "Tony Draws a Horse": Cecil Parker and all the gang in a sophisticated British psycho-comedy. Very intelligent movie in which the heroine swaths her head in a bandana, pulls her dress over her head, and then takes the bandana off. Perhaps, this is the English way of distracting your attention from obvious cheesecake. "The Secret of Convict Lake": Battle between the sexes, somewhere north of Carson City in 1871. Five escaped convicts drop in on eight temporarily unattached lady pioneers of the sort you might meet in Lord and Taylor's any day now: Gene Tierney, Ethel Barrymore, Richard Hylton. A grotesquely overcivilized Western larded with small talk about decency and indecency, peace of mind, kindness.

"Force of Arms," the only likable film I saw last week, deserves a longer review than I can give it here.

Records

B. H.
HAGGIN

COLUMBIA also has made a contribution of immortal performances of the past—four LP records with forty-eight of the performances which Louis Armstrong recorded with his Hot Five (1925) and Hot Seven (1927), with Earl Hines and supporting players (1928), and with commercial bands (1929). And those interested will do well to read Wilder Hobson's article about Armstrong and these records in—of all places—the *Saturday Review of Literature*. The SRL is nothing I would suggest acquiring ordinarily—not, certainly, for its music section—but unaccountably it publishes each month the writing of a man with those rare instruments of a good critic—the ear that can hear, the judgment that can evaluate, the literary gift that can communicate. In his possession of these Mr. Hobson is alone not only among the regular writers of the SRL music section but among writers on jazz. Reluctantly, therefore, most reluctantly, I suggest acquiring the April 28 issue of SRL in which his illuminating article appeared (I should have made the same sugges-

MONEY-SAVING MAGAZINE COMBINATIONS

The NATION

- ☐ with Harper's Magazine . . \$9.50 You Save \$2.50
- ☐ with Consumer Reports . . . \$10.75 You Save \$1.25
- ☐ with Harper's Magazine and Consumer Reports . . \$13.25 You Save \$3.75

All club combinations listed are for one year, and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses. Remittance must accompany all combination orders.

THE NATION by itself:

- ☐ 1 Year \$7 ☐ 2 Years \$12 ☐ 3 Years \$17

Canadian and Foreign Postage \$1 a year extra.

THE NATION, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

- ☐ I want to subscribe to *The Nation* for _____ years.
☐ Remittance enclosed. ☐ Bill me.
- ☐ I enclose my remittance for the following *Nation* combinations as listed below.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____

ZONE _____

STATE _____

9/1/51

tion about the SRL Toscanini issue in March, 1950—not for the article in which the music editor went “phlumph-phlumph-phlumph” on “the meaning of Toscanini,” but for the one in which a member of the N. B. C. Symphony, Samuel Antek, described Toscanini’s way of producing music with an orchestra).

The records document Armstrong’s trumpet-playing and singing from the time when they operated in the framework and context of the integrated performances of the Hot Five and Seven that were still very close to their New Orleans origins of group improvisation, to the time when a band merely provided a plushy background for the solo entertainer who began with a sensitively ornamented trumpet statement of a current song hit, continued with an extravagantly free vocal treatment of it, and carried this to its climax in a final spectacular trumpet solo. They enable us to see, according to Hobson, that “Armstrong himself . . . has . . . remained substantially the same artist,” but “the material he has worked with, the types of musical combinations with which he has played have widely differed.” And the results too have differed—in quality. This is the first time I have ever listened to all these groups of performances together; and it has enabled me to perceive how much better the Hot Fives and Sevens are, as wholes, than the performances of the Earl Hines combination, brilliant and exciting though these are; and to perceive also how much better Armstrong’s own work is in those early performances, superb and beautiful though it is in the later ones—e. g., the 1928 “Muggles” and “West End Blues,” the 1929 “I Can’t Give You Anything but Love.” Within the framework and context of the integrated Hot Five and Seven performances Armstrong’s solos, no matter how impassioned, how fantastic, how breathtaking in their virtuosity, remain under control and complete their developing structure; but already in the performances with Hines we hear the spectacular getting to be formless at times, as in those series of ever higher high notes; and we hear this carried to its occasionally incoherent extreme in the concluding exhibitions of trumpet virtuosity of the 1929 performances.

Of those early solos which exhibit

Armstrong’s invention under control the greatest of all is not on these records: it is the one in the “Wild Man Blues” attributed to Johnny Dodds and His Something-or-other on the Brunswick label; and it has a more exciting controlled power and coherence than the “Wild Man Blues” on the Columbia record. Two more of the best early performances, “Put ‘Em Down Blues” and “Savoy Blues,” might have been included in place of “Muskrat Ramble” and “Yes, I’m in the Barrel,” which are among the less good. I hope they will be issued later, and that Columbia intends to issue Bessie Smith’s performances, with Armstrong’s and Joe Smith’s wonderful obbligato playing.

Columbia gives us not only performances of the past but music: the Arthur Schwartz-Howard Dietz songs of one of the most memorable of musical revues, “The Band Wagon,” which are as delightful today as in 1931, and are sung with a little too much charm by Mary Martin; and the songs of one of the finest of the Rodgers and Hart series, “Pal Joey,” with Vivienne Segal again singing “Bewitched, Bothered, and Bewildered,” and Harold Lang contributing his appropriately voiceless singing to “In Our Little Den of Iniquity.” Also the songs of Cole Porter’s “Anything Goes”; but these call for an Ethel Merman rather than a Mary Martin. Again one hopes for more: “The Boys from Syracuse” and others of the Rodgers and Hart series; “Funny Face” and others of the pre-“Strike up the Band” Gershwin series.

Of the present is “Guys and Dolls” (Decca), with Frank Loesser’s wonderful comedy songs—above all Adelaide’s Lament (in which the stanza with the marvelous line about the naked feeling one gets from the absence of an engagement ring on one’s finger is omitted) and “Take Back Your Mink” (“take back your puhyls”) as sung by Vivian Blaine and the lifelike replica of a raucous-voiced night-club chorus.

This is the occasion to speak of London’s recording of “Die Fledermaus.” For the first time I have heard the music with the German words that fit so perfectly in sound, in sense, in atmosphere; for the first time I have heard the words and music sung in a way that is possible only for people who have been hearing and singing

them all their lives—a group of superb Vienna State Opera singers, with the State Opera Orchestra conducted by Krauss. And for the first time, as a result, I have understood the love in Germany and Austria for what is in fact a masterpiece of its genre. The German text (with many mistakes) and a very free English version are provided. The violin sound is veiled and edged.

For those who may want it Columbia has recorded the English adaptation produced by the Metropolitan, with the English of Lily Pons and Ljuba Welitch completely unintelligible, and with no text, but with excellent recorded sound. And RCA Victor has issued a number of the important tunes (often only one stanza) sung in another English translation by other Metropolitan stars, and sung well except by Rise Stevens.

CONTRIBUTORS

HENRI PEYRE is professor of French at Yale University. His latest books are “Les Générations Littéraires” and “Connaissance de Baudelaire.”

CRANE BRINTON, professor of history at Harvard University, is the author of many books, of which the most recent is “Ideas and Men.”

RAYFORD W. LOGAN is professor of history at Howard University.

ERNEST JONES, who regularly reviews fiction for *The Nation*, is a member of the English Department at Queens College.

JACOB KORG is a member of the English Department of the College of the City of New York.

PULITZER PRIZE and CRITICS' AWARD
 RICHARD RODGERS & OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd
 present in association with
 LELAND HAYWARD & JOSHUA LOGAN

ROGER RICO
MARTHA WRIGHT

South Pacific

Music by **RICHARD RODGERS**
 Lyrics by **OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd**
 Book by
 OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd & JOSHUA LOGAN
 Adapted from JAMES H. MICHENER'S Pulitzer
 Prize Winning "TALES OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC"
 Directed by JOSHUA LOGAN
 Scenery & Lighting by Jo Mielziner
 with Myron McCORMICK • Diana COSTELLO
 MAJESTIC, 44 St. W. of B'way • Air-Cond.
 Evenings 8:30. Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:30

RESORTS

Lakecrest

90 Miles from N. Y. C. on HUNN'S LAKE
STANFORDVILLE, NEW YORK

A former Dutchess County Estate, a rendezvous for discerning adults. Cool lake breezes, high altitude and comfortable furnishings make a most pleasurable vacation. Sports for the enthusiast, scenery for the artistic and savory meals for all. CALL OR WRITE FOR RESERVATIONS NOW
Eva Berg, Director Stanfordville 2982-2099

HOUSE FOR SALE

KEEN VALLEY, in Adirondacks; furnished or unfurnished; suitable for year-round living. 1st floor, hall, living-dining room with knotty pine paneling and fireplace; attractive kitchen, two bedrooms, bath, porch. 2nd floor, two bedrooms, bath. Basement, furnace room, rooms suitable for workshop and laundry. 1-car garage. Oil burner, hot water heat. 2.1 acres of ground, mostly woodland, mountain view, trout stream. Box 241, c/o The Nation.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING analysis. Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel. WA 4-1575. Cooperating with doctors, psychologists, schools, firms, industries. Lessons by appointment, evenings. Marital, educational, vocational, psychological problems. Fee, \$5.00.

PUBLISHING SERVICE

AUTHORS! Sales Department available for your short stories, articles, books and plays. Free booklet, write today! Mead Agency, 419 Fourth Avenue, N. Y. 16 (OR 9-1150).

PERSONALS

exit loneliness

Somewhere there is someone you would like to know.
Somewhere there is someone who would like to know you.
We can help you find a richer, happier life through discreet, dignified "social introductions."
Write for booklet, no phone
MAY RICHARDSON
Dept. TN, 111 West 72 Street
New York City EN 2-2033



ICONOCLAST seeks relief from Iconophilic wife. Box 240, c/o The Nation.

Buy Your Books through THE Nation

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C. O. D. No C. O. D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to
Miss Le Pach

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
13 Vesey Street New York 7, N. Y.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

How the McCarran Act Works

Dear Sirs: I have not been able to see my wife and daughter for more than two years. The State Department has refused to grant me a visa because I wrote a book which did not please the FBI.

I am a social scientist and a member of the French Socialist Party. I wrote a book on fascism which was published in New York in 1939. The book is quoted several times in a booklet issued by the American government under the title "Fascism in Europe."

My wife left France in 1946 with our daughter to visit her mother. An immigration visa was granted them, and they are now permanent residents of the United States. I joined my family in late 1946 on a visitor's visa for one year—later extended for another year. The American embassy in Paris knew my background, and I had no trouble in obtaining permission to enter the United States. While in America I gathered material for a book on America. The first two volumes have been published.

I left the United States in 1949 because my father died in France. As soon as I left the country I applied for an immigration visa to return to my family. The visa was refused. The FBI had furnished the consulate with a statement contending that I was once a Communist. I proved that this charge was false. Mr. Norman Thomas—who knows me well—attested that I never had anything to do with the Communist Party. But the FBI and the consulate stuck to their lie. Later I tried to obtain from the United States Attorney General a "temporary admission," but the consul in Paris refused to forward the request to the Department of Justice under the pretense that I would use a temporary permit to stay for good.

My wife does not dare to leave the United States to visit me for fear she will not be allowed to return.

I am an enemy of the Kremlin, and I wholeheartedly agree with Senator McMahon that every effort should be made to break down the Iron Curtain. But at the same time I am just as much against an Atlantic Curtain. The attitude taken toward me does much more harm to the ideals for which America is fighting

than any of the views I express in my book about concentration of wealth in the United States.

Paris

DANIEL GUERIN

On a Divided Germany

Dear Sirs: In Professor Mosely's excellent review of the symposium, "Germany and the Future of Europe," he makes two statements with which I must reluctantly take issue. He says:

1. "All of the participants assume an indefinite continuance of armed truce between East and West and hence a prolonged division of Germany into two increasingly divergent parts."

The fact is that this participant made precisely the opposite assumption. See pages 152-55.

2. "None of the contributors makes more than a passing reference to the risk that a rearmament Germany may attempt to use the power of a Western alliance to recover the Soviet zone and perhaps the lands beyond the Oder-Neisse."

Perhaps the paragraph at the end of page 154 in which this contributor pointed out the dangers inherent in German rearmament is nothing more than a "passing reference." The fact is, however, that this contributor fully shares Professor Mosely's anxiety and has in many published writings elaborated precisely the danger against which he warns.

Being in a minority among the contributors to the volume, I heartily welcome Professor Mosely's criticism and regret only that he failed to discover that his views were shared in at least one small section of the work.

New York

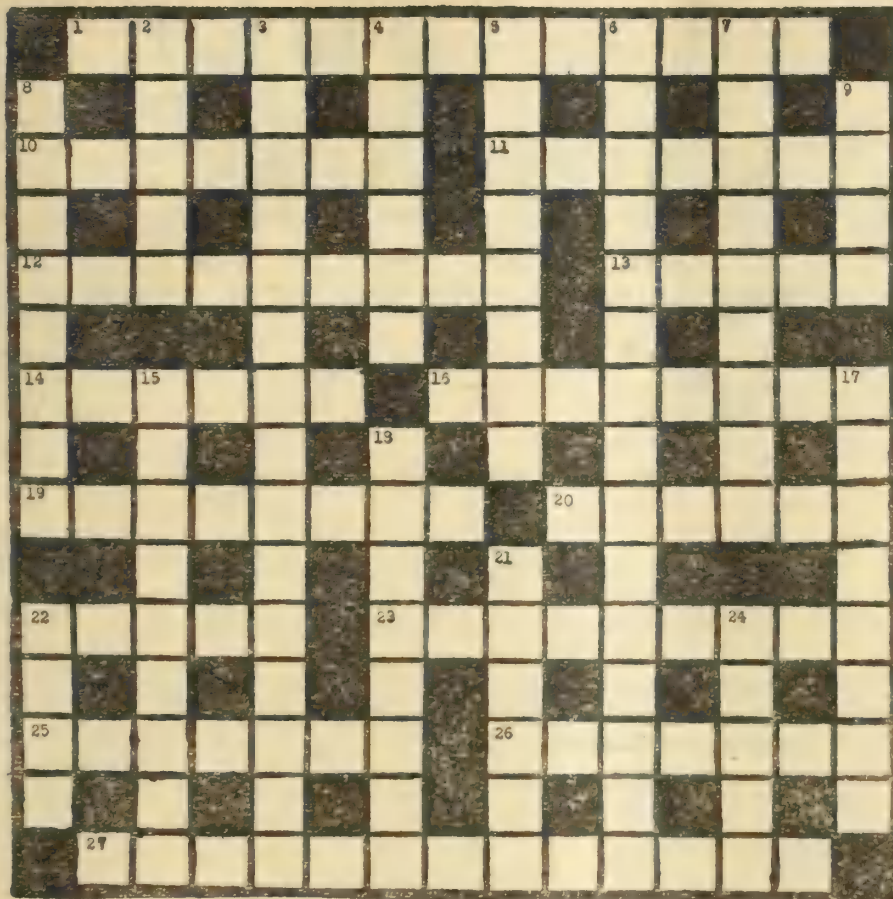
JAMES P. WARBURG

Dear Sirs: In pages 152-55 of "Germany and the Future of Europe" Mr. James P. Warburg makes several trenchant criticisms of the post-1945 division of Germany and urges that there can be "no united Europe without a united Germany." I did not find in these pages any definite proposals for overcoming the present division of Germany, and it seemed to me that elsewhere Mr. Warburg discussed primarily the problem of what to do about Western Germany, in which Americans have considerable responsibility and some influence.

Cuttingsville, Vt. PHILIP E. MOSELY

Crossword Puzzle No. 428

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 What department heads hold at Peabody and Juilliard? (7, 6)
- 10 City of the West? No, South! (7)
- 11 Am I a car? Personally, I can't understand it! (7)
- 12 Joining up after I leave the military profession? (9)
- 13 Yours might be old before me in good season. (5)
- 14 Is the carnival cancelled? It's not cricket! (2, 4)
- 16 Never eat it, if you don't like to weaken. (8)
- 19 We are each year by presidential decree. (8)
- 20 Produced by some agency. (6)
- 22 Jose certainly doesn't go soft --- he take a new name. (5)
- 23 Forearmed bed with a heavy end, but it'll blow. (9)
- 25 Clear and shrill. (7)
- 26 Is Jimmy unrated? (7)
- 27 The thing that sometimes keeps a round from being flat. (13)

DOWN

- 2 Habitual. (5)
- 3 I think of cement, I find, as barely on hand. (2, 3, 4, 2, 4)

- 4 I need a good story for a change. (6)
- 5 Carrying an account of what the 600 were doing. (8)
- 6 Navigation is merely! (1, 6, 2, 6)
- 7 One might be at the count of three. (9)
- 8 Wheeze. (8)
- 9 Each is a symptom of confusion. (4)
- 15 Advisors to the admiral in Arizona. (9)
- 17 If you're over this, you're likely to be attacked. (8)
- 18 The novelist is opening up around the drive. (8)
- 21 Does an anagram of them? Positively! (6)
- 22 Union man? (4)
- 24 Medicine of note. (5)

.....

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 427

ACROSS:—1 ALL IN GOOD TIME; 10 TRYST; 11 EROTICISM; 12 INFERENCE; 13 LOSER; 14 REPOSSESSING; 19 and 27 THERE'S NO FOOL LIKE AN OLD FOOL; 22 DEPOT; 24 PEPPER POT; 25 ENCIRCLED; 26 ELLEN.
DOWN:—2 LAY-OFF; 3 INTERCEDE; 4 GREENHORN; 5 OZONE; 6 TWILL; 7 MAINSAIL; 8 STAIN; 9 and 18 AMERIGO VESPUCCI; 15 SOFT PEDAL; 16 STONE-DEAF; 17 STUDDER; 20 APOLLO; 21 ATONE; 23 TARGE; 24 PYLON.

RESORTS

the dream resort you've been looking for
and looking for and looking for!

THE NEW
Glenmere
PRIVATE GOLF COURSE

Chester, N. Y. in the beautiful Ramapos
Phones: Chester 2151 - N. Y. REster 2-5047

50 MILES TO FOREST HOUSE

Near enough for easy travel, far enough for an unforgettable vacation. Forest House achieves new levels of gay relaxation in inspiring surroundings, Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality. Two grand lakes. All sports.

FOREST HOUSE

Lake Mahopac, N. Y. • Tel. MAhopac 8-3449



Year 'round Adult Activities

Hathaway Lodge

Formerly the palatial 592-acre Macy estate. Luxurious rooms, many with open fireplaces. Swimming pool, clay tennis courts, handball, badminton. Horseback riding, hiking—magnificent mountain trails. Bookings, library, informal dancing. Delicious American-Jewish food. Easy transportation. Attractive Rates. For reservations or booklet N:

HATHAWAY LODGE

Haines Falls, N. Y. • Phone Tannersville

WINDY HILL

ON ORANGE LAKE

A pleasantly informal vacation in friendly atmosphere. Hooks, Records, Ping-pong, a two-mile lake for boating, fishing, swimming. Food of excellent quality in generous quantity. Rate: \$50 weekly, \$7.50 daily.

85 Miles From N. Y. C.
JANE C. ARENZ, H. D. No. 1, Walden, N. Y.
Phone: Newburgh 115 W 2

50 MI.
FROM
NEW YORK



MAMANASCO
Lake Lodge

RIDGEFIELD, CONN.
Phone 6-7000

A beautiful country estate converted into a delightful retreat for vacations and weekends. All outdoor activities. Mile-long lake. Tennis. Golf nearby. Informal, congenial atmosphere. Television, recordings. Excellent cuisine and accommodations. Moderate rates.



Timberland
POTTERSVILLE, N. Y.

AN ADULT CAMP IN THE ADIRONDACKS

Special Fall Rates Now! • Open until Sept. 24

Limited to 100 • Dancing • All Sports

New York Office: 33 W. 42 St. LO 5-3074

The Rare Charm of an Intimate Congenial Group

Butcher... Baker... ? Candlestick Maker

Where will they spend their vacations this year?

Why not tell them about your resort in the pages of

THE **Nation**

RESORT CLASSIFIED DISPLAY

\$7.42 per inch, and insertion

Generous discounts for multiple insertions.

Write or phone today for further information.

ADVERTISING DEPARTMENT

The NATION

20 VESEY STREET, NEW YORK 7, N. Y.
BARclay 7-1068

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York

Still Available AT LOW PRICES:

The Vatican versus the Public Schools

By PAUL BLANSHARD

A thirty-two-page booklet containing four recent articles by Mr. Blanshard dealing with the Vatican and public education in France, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Italy, plus a 3000-word introduction and conclusion in which the author relates his facts to the problem in America.

*One copy 25¢; ten copies \$2.25;
fifty copies \$9; one hundred copies \$15*

Peace with Russia— Can It Be Negotiated?

We still have in stock a limited number of *The Nation's* 85th anniversary issue, which sent a surge of hope through the free world. Its 124 exciting pages provide a clear insight into the most critical problem of our time—how atomic war could be averted—how peace could be achieved without surrender of basic principles.

*25¢ a copy. Rates for copies
in bulk furnished on request.*

Convenient Order Form

THE NATION
20 Vesey Street ■ New York 7, N. Y.

Please mail me postpaid _____ copies of

for which I enclose my remittance of \$ _____

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ ZONE _____ STATE _____

9/1/51

Emergent Colossus—*Basil Davidson*

THE *Nation*

BURLINGAME
PUBLIC LIBRARY
Burlingame, Calif.

September 8, 1951

The Battle Bill

Some Reflections From Britain

BY A. J. P. TAYLOR

✱

I'm a Baptist, Too

New Thinking on Old Problems

BY WILLSON WHITMAN

✱

Oregon Goes to the Dogs

BY RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

Frederick Kuh to Cover San Francisco Conference

FREDERICK KUH, internationally famous diplomatic correspondent, will report to *Nation* readers direct from San Francisco, where fifty-three nations will gather to sign, or reject, the treaty with Japan. A defense pact for the Pacific peoples will be the other concern of what may prove to be the most vital conference since the creation, in that same city, of the United Nations, six years ago.

In forthcoming issues Mr. Kuh will bring to *Nation* readers, on-the-spot reporting and trenchant analyses of this historic event.

The *London Tribune* recently commented: "It is strange how little discussion of the Japanese treaty there has been in our country."

The same can be said, of course, of discussion of this treaty in the American press. On the other hand, *The Nation* has given its readers the kind of facts and information needed to enable them to better understand the dynamics of this conference.

Like other subscribers, perhaps you too may want to avail yourself of extra back copies containing the following material:

"A Defense Pact for the Pacific," by W. MacMahon Ball, Australian representative on the Allied Council for Japan. (The Nation, July 28, 1951)

"When Japan Has a Treaty," by Owen Lattimore, Director of the Walter Hines Page School of International Relations at Johns Hopkins University. (The Nation, August 4, 1951)

"Our Inmost Feelings," by The Nation's Tokyo correspondent, a well-known Japanese economist whose works are known and respected throughout the Far East.

(The Nation, August 11, 1951)

"How Democratic Is Japan?" by Hugh H. Smythe, an American who is now the guest lecturer in sociology at Yamaguchi University in Japan. (The Nation, September 1, 1951)

"The Japanese Treaty: Will It Be An Editorial."

(The Nation, August 4, 1951)

"A Treaty with the Past," an editorial by Freda Kirchwey.

(The Nation, September 1, 1951)

Use the convenient order form to additional copies of these important appraisals.

Convenient Order Form

THE NATION

20 Vesey Street • New York 7, N. Y.

Please mail me postpaid _____ copies, at 20¢ per copy, of _____

for which I enclose my remittance of \$ _____

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____

ZONE _____

STATE _____

9/8/51

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 173

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • SEPTEMBER 8, 1951

NUMBER 10

The Shape of Things

DICTATOR FRANCO'S SUCCESS IN SELLING anti-communism for dollars has revived the ambition of every European leader who aspires to the position of "strong man." In Greece that role falls logically upon Field Marshal Alexandros Papagos. As soon as King Paul signed the decree dissolving Parliament and calling for new elections, the old general hurried to save the nation. "Conscious of the gravity of the situation through which my country is passing," he said, "and having weighed my responsibilities to history, I have decided to enter politics." This is a well-known formula which has become as traditional as the "I do" in the marriage service. Papagos's announcement was received enthusiastically in fascist quarters in Athens, but startled other political leaders who are equally ready to save the nation and to make use of as many millions of dollars from America as Congress will be willing to grant. Constantine Tsaldaris, the Popular leader, reacted violently, talking about a "plot." Marshal Papagos made his spectacular entrance on the political scene after resigning as chairman of the General Staff in an open row with the King. His rivals are using this fact to suggest that Papagos's coming to power would be a threat both to the monarchy and to democracy. If it sounds rather odd to hear the Marshal proclaim his desire to be in the front rank of the battle "for the freedom of Europe," it is no less amusing to see M. Tsaldaris, under whose government so many Greek anti-fascists were imprisoned and shot, step forward as the great champion of democracy against possible encroachment of the military. The elections of September 8 will decide the winner in this cynical competition for control of the country and of American dollars.

★

RICHARD NEUBERGER'S ARTICLE IN THIS issue traces the classic scheme of individual and civic corruption which is to be found wherever legalized gambling is tolerated. Quite recently nine members of the Illinois legislature turned up as "stockholders" of the Chicago Downs Race Track Association which operates the fabulously profitable harness races at Sportsman's Park in Cicero. Politicians of both parties were given

a chance to purchase stock in the company for ten cents a share which in the next two years paid off at the rate of \$1.75 a share. The Speaker of the House, in accordance with the dignity and influence of his office, was allowed to buy 16,900 shares from which he received \$27,885 in profits. All of the legislators involved took an active part in pushing a bill through the legislature in 1949 which legalized harness racing at the track.

★

SPORTSMAN'S PARK IS "BOSSSED" BY WILLIAM H. Johnston, referred to by the Chicago *Sun-Times* as "an associate of mobsters," who also operates four dog tracks in Florida. With admirable impartiality, Mr. Johnston made it possible for both the Democratic and Republican floor leader, in the 1949 session of the legislature, to purchase 1,000 shares each. Each member of the legislature in Illinois, incidentally, takes an oath which reads: "I have not accepted, or will I accept or receive, directly or indirectly, any money or other valuable thing from any corporation, company or person for any vote or influence I may give or withhold on any bill . . ." The alibis offered by the various legislators have an old-fashioned simplicity about them. Comments the Speaker: "I don't think there is anything in the law against a man making a little investment." Remarks one of his colleagues: "If there was any talk of a payoff when the bill was up, I didn't hear it." More sophisticated statesmen would have promptly countered with the charge that the attempt to "impugn" their motives was communistic in origin.

★

AN INDIAN MAHARAJAH, AN AMERICAN college professor, and a Uruguayan diplomat, sitting as a special administrative tribunal, have handed down a decision which constitutes a sharp set-back to Secretary General Trygve Lie of the United Nations. In a ruling on the appeal of five staff employees whose cases were discussed in *The Nation* of July 28, 1951 (McCarthyism at the U. N.), the special tribunal has held that the 2,234 members of the United Nations staff of 3,390 who do not have permanent contracts are nevertheless entitled to a statement of the reasons for any dismissal and have a right of appeal. Mr. Lie had contended that

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things	181
Appointment As Reward	184
Asia's "Hot Corner"	184

ARTICLES

The Battle Bill <i>by A. J. P. Taylor</i>	186
Africa: Emergent Colossus <i>by Basil Davidson</i>	187
Oregon Goes to the Dogs <i>by Richard L. Neuberger</i>	189
I'm a Baptist, Too <i>by Willson Whitman</i>	191

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Biography of Disraeli <i>by Joseph Wood Krutch</i>	194
"Geographic Syria" <i>by J. C. Hurewitz</i>	194
No Illusions: And No Ideas <i>by A. J. P. Taylor</i>	196
Basis of Soviet Conduct <i>by Warren B. Walsh</i>	197
Voyage of the SS Branten <i>by Harvey Swados</i>	197
Verse Chronicle <i>by Rolfe Humphries</i>	198
Music <i>by B. H. Haggin</i>	198

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 200

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 429

by Frank W. Lewis opposite 200

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Associate Editor: Carey McWilliams

Foreign Editor
J. Alvarez del Vayo

Literary Editor
Margaret Marshall

Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin

Assistant Editor: Charles R. Allen, Jr.

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside

Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting

Staff Contributors

Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: Mary Simon

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1951, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas. Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$7; Two years \$12; Three years \$17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: *The Nation* is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

the right to appeal belonged only to the 1,156 employees with permanent contracts. Having decided the key question, the tribunal will now hear the individual cases of the five complainants. The decision alone will not remove the tension which has been permitted to develop between the staff and the administration, but it does mark a restriction on the encroachment of McCarthyism at the U. N.

★

IF JEFFERSON DAVIS WERE TO TRAVEL through Dixie today he would find that nearly one car out of ten on the highways now flies the Stars and Bars defiantly from its radio aerial. Some car owners drape the rear end of their vehicles with full-scale flags, while limousines seem to prefer diminutive windshield stickers. One Atlanta manufacturer is offering men's cravats embellished with the emblem, and another merchant in the same city is using it as the trade-mark of a fabric known as "rebel blue." The demand for Confederate flags has been steady, of course, ever since the Cause was lost, but a remarkable fervor seems to underlie the current flag-waving. The Atlanta manufacturer who produces most of the Confederate flags in use reports that sales have increased 400 per cent in the last two years but adds: "Don't ask me why." A South-wide chain of service stations adorn their tanks with the emblem and sell large and small flags at 39 cents each, plus tax. Souvenir shops report that the flag is a best seller among tourists as well as home folks.

★

STARS AND BARS BUYERS SEEM TO HAVE IN common a generalized resentment against "everything that's going on": prices, foreign policy, taxes, political corruption, and "uppity" Negroes. Needless to say, the South's eight million Negroes are not buying any Confederate flags, old or new. To them the manner in which the flag is blossoming out these days is a reminder that white supremacy is still the order of the day. Even though the Truman Administration has failed to enact any portion of its civil-rights program, there is reason to believe that the program still serves as the chief bugaboo for demagogic Dixie politicians. While it is doubtful whether the Dixiecrats or Klansmen are directly responsible for raising the Stars and Bars over most of Dixie, there is no doubt that the manner in which the flag is being displayed indicates a climate of opinion that is favorable to both.

★

THE SUSPENSION OF THE TALKS BETWEEN Iran and Britain, with W. Averell Harriman sitting in as an informal mediator, is a misfortune for everyone concerned. For Britain it means a serious loss of profits and necessary oil supplies, a loss which will also affect the defense plans of the Western coalition as a whole. For Iran, already in a state of scarcely concealed bankruptcy,

It may well mean the collapse of the government and violent political upheaval. That no settlement was possible even in these circumstances is sure evidence that more serious issues were involved than either side acknowledged. The technical, limited reason for the breakdown was Iran's objection to the creation of a British-controlled agency to run the oil industry. Although under the plan proposed by the British negotiator the National Iranian Oil Company would have exercised ultimate authority over operations, the agency would have had a British director and its staff would have been responsible to him rather than to the N. I. O. C.

★

THIS WAS REJECTED BY PREMIER MOSSADEGH as violating the spirit of the Nationalization Law. They also balked at the monopolistic terms on which the new British purchasing company would have operated as well as to the proposed fifty-fifty division of net profits. But behind these limited and technical objections could be discerned the overwhelming force of Iranian nationalism before which profits, efficient management, even the ultimate strengthening of Iran as a nation had to take second place. The counsel of moderates was submerged by the threats of the extreme elements, left and right, and by the popular clamor their agitation set off. But what must be remembered is that the tidal-wave of nationalist fervor in Iran was not self-generated. It gathered its present uncontrollable strength only because the Anglo-Iranian Company, in partnership with the British government, had maintained a fabulous rate of profit, had prevented Iranians from sharing control, and, in spite of a fairly enlightened labor policy, had contributed little to the country as a whole.

★

IS CALIFORNIA PART OF THE UNION? THE question is prompted by the dog-in-the-manger attitude of the public officials of the Pacific Northwest who have thus far succeeded in convincing Congress that the Bonneville-Grand Coulee power lines of the Columbia River Basin should not be linked with California's Central Valley system. The plan is as simple as this: a wood-pole transmission line 119 miles in length would be constructed from Shasta Dam in California to Klamath Falls, Oregon, at a cost of \$6,000,000. The Northwest suffers, of course, from a daytime power shortage; but it cannot consume at night all the power generated by the Columbia River system, and hydroelectricity cannot be stored. From midnight until dawn, the water continues to pour through the spillways. Although the power transmitted to California would be excess or unused power, Governor Arthur Langlie of Washington, and others, condemn the plan as an attempt to loot the Columbia Basin of its power resources. Yet California is today the prime customer for all North-

west products, and, in a year of lush rainfall in northern California, Shasta power could be transmitted to the Northwest. Both power systems, moreover, were financed by taxes paid by the general public which is interested in the general welfare and not in regional rivalries or local politics. To date, both the House and Senate Appropriations committees have specifically ruled out funds for Intertie, as the project has been called, despite the urgent need to integrate the power resources of the strategically important West Coast states.

★

PUBLIC SCHOOL TEACHERS IN PAWTUCKET, Rhode Island, have won a substantial but costly victory in their strike, which began last May, for a \$410 annual wage increase (see: *School's Out in Pawtucket*, *The Nation*, June 16, 1951). Closed from that date until the end of the school year, the schools will be open on schedule. The settlement reached between the Pawtucket Teacher's Alliance (A. F. of L.) and the Pawtucket School Committee offers the teachers one of two plans both of which provide for eventual \$400 wage increases, with the maximum schedule being lifted from \$4,000 to \$4,800. Besides raises in both pay and maximum salaries, the teachers won assurances that there would be no discharges except for incompetence. During the strike, the chairman of the School Committee announced the dismissal of 22 supervisors and principals and a plan to drop 75 teachers from the payroll as an "economy move." All have now been reinstated.

★

FOR THESE CONCESSIONS THE TEACHERS PAID a rather high price—a four-year "no strike" clause—but the new agreement will provide for substantial arbitration procedures. Measures to curb strikes of public employees will probably be introduced in the Rhode Island General Assembly despite the fact that the strike has been settled. Governor Dennis J. Robert is known to favor such a scheme. The settlement agreement, however, would seem to be far more satisfactory than any special legislation. It provides that the teachers and the superintendent shall have a week in which to settle formal grievances. The next court of appeals is a joint body, representing teachers and School Committee. If this body cannot settle the grievance in a month, the state Labor Director shall be called in. If the parties do not accept his findings and recommendations, then the grievance goes either to a Superior or a Supreme Court Justice who shall decide the issue with help from a representative of the teachers and a representative of the School Committee. Meanwhile, the schools must remain open for the duration of the particular school year. Had this arbitration procedure been available, possibly Pawtucket's teachers would never have struck.

Appointment As Reward

TRADITIONS which establish routes of normal accession to high office often serve as deterrents to the graver abuses of the spoils system in politics. There is doubtless some merit, for example, in the fledgling tradition, first recognized in the Roosevelt and Truman administrations, that the incumbent Attorney General should be assumed to hold a prior lien on a Supreme Court appointment. Offhand one thinks of Justices Murphy, Jackson, and Clark who followed this route to the Supreme Court. Three appointments hardly constitute a tradition but they do establish a trend. Before this trend ripens into a tradition, the implications should be carefully explored.

From the practical point of view, the presence of two or more former Attorneys General on the court creates the serious likelihood of many decisions, in important cases, in which only eight or less members of the court participate. This not only impedes the work of the court but it deprives litigants, and the public, of the right to decisions by the full court. A member of the court who has served for some years as Attorney General must nowadays decline to take part in a significant array of important cases. On the other hand, if a former Attorney General is not overly scrupulous in interpreting or fixing the boundaries of disqualification, he can bring the entire court into disrepute. In the opinion of many lawyers, for example, Justice Clark should have disqualified himself in the Los Angeles county loyalty case.

The situation which suggested these comments illuminates the nature of the problem. An answer has just been filed in the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee case in which the Department of Justice has reasserted the right to list organizations as "subversive" without giving the organizations a hearing or other requirements of due process. Yet when this same case was before the court last spring four, and possibly five, members of the court indicated that some form of prior hearing was essential (see: Most Evil Censorship, *The Nation*, May 19, 1951). Yet the Department of Justice has now proceeded to restate the position which it argued, and lost, in the Supreme Court last May. Moreover, on the new appeal which is now certain, a four-to-four stalemate may be anticipated since Justice Clark, as a former Attorney General, has already disqualified himself and Justice Burton's deciding opinion was based on a narrow technical ground.

But there is a much graver aspect to this new tendency. Should appointment to the Supreme Court be regarded as a "reward" for services rendered by an Attorney General to a particular Administration? Is the assumption that a faithful carrying-out of various disagreeable chores and assignments will win the "prize" of appointment to the Supreme Court likely to inspire

courage and independence in an Attorney General? Why should so large a section of the press and the public have assumed that Judge Medina and Thomas Murphy were "entitled" to judicial appointments in return for their services in the Foley Square and Hiss prosecutions? Such a notion not only degrades the office but lowers the standard of performance by lower court judges and law enforcement officials. And where extremely "flexible" personalities are involved, it can debase the administration of justice.

Candidates for appointment to the Supreme Court should be tested by the most severe standards of competence and integrity and fair-mindedness and not in terms of partisan loyalty or services rendered an Administration in any capacity. The next appointment should go, therefore, to a lawyer or judge who has a better claim to be considered for the office than a vague right of succession or as a matter of "reward" for loyal services to the Administration in power.

Asia's "Hot Corner"

London, September 1

ALMOST unnoticed in the discussion of the Japanese treaty conference is the significance of the invitation extended to the French-sponsored Indo-Chinese states (Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos). The British press, for example, barely announced the visit to London of the American Minister to Indo-China and has kept silent about having endorsed the invitation and about its implications. However, in a front-page editorial on August 22, the well-informed *Le Monde* of Paris insisted that the three states were expected to fill the gap left by India, whose "reticence" is "troublesome" to Washington. *Le Monde* also accepts the likelihood that those who sign the Japanese treaty, including Indo-China, will become part of an anti-Communist Pacific coalition "whose leadership will inevitably be taken by Japan."

Strategically Indo-China would be of great importance to such a coalition not only for itself and its own resources, but because of its relation to the whole oil-tin-rubber area of Southeast Asia. Bordering on Communist China, it provides a test of Peking's intentions. It will also test America's ability to encourage anti-Communist resistance in a colonial Asian country still struggling for independence without itself assuming the liability of supporting a colonial power.

Confronted with the danger that an armistice in Korea might free large forces of Chinese Communists for action elsewhere, the French government has not known just what to do. France can neither win nor extricate itself gracefully from the Indo-Chinese war. To hold its present position it must spend \$3 million a day, a third of its military budget. To fight effectively, it would have to rely more and more upon the United

States, a most distasteful choice for a colonial power. This dilemma has produced contradictory policies. For Washington consumption, the French attitude is to raise an alarm about the increased threat to Indo-China and the need of more aid to France to defend it. Its private attitude is to seek, if possible, some settlement with Ho Chi-minh. But here the Cabinet comes up against the same old obstacle, namely, Ho's demand that all French troops be withdrawn from the country. This would mean, of course, the quick collapse of the Bao Dai regime.

Despite its uneasiness, France does not expect the Chinese to attack Indo-China unless they are seriously provoked. Hence its concern that Washington may want to turn over to Chiang Kai-shek some 11,000 Kuomintang troops which, having escaped into Indo-China, were disarmed by the French and interned on an island off the southwest coast. Major General W. C. Chase, head of the United States military mission in Formosa, was planning to fly to Saigon in July to negotiate for the release of these troops but his trip was indefinitely postponed, presumably because the French objected.

When General Jean de Lattre de Tassigny comes to Washington this month at the invitation of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, he will doubtless request a formal American guarantee in the event of Chinese intervention in Indo-China. He will also want more jet fighters to

add to the B-26s and napalm bombs already supplied, and he may suggest a general political-military pact in Southeast Asia. *Le Monde's* Washington correspondent warns, however, that Washington will demand in return a French promise to put the whole Indo-Chinese question before the United Nations. Should it be necessary to send troops to Indo-China, Washington would like to make sure, according to *Le Monde*, that they would go under the aegis of the United Nations. Such a proposal, however, would meet strong resistance for the French government has always maintained that the U. N. has no business in Indo-China.

The invitation to the Bao Dai government to the San Francisco conference was intended in part to persuade Bao Dai's subjects that he does have sovereign power. But surely the Vietnamese judge their country's status by who controls its military, police, and economic affairs—still French colonial officials and army officers—and not by whether it is invited to an international conference to sign a document previously agreed to by the French Foreign Office.

As for the Americans, they can have no illusions whatever about the strength or stability of the Bao Dai regime. The *New York Times* correspondent described Saigon last February as "a political vacuum." "There is still no assembly," he wrote, "no constitution, no budget . . . the French still administer the country."



TO ENCIRCLE PEACE

"NOW SOMEONE TO JOIN HANDS WITH THE EXTREMES"

The Battle Bill

BY A. J. P. TAYLOR

Holywell Ford, Oxford

THOUGH the Battle bill itself has not attracted much attention in England, it provides a symbol with which to try to explain once again the different ways in which the two great Anglo-Saxon communities look at the present situation in the world. There is a substantial minority which thinks, with Representative Battle, that we should sever all relations with the Soviet Union and every other Communist country except Yugoslavia. Since war is already raging, they would act in warlike terms, thinking only of winning the general war when it comes. There is a tiny minority on the other side which would like to weaken our ties with the United States and in some ill-defined way follow a policy of neutrality which would be friendly to the Soviet Union. The vast majority of British people, however, want to keep the United States as friend and ally without having the Soviet Union as enemy.

Rightly or wrongly, the economic problem is still primary for British people; and the problems of war and strategy are in the background. The United States has a vast export surplus; we have a hard and ceaseless struggle to balance our international accounts. The gravest difficulty in that balance is the dollar gap; everything we can get from elsewhere lessens that gap. If we were to follow the dictate of Representative Battle, we should increase our dependence on America and thus be the more exposed to the next Congressional whim. After all, what do you want us to do? This country has made greater and more successful efforts than any other to end its need for Marshall aid; we could not have done it without trade with the rest of the world, including Eastern Europe. What is more, we have to increase our market in these countries, if we are to have any hope for the future. The British government has to strike a balance. It has cut off weapons of war to countries in the Soviet bloc and reduced the export of many strategic materials; but it has also to think of our economic position both now and in the future. And it is the British government which, in theory at any rate, still decides British policy.

The Soviet bloc of satellite countries has to obey the dictates of Moscow; the Western community is an association of free sovereign states in which matters are decided by discussion. When Moscow in 1947 ordered Poland and Czechoslovakia to withdraw from the dis-

cussions of Marshall aid, we saw there the decisive proof that the Communist bloc was a Soviet dictatorship. Stalin warned the Czechs that, if they accepted Marshall aid, they could expect no further economic or military help from Russia. What is the Battle bill but Stalin's threat in reverse? The friends of America here and elsewhere in Western Europe have always argued that, although America is overwhelmingly strong, she will not abuse her power as the Soviet Union has done. She will respect the sovereignty of her allies and get her way by discussion, not by threats. The Battle bill is proof to the contrary, a justification of all the Communist suspicions of American policy. It is always tempting for the great and distant Power to imagine that it has entered an alliance solely out of magnanimity—to protect others without any motive of self-interest. We made exactly the same mistake before the last War. We thought that we could pick and choose whether to defend Czechoslovakia, Poland, or France. We discovered our mistake only when these countries were overrun by the Germans. Now we intend to defend our democratic freedom and our national independence from the Soviet empire; and we are devoting proportionately more of our resources to this defense than any other country in the world. But we do not intend to defend them against Soviet Russia at the price of surrendering them to someone else. The British people have learnt from long experience that the best way to have faithful allies is to trust them; the Americans have now to learn the same lesson. Certainly America offers much in the way of resources to her allies in Western Europe; but we offer much to the United States.

WE OFFER the shield which stands between America and Russian power; we offer the bases which more than double the effectiveness of American air-power; most of all we offer ourselves. British people have no illusions about the next war if it comes. They stand in the front-line; and they know that, whatever the outcome of the war, this island will be utterly destroyed. Winston Churchill quotes in his latest volume what he wrote in 1943: "a third struggle will destroy all that is left of the culture, wealth, and civilization of mankind and reduce us to the level almost of wild beasts." That is the universal opinion in Great Britain.

This is the basic difference of outlook. Americans are beginning to regard a third World War as inevitable and are only concerned to win it when it comes. The object of British policy is that it shall not take place. It

A. J. P. TAYLOR, well-known British scholar, has a review elsewhere in this issue of *The Nation*.

will not be an agreeable world when we have to live indefinitely side by side with the Soviet Union; we think that it will be better than the world after a new war. Nor do we think that war can be averted solely by being stronger than the Soviet bloc—though certainly it is likely to be provoked by our being weaker. It can be averted only by superior policy; and an essential part of that policy is to detach the Soviet satellites from their allegiance to Moscow. Tito's revolt was the greatest blow that Moscow has had in the post-war years. It cannot be claimed that British or American policy did anything to bring it about. Quite the contrary, our wrongheaded attitude over Trieste seemed designed to force Tito into Moscow's arms. Now we should aim at new Titos—in Poland, in Czechoslovakia, above all in China. Economic ties between the Soviet satellites and the West, far from strengthening the Soviet empire, threaten to disrupt it. Nor is this true only of the satellites; it is true also of the Soviet Union itself. This country and the United States have both tried the policy of economic blockade in the past, when the Soviet Union was much weaker than it is now. We did not recognize the Soviet Union until 1924, America not until 1933. The only result was to turn the Soviet Union in on itself, to make it more suspicious of the rest of the world, and to make it rely on Communist revolution as its greatest weapon. We believe that prosperity is the greatest enemy of communism; this is just as true on the other side of the Iron Curtain as on ours. The Communists put up the Iron Curtain; it should be our object to tear it down. Hence, in the eyes of many British people, the folly of stopping young people from attending the Berlin rally; hence the folly of the Battle

bill. These steps play the Communist game and confirm the Communist thesis; there is rejoicing in Moscow whenever we put up the Iron Curtain on our side. That should be enough to condemn them.

At the end of the war we and the United States and many other countries set up the organization of the United Nations. We mean to stick by it; and it is our greatest charge against the Russians that they do not. Once we accepted the United Nations, we accepted the obligation to be bound by its decisions and not to impose decisions on our own. At the present time British troops are fighting in Korea for the principle of the United Nations; they are not fighting for American strategic interests in the Pacific. If the United Nations after free discussion were to resolve on a blockade of China or of the Soviet satellites in Europe, we should enforce the decision, though we deplored it. But our obligation is to the United Nations, not to the United States; and we believe that the United States has accepted the same obligation. We look with horror at the prospect of a world, divided into two armed blocs, one under the control of Moscow, and the other under the control of Washington; and we shall do all we can to ensure that such a world never comes into existence.

We want to defeat communism; and we want to do it without war. We believe that it can be done if Americans show the wisdom and restraint which we showed when we were the leaders of the free world. Freedom would be meaningless if everyone did the same thing. Like everything else, freedom has its price; that price is that the other man does things which you do not like—and that you let him.

Africa: Emergent Colossus

BY BASIL DAVIDSON

Pretoria
IF POINT FOUR is going to capture the imagination of Africa," remarked a leader of the militant African Congress, "then it will have to mean more than partnership between white and white, which is what it means now. It will have to mean partnership between white and black, and that we don't see a sign of." He began to talk about the British ground-nuts scheme in East Africa, the proof, in African eyes, that current "development

BASIL DAVIDSON, author of "Germany, What Now?" is a staff correspondent of the New Statesman and Nation. He visited Spain last year at the request of The Nation, and wrote a series of articles which appeared in December, 1950, and January, 1951.

schemes" may help the white man but are not intended to help the black. I remembered what a British scientist had told me after visiting the ground-nuts enterprise before its failure was apparent. This scientist had discussed with one of the leading administrators of the scheme what the consequences of it might be for the local—that is, the African—population. "Y'know, old man," the administrator said, "the natives 'round here are really most dreadfully badly off. They're miserably hungry. I really think, y'know, that we'll have to give them some of our ground-nuts."

In a continent where the standard of living is for the most part below the subsistence level, the imperial powers are still thinking in terms of exploitation, of extraction, not of genuine development. If they were

thinking of the welfare of the natives, Africans argue, they would raise wages, build cheap housing, gradually eliminate color bars instead of constantly reinforcing them, undertake the technical training of African labor. They would, for example, grow ground-nuts to relieve African, not European, malnutrition. Eventually there might be enough for both purposes, but the soil of Africa, argues the African, ought first to nourish its own people.

This is a point which cannot be brushed aside. Unless development is merely camouflage for imperialism, it must raise standards of living as well as output. In 1913 the average monthly wage of natives working in the goldfields of the Witwatersrand was 52 shillings. In the next thirty years or so native productivity—the amount of rock crushed per miner—trebled and perhaps quadrupled. Meanwhile the value of the pound sterling fell to a tenth of what it had been. You might expect therefore that wages on the Rand would be twenty or thirty times what they were in 1913. Actually the average monthly wage today is less than 80 shillings. Many Africans know this little fact. They also know that improved methods of extraction have increased the percentage of recovery from 60 to 90 per cent during the same period.

In the copper belt of Northern Rhodesia, a British protectorate governed from Whitehall, the average monthly wage paid in 1940 to African underground workers was 33s. 2d.; in 1950, with copper prices touching unheard-of heights, this figure had risen only to about 73s.—and to that level only because the British Colonial Office had encouraged the formation of African trade unions in Northern Rhodesia. White miners, however, earn an average of £150 a month!

At the tobacco sales in Fort Jameson recently, prices reached the unprecedented level of 90d. a pound. Yet the Africans of Southern Rhodesia are not permitted to grow this crop, which is a monopoly of European settlers.

THE most striking change in tropical and southern Africa during the last ten or fifteen years is the awakening of Africans to the fact of their exploitation by the whites. For a long time the process went on under the surface of consciousness; within the last year or so it has flared up into open discussion. The grant of self-government to the Gold Coast and the steps toward it in Nigeria, in contrast to the deepening repression in South Africa and the continued inertia in the British protectorates, are having a catalytic effect. Africa is emergent—an emergent colossus.

It is easy to see why Africans are skeptical and even hostile about development schemes, whether under British agencies or within the framework of Point Four. The British Colonial Development Corporation, a govern-

ment-sponsored and financed organization of large resources and even larger ambitions, proceeds serenely upon its way, raising or trying to raise poultry in the Gambia, ground-nuts in East Africa, cattle in Bechuanaland—and always as if the inhabitants of the region were merely incidental and, really, would be better out of the way. Very rarely do any of these schemes presuppose the close collaboration of the Africans themselves. Very rarely do they seem designed to lift the Africans to a higher level of civilization.

But it is civilization that the Africans are after. No matter where you go in central or southern Africa you find that the people are perfectly willing to endure hardships and hunger if they can only get themselves somehow into the modern world. They understand quite well that as long as they remain in their present primitive state they will never be able to claim the white man's heritage. They want education and will go to incredible lengths to get it. There are always more applications from pupils than places in the schools.

Paradoxically, the situation is worse in many respects in the British protectorates—Bechuanaland, Swaziland, Basutoland, Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, some of the East African territories—than in the Union of South Africa. Hateful as is the repression in South Africa, the African can at least get an education there, and, still more important, he can go to the towns and enter industry, and thereby throw off his backwardness. The British, it is true, have conserved their territories while the South Africans have ruined theirs; but British conservation is the kind that stagnates, that seems content to allow the territories to remain primarily reservoirs of immigrant labor.

The contradictions of British protection are perhaps most apparent in Basutoland. After the Boers had robbed them of their rich plains lands, the tribes which later formed the Basuto nation retreated to the mountains and in the sixties of the last century asked for and obtained British protection. With the discovery of the goldfields in the eighties, the British clapped on money taxes which the Basuto could not pay if they stayed in their villages and which forced them to go as migrant workers to Johannesburg. Today it is reckoned that about half the adult male population of the nation is working or has worked in the mines. In 1935 the British became alarmed by the rate of soil erosion and took measures to stop it. The soil has been saved, but there is still no *development*. There is not a single factory in Basutoland: all the goods the people have to buy are brought in from outside and sold by white traders, who make enormous profits. The social pattern of Basuto life, the level of civilization, has scarcely changed in the past three or four decades.

In Bechuanaland the Colonial Development Corporation has lately undertaken to spend a little money on

"development." An extensive "ranching scheme" is now going into operation in the northeastern part of the territory.

At first sight it looks like a laudable project, but it has not gained the support of many Africans for the reason that it is being undertaken in a part of Bechuanaland where the population is very sparse. Thus the scheme has not enlisted the active cooperation of the Bechuana people; their job is simply to supply labor. And yet, as the Bechuana chief, Tshekedi Khama, has written, "a tribal community has immense possibilities for cooperative effort. The structure of cooperative farming already exists in a tribal society; it does not have to be created from scratch. Various village groups already hold land in common, and their cattle graze in a common area, thus paving the way for the establishment of cattle-improvement schemes, cooperative dairying, and the like."

The Western powers can accomplish the development of Africa, as distinct from another bout of imperialist exploitation in a new form, only on one condition—that

they take the Africans into their schemes on the ground floor and use their projects to open to Africans the gates of civilization. Twenty years ago such a statement might reasonably have been dismissed as mere rhetoric; today the situation is different. And it is different not only because Africa is going through a period of awakening but also because the white economy of Africa, at long last, is entering upon the Industrial Revolution. Within ten years the number of Africans employed in non-mining industries in the Union of South Africa has more than doubled. Salisbury in Southern Rhodesia and Lusaka in Northern Rhodesia, little farming capitals in 1939, are today in a fury of industrial development. Dozens of new factories are going up; white immigrants are coming into Salisbury at the rate of 500 a month. New social patterns are lagging behind these economic changes but cannot be indefinitely delayed.

The investment of American capital in Africa could change the face of the continent. But it must be investment of a new kind—investment that proposes to civilize not to exploit the peoples of Africa.

Oregon Goes to the Dogs

Portland, Ore., August 31

OURS is a staid and pious community. One cannot buy a highball or cocktail anywhere within its sixty-seven square miles. Even private clubs are forbidden to sell hard liquor. Punchboards and slot machines have been driven beyond the city limits. What passes for a strip-tease on local stages would hardly turn a head along a California beach. Not yet has a Portland store merchandised a Bikini bathing suit. "No market," explain the modistes. Billy Graham, the sin-chasing evangelist with the Barrymore profile and the ice-cream suit, packed his biggest crowds in Portland. The city ranks near the top in church attendance.

Yet Portland is a haven for pari-mutuel gambling. No other city in the country has a race track operating practically in its downtown business district.

For sixty or seventy nights each summer Portlanders mob the Civic Stadium seeking to wager \$250,000 between sundown and midnight on the speed of a kennel of greyhounds. A church gets in trouble if it stages a bingo game in Portland, but a strange collection of doubtful characters find the city a lush and reliable source of race-track dividends. In the state of Washing-

BY RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

ton, which by contrast with Oregon seems a very Babylon, the sum of \$4.90 per capita was wagered in 1950 through pari-mutuel windows as compared with \$9.45 in Oregon.

The Kefauver committee, in its report, wondered why law-abiding, solid communities let themselves in for a rage of gambling which breaks up homes and drains family bank accounts. Oregon, and in particular Portland, provides an answer. Through a cynical political deal struck with the state's dominant agricultural population, race tracks have been able to operate profitably and with the full protection of the law. To make matters still better for the tracks, all other types of gambling have been closed down. This obligingly funnels all itchy dollars into the pari-mutuels. In addition, the legislature has specifically ordered Portland's city government not to touch a single cent of track revenue. The municipality cannot even tap the till to make the track pay for police expenses connected with the racing and gambling.

Yet the flourishing race tracks are owned by promoters living far from Oregon's boundaries, while the cigar stores which have lost their punchboards and poker games are for the most part owned locally.

Pari-mutuel racing became legal in Oregon in 1933. Rural legislators, who always have run the show at the Capitol, were restive at first. The powerful state Grange had opposed gambling and drinking with equal fervor.

RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, Oregon state senator and well-known journalist, is a frequent contributor to *The Nation*.

The Methodist Church had many members in agricultural counties. Ex-Governor Jay Bowerman, attorney for prospective greyhound racing interests, conceived a brilliant plan. Why not split the state's 2½ per cent of the total pari-mutuel "handle" among the thirty-six county fairs? What better way to neutralize the traditional rural conviction that gambling is immoral? Just to reinforce the track's clutch on the back woods, the Pacific International Livestock Exposition and the famous Pendleton Round-Up were also cut in for a share of the proceeds.

Since racing was legalized in Oregon, the county fairs have received \$66,000 apiece out of the take. The best year was 1947, when each of the three dozen fairs collected \$12,186; the current season is expected to produce at least as much. This is a bonanza to an institution which ordinarily struggles along on 15-cent admissions. The round-up has received \$88,000, and the Livestock Exposition \$594,000. Whenever the track feels shaky politically, some other agricultural event is given a ticket on the gravy train. In 1947 the legislature included the Pacific Coast Turkey Show and the state Corn Show. Behind the protective aegis of these carnivals, where the farmer displays his Herefords and Percherons and Netted Gems, race tracks have toted money out of Oregon in wholesale quantities for nearly two decades.

The capitalization of the Portland greyhound tracks is represented by 1,250 shares, of which only 55 are held in Oregon. Wallace Turner, crime reporter for the *Oregonian*, estimates that Artie Samish, swaggering king of California lobbyists, has realized a return of 70 per cent annually on an original investment of \$3,200. Small wonder that Samish told the Kefauver committee he considered this distant dog track "a wonderful operation"! J. Howard Quinn, described by the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* as holding "widespread interests in gambling in Illinois and Missouri," is another investor in Portland greyhound racing.

Portland has never been a resort town. It is no Miami or Reno or Saratoga Springs. The money poured through the pari-mutuel windows does not come from well-heeled tourists but from the wage-earners of the community. The track operates at night when the working man is free to sweeten the pot with his pay. It is within walking distance of Portland's apartment houses and cold-water flats. On a typical evening the crowd is full of people carrying children. Why not save the baby-sitter's fee to bet on a likely quiniela?

ALL this has a terrific impact on the economic life of the city. When the gambling is going full blast, so are the collection agencies. People behind on their doctor's or grocery bills often show up in the pari-mutuel lines. Many merchants detect an immediate slump in payments when the greyhounds start running. A nightly "handle"

of nearly \$250,000 in a non-resort community can only be taken out of the goods and services produced by residents. The movie business falls apart when the track is going strong. The baseball park is virtually empty.

Why doesn't Portland do something about it? The answer is that the race tracks have built up an irresistible phalanx of beneficiaries. Oregon's politicians don't dare oppose this array. When bills appear in the legislative hopper to outlaw the pari-mutuels, the track lobbyists beckon to the hinterland for help. Into the Capitol building trudge county-fair boards, the officers of 4-H clubs, rodeo riders, livestock exhibitors, and spokesmen for the big farm organizations. The effect is crushing, particularly in a legislature deliberately gerrymandered to give rural areas far more representation than their population justifies.

The gamblers realize that this agricultural support is their strength. Two years ago an effort was made to put the state's share of track revenues in the general fund. If special interests no longer fought for them, the tracks knew their days would be numbered. One of their chief sponsors, state senator Tom Mahoney, chairman of the Oregon delegation to the 1948 Democratic Convention, eloquently opposed any suggestion that the fairs and livestock shows remove their tin cups from the pari-mutuel trough. Several rural Republicans protested tearfully that fine 4-H clubs would wither and die if the gambling money were denied the fairs.

The track owners have a tight grip on Oregon politics. Employees of the tracks obtain their jobs on the recommendation of members of the legislature. Of course, the recommendations must be in writing, and the member then is properly hooked. Although Oregon is a Republican state, the track is non-partisan. For a period Jimmy Richardson, manager of the stadium where the dog races are run, served as treasurer of the Oregon Republican Central Committee. On the other hand, a recent bill giving the pari-mutuels a larger share of the take was enthusiastically supported by seven of the nine Democrats in the state Senate.

Oddly enough this bill was passed at the height of the excitement over the Kefauver committee's revelations. A distinguished Republican ex-Governor, Charles A. Sprague of the *Salem Statesman*, publicly called upon Governor Douglas McKay to veto the bill. But McKay signed it a few hours after it hit his desk. The episode demonstrated the hold of racing on presumably pious Oregon.

Horses as well as dogs are raced in Portland but the horses gross barely 25 per cent of the total raked in by the greyhounds. The location of the track is probably the principal reason for the difference. Since dogs can race on a much smaller oval, the track could be built in the center of Portland, while the horse track has to be a considerable distance out of town. As in the case of the

dogs, the promoters of the horse racing come from outside the state. Their rivalry with the dog-track people shows why horse operators were so active in the 1946 referendum which kept dog racing out of California. Greyhound pari-mutuels are legal in only seven states.

Portland has an honest mayor who would throw out the race tracks if she could. Her name is Dorothy McCullough Lee, and she has been a leader in such causes as civil rights and public housing. Mrs. Lee has made it clear that in closing down 10-cent pinball machines and at the same time giving police protection to multi-million-dollar race tracks, she is only enforcing the anomalous law passed by the state legislature. The legislature, in turn, has seen to it that she can neither tax the tracks for city purposes nor regulate their operations in the community she administers.

The triumph of the pari-mutuels in Oregon represents a great chance lost for the Democratic Party, which has been a minority in the legislature since 1878. The Republicans are responsible for the free rein given the tracks. Unquestionably a majority of the people do not

like what is going on, but the bribes which the pari-mutuels toss to the agricultural fairs inhibit any action. Instead of making the tracks an issue, the Democratic politicians in the state try to outdo the Republicans in giving the race-track gamblers whatever they want.

Voices, however, are being raised, regardless of the fairs and the round-up. Bishop Gerald Kennedy of the Methodist church is a fighting churchman who does not believe that the small subsidies given shows of farm products justify the raids of out-of-state operators on Oregon wallets. Other ministers are calling on the Grange to speak up. Strong pressure is being exerted on the Democratic Party to shake off the legislators who sully the party with their support of dog racing.

Few citizens are unaware of the effect of pari-mutuel gambling on the community. The *Oregonian* recently reported a holdup attempt in a residential neighborhood. The threatened couple gasped to the gunman, "But we've just come from the dog races and we haven't any money at all!" The gunman accepted the explanation and faded into the blackness of the night.

I'm a Baptist, Too

Ridgecrest, North Carolina

THAT the Church of Rome is out of favor with this country's Southern Baptists may seem to be no news. It's what many people in the North, with the usual tendency to generalize about the Bible Belt, would expect.

If you know the South, however, you don't generalize. You know that Baptists take pride in differing among themselves, that the Southern Baptists don't belong to the Federal Council of Churches, that they might well pass over certain important issues of the day in continued emphasis on other issues of concern to them. When a group as numerically important and financially strong as the Southern Baptists lines up against the hierarchy's assumptions of power, at the same time distinguishing clearly between political and spiritual power, it is noteworthy. When the same group backs up its stand with financial sacrifices amounting to millions of dollars, then it's news.

Southern Baptists today are in a position to consider large sums of money for the first time in their history. Always a large group, they used to be hard up because

BY WILLSON WHITMAN

their membership included so many sharecroppers and mill hands. During World War II not a few of these brothers moved into better paid war jobs and many of them, even before they bought TV sets, contributed to the church.

But the war changes brought new issues. Some of the younger church leaders are looking at social problems, at current legislative trends, at the state of the world in general. This summer the Social Service Commission of the Southern Convention and the Baptist Joint Conference on Public Affairs sponsored a joint Church and State Conference as part of the annual Conference on Christian Living held at Ridgecrest, North Carolina. Ridgecrest is a good place for discussion. Some years ago, Southern Baptists lifted their eyes unto the hills and picked themselves a cool vacation spot in a fold of the Blue Ridge just above Asheville. At Ridgecrest more than fifteen hundred people can be taken care of in a hotel building, dormitories, and cottages, and fed in a big dining room. The white-columned buildings are handsome against green trees and a backdrop of misty mountains, although you may hear it said deprecatingly that the Presbyterians over at Montreat have more impressive structures of fieldstone.

But Baptists today are a fair cross-section of prosperous America. Most of them drive to Ridgecrest in their

WILLSON WHITMAN, a long-time contributor to *The Nation*, is the author of "David Lilienthal: Public Servant in a Power Age."

own cars; a few fly there. The conference is one for ministers and serious church workers, not for laymen. Among the men, preachers predominate—friendly preachers, puzzled preachers, handsome preachers who might have been actors, preachers managed by their wives. There are more women than men because the conference has courses for church librarians, hostesses, handicrafters and Sunday school teachers; and these extra women plus wives make the ratio what it usually is in religious gatherings. But, as usual, the men run things.

ALTHOUGH this is an old-fashioned religious group meeting for religious purposes, you might be at any Southern resort. It's true that the women wear skirts instead of slacks or shorts. There is little or no smoking and, of course, no drinking. There is grace before meals and hymn singing—and an occasional peal of bells. But the crowd is relaxed and happy. There is plenty of Southern food—hot biscuits and pork chops, grits and gravy, greens, black-eyed peas, peach pie, with preacher's fare—fried chicken and ice cream on Sunday. The youngsters from Baptist colleges who wait on tables are pleasant and polite. They enjoy mountain hikes, tennis, swimming, and amateur theatricals (the plays are religious, of course) and no doubt the love-making appropriate to a church picnic.

The Church and State Conference was the highbrow feature of the program. The Social Service Commission was represented by its chairman, Dr. J. B. Weatherspoon of Louisville, and by its executive secretary, Dr. Hugh A. Brimm—both men concerned with current events in race relations, labor, and world affairs. The Joint Committee on Public Affairs, with headquarters in Washington, was represented by Dr. J. M. Dawson, its executive director. Other conference leaders were drawn from the theological seminaries—Dr. Walter Pope Binns, president of William Jewell College at Liberty, Missouri; and Dr. T. B. Maston, professor of Social Ethics at the Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary in Fort Worth. An audience of fifty to a hundred from all the regions represented at Ridgecrest attended the conference sessions, and nearly a thousand people heard Dr. Glenn L. Archer, executive director of P. O. A. U. (Protestants and Others United for Separation of Church and State) speak on "Church, State and Freedom."

The local paper's treatment of Dr. Archer's speech was a revelation to many who heard it and were unfamiliar with standard copy-desk handling of any outspoken criticism of Catholic politics. Ridgecrest's reporter duly supplied the *Asheville Citizen* with Dr. Archer's speech and the paper correctly quoted its theme statement: "The real issue in the country is not whether we shall yield to Communist totalitarianism—we are well aware of its dangers to freedom and are prepared to resist them—but the chief single issue is whether we

shall compromise with a clerical totalitarianism which parades as the only enemy of communism, and is now selfishly exploiting American fear of communism with evil results to freedom." But the *Citizen's* headline was "Archer Flays Communistic Moves in U. S."

At the next session of the conference Dr. Dawson called attention to the misleading headline and also reported as pertinent to the discussion his own reason for arriving a day late. In Washington he had testified at a Senate committee hearing on H.R. 2094, the Hill-Burton bill, which would appropriate \$35,000,000 for a health center and \$12,000,000 for Roman Catholic hospitals in the District of Columbia. Speaking for the nation's sixteen million Baptists, Dr. Dawson argued for the separation of church and state that is Baptist doctrine as well as part of the American constitution. More, as all the conference speakers pointed out, Baptists have proved their sincerity by refusing tax funds where they were available. Texas Baptists rejected \$3,000,000 in government money offered for hospitals. Alabama turned down \$2,000,000 for a hospital in Birmingham. When hospital trustees in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, accepted \$600,000 the state convention raised the money and returned it to the government.

These specific actions speak more loudly than any words to prove that Baptists mean what they say about the separation doctrine. For the sake of consistency they are willing to discuss the taxation of church property; although most of them feel that property actually used by a church should be tax-free, they agree that income-producing property should be taxed. There are, of course, as many attitudes in these matters as there are individual Baptists, and this, they say, is in keeping with the Baptist ideas of liberty. They don't want a central authority to enforce uniformity in the church, any more than in the government. No formal resolutions were passed by the conference, although a committee, headed by Dr. Weatherspoon, was appointed to draw up findings.

IN DISCUSSION from the floor questions were freely asked and it was interesting to see the strength of individual conviction against the political methods of an authoritarian church, always with the proviso that personal religious convictions were not involved. "This is a serious inquiry, pursued without venom, not to flay the Catholics," said Dr. Weatherspoon at the start. Over and over it was emphasized that any attack on the political aims of the Church of Rome must be divorced from religious prejudice; although Dr. Dawson, from experience, warned that Catholics unaccustomed to the idea of religious liberty might well prove incapable of grasping this distinction, crying "bigotry!" at any political opposition.

There was great interest in the popularity of Paul

Blanshard's "American Freedom and Catholic Power," and there were questions from the floor regarding the present status of *The Nation* in New York schools—nothing so delights an intelligent Southerner as an exhibition of narrow-minded provincialism in the North.

Continuing his let's-look-at-it-from-the-other-side attitude, Dr. Binns asked at one point a question rarely posed in religious circles: "What about the man who doesn't believe in God at all, but wants the good of his social group?" The concern of the church, it was agreed, is the competence of the individual, not his control from without. Let the state make laws and enforce them; the church must persuade.

To this fundamental divergence from Catholic dogma was added, as discussion progressed, awareness of wide areas of conflict with the Catholic program. Now that foreign missions are necessarily diminished, Baptists will emphasize home missions—and there the biggest field is among Spanish-speaking groups, where the Catholic influence is strongest. The Home Mission Board now puts out leaflets addressed to Catholics, on the Bible, on Purgatory and on attendance at Protestant churches.

The general agreement of the conference, arrived at ahead of committee findings, was that "people must be led to re-think the whole matter of the separation of church and state." By "re-think" speakers clearly meant no compromise on the theory of separation, but its application in current terms. The paradox is that to separate church and state, in opposition to a church that would unite them, Baptists must learn a new consciousness of politics.

IN THE discussion of actual issues this became clear. At the start of his speech Dr. Dawson was careful to ask for a showing of hands against the old intolerant spirit of the Klan, and the vote was unanimous. But there emerged, later, equal unanimity in disapproval of Franco—in an awareness of foreign affairs once far removed from the Southern mind. He told of senators afraid to oppose appointment of an envoy to the Vatican. He offered no comfort when it was suggested that communism and Catholic power might "kill each other off"—on the contrary, "The very way to lose the fight against communism is to march under the flag of the Pope."

Southern Baptist tradition is far removed from that of the Quakers, so there was no open discussion of peace as a policy; but the war policy of the United States was criticized at one point—the attempt of the state to use religion for its ends, in asking the aid of chaplains to make men better killers. There were also passing references to the courage of the conscientious objector and "of all those who suffer penalties for progress."

All this venturing into new political fields of thought is clearly a gain not only for the Baptists but for the country. An even more concrete advance may be ex-

pected if Southern churches enter upon a program of active rivalry with the Roman church in certain fields where Rome is traditionally tolerant, for example in the treatment of Negroes.

To a mind wholly outside the church there are certain questions not asked at Ridgecrest which must inevitably occur. In the scrupulous attempt to separate church and state, how careful is the separation from the power *behind* the state? Would the church turn down a subsidy from powerful private interests as virtuously as from the government? How much is the refusal of tax money attributable to fear of "the welfare state"? If it is admitted that income-earning church property should be taxed, how much is social conscience and how much is respect for private business competition? In this discussion, women seemed to oppose the church in business as money-changing in the Temple, but men appeared anxious to reassure the business man. Will recognition of Catholic bias extend to a realization that the Catholic minority originated and still employs the "smear" or guilt-by-association tactics now so prevalent? And will the corollary be understood that individuals and organizations so smeared may be not merely guiltless, but useful and indeed indispensable allies?

These questions may well be saved for another conference. Just now the Southern Baptists are going through stages familiar to every liberal: realization by a few men of the importance of certain issues; effort to state the case fairly; distortion in the press; gradual awakening of public interest. In this respect too the Ridgecrest conference is a fair cross-section of the American public.

In the Catholic controversy Baptists do have an advantage peculiar to them, and one which should not be overlooked. To many people, both Catholics and persons wholly outside the Christian tradition, there has long been a fascination in the Catholic claim to apostolic succession. Accept no substitute, runs the argument—ask for the first and only genuine church founded by St. Peter. But John the Baptist antedated Peter.

That may be why, at this time of need, the Lord has blessed Southern Baptists with an increase in membership, in money and in light. They have traveled far since the turbulent thirties when you could hear milltown preachers, paid by the mill owners, preaching damnation to all progress. Ridgecrest was a mountaintop miles above that low level, a high fortress likely to hold out against the prophecy once made in *Life* that the United States, long known as a great Protestant country, might yet become a great Catholic country. It won't happen while there are Southern Baptists in those hills. In fact, American liberals may as well join in the Broadway version of a revival hymn about the wilderness preacher—

... They say he was a Jew.

I know he was a Baptist, and I'm a Baptist too.

BOOKS and the ARTS

Biography of Disraeli

DIZZY. THE LIFE AND PERSONALITY OF BENJAMIN DISRAELI.

Earl of Beaconsfield. By Hesketh Pearson. Harper and Brothers. \$4.

HESKETH PEARSON has written a number of popular biographies of picturesque personages, and it is not surprising that he should have got around to Disraeli. His book makes no pretense of original research, and though it carefully eschews the lamentable devices of the fictionalized biography it is obviously intended to be read as entertainment. For all that, it is a conscientious job and as amusing as it was intended to be.

"Dizzy"—Mr. Pearson points out that he was the only prime minister of his century who won an affectionate popular nickname—achieved a career as improbable as one of his own novels. Though nominally a member of the Church of England, he was the son of a Jewish bookworm with a private library of 25,000 volumes, and from youth on he indulged in the wildest daydreams of luxury, power, and romantic ecstasy. Other men—Byron, for instance—have made successful literary careers out of a talent for such *Schwärmerei*, but in English history at least there is no other example of such successful translation into fact, for it is almost as if some Walter Mitty should finally emerge as a great surgeon or general. Everything about him was theatrical, flamboyant, and, worst of all from the Victorian standpoint, detestably foreign—from his absurd clothes to his literary style. Yet with everything against him he not only became Prime Minister but finally succeeded in playing Essex to the Victorian Elizabeth.

Mr. Pearson half suggests that it was because Disraeli was not a good writer that he found himself compelled to become what he might otherwise merely have dreamed about, and that is as good an explanation as any if one is not content to say merely that he had a genius for politics. Certainly what one remembers best from both his fiction and the history of his political activity

is the "good things" he or his characters said, and he carried into political life those reminiscences of Byron as well as those anticipations of Oscar Wilde which gave color to his literary efforts. Of one of his characters he wrote: "She indeed generally succeeded in conveying the impression to those she addressed, that she had never seen them before, did not care to see them now, and never wished to see them again. All this, too, with an air of great courtesy." Of the great man himself his wife remarked: "Dizzy has the most wonderful moral courage, but no physical courage. When he has his shower-bath, I always have to pull the string."

Inevitably a substantial portion of Mr. Pearson's book is taken up with an attempt to recount in a sufficiently lively fashion the twists and turns of a parliamentary career which covered a crucial period in English history. Mr. Pearson admits that the desire to wield acknowledged power was Disraeli's primary motive, as indeed he himself admitted, and maintains that no man wholly honest, scrupulous, and idealistic can ever succeed as a politician. At the same time he insists that Disraeli wished to use his power to promote the welfare of his country and sides with him on the major issues.

Disraeli was one of those reformers who, rightly or wrongly, distrusted the exclusively materialistic, utilitarian philosophy. He was one of those possibly romantic figures who put up a losing fight against the belief that the welfare of a nation is exclusively a matter of legislation and economic organization, that if these are properly adjusted one need have no concern with religion, emotional patriotism, or loyalty to tradition. Because he lost, it has generally been supposed that he was wrong. Now that England is again in crisis it is inevitable that dissatisfied people should wish to reopen the question as Mr. Pearson does. In one of his late speeches Disraeli said that the policy of liberalism was "to attack the institutions of the country under the name of reform and to make war on the manners and customs of the people under the pretext

of progress. . . . It would reduce civilized society to human flocks and herds." Mr. Pearson's comment is: "Were the speaker alive today, he would have less to retract than any other politician of the past." JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

"Geographic Syria"

HISTORY OF SYRIA. Including Lebanon and Palestine. By Philip K. Hitti. The Macmillan Company. \$10.

SEVEN FALLEN PILLARS. The Middle East, 1915-1950. By John Kimche. British Book Center. \$3.50.

THE dynamics of the history of the Middle East derive, in no small measure, from the area's highly diversified religious and ethnic composition. Nowhere else in the Middle East is the heterogeneity as great as in that district which today comprises Syria, Jordan, Israel, and Lebanon—to list the countries in order of size. Here live side by side a dozen and more communities which have managed to preserve their identity over the centuries. Little wonder, then, that there are almost as many myths about the history of this district or some segment of it as there are ethnic, religious, and—in the case of Israel—political groupings.

One such myth holds that the entire district, set apart from surrounding territories by mountains, desert, and the sea, is really one country for which the name "Geographic Syria" has been adopted; and that the present political boundaries, fragmenting the area into four sovereign states, are therefore wholly artificial. This theory has gained nearly universal currency among Arab nationalists in the past generation, although among its non-Arab exponents is such a renowned historian as Arnold J. Toynbee. The thesis was tentatively explored several years ago by Albert H. Hourani. Now it has been taken up with considerably more erudition by Philip K. Hitti, chairman of Princeton's Department of Oriental Languages and Literatures.

The territory included within Geographic Syria can boast one of the long-

est ranges of recorded history, dating from at least the third millennium B. C. Professor Hitti, however, pushes back even further to paleolithic times for the start of his 700-page annotated narrative, which he then carries forward through its successive phases—Biblical, Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine, Persian, Arab, Crusader, Arab again, Ottoman, and Contemporary. "History of Syria" is a helpful reference work, particularly for information on the ancient and medieval origins of most of the communities in the district. Its value is enhanced by many illustrations and maps and by an inclusive index.

The author does not pretend that his work is even largely the result of original research. He is most intimately conversant with the rise and decline of Arab fortunes, from the seventh to the fifteenth century. In dealing with the Arab era Hitti displays a masterful command of the source materials. He brings to life the Arab conquest of Geographic Syria, its Islamization, its intellectual and cultural productivity, and its role in the development of Western civilization.

As for the rest of the book, the author is dependent on the research of others. This has indeed been prolific, owing to the unique and colorful past of southern Geographic Syria, commonly called Palestine, as the birthplace of Judaism and Christianity and the site of hallowed traditions of Islam, and to its attraction for investigation of a disproportionately large number of humanists and social scientists. Hitti has necessarily been selective, often leaving the incorrect impression that the scholars are in full accord in interpreting the extant sources. This is especially true to the Biblical period, where the author's scant references to disagreements among the authorities is a pale reflection of the actual state of Biblical scholarship.

The virtual dismissal of the past 450 years, almost as if the author believed that little worth mentioning occurred after 1500, has led to inevitable distortion. Far more complex than Hitti suggests are the problems arising from Ottoman provincial administration, the growing and changing interests of the European powers, the partition of Geographic Syria into British and French mandates after World War I, and its

evolution into four independent states after World War II. Certainly the most dynamic or disruptive, depending on the viewpoint, force in the district in the past thirty years—Israel and its Zionist antecedents—deserves more than a single sentence.

The most serious weakness of the book, however, is its basic assumption that Geographic Syria is really one country. Professor Hitti himself admits that the task of keeping "in hand . . . the chronicle of significant events in the life of a country which had been normally the adjunct of other states" confronted him with "a major problem." He might have added, as Toynbee had earlier observed, "Since the dawn of . . . [Syrian] history in the fourth millennium B. C., there was no record of a political frontier which had embraced the whole of Syria, and nothing but Syria, in a single sovereign state." Hitti's own work amply confirms this generalization.

In sharp contrast with the scope and method of Hitti's study is Jon Kimche's "Seven Fallen Pillars," which, despite its misleading subtitle, is essentially devoted to an appraisal of developments in the years following World War II. As Reuters' roving correspondent in the Middle East in this period, Kimche possessed a master key to the offices of government spokesmen and leading foreign observers in each of the region's countries. He gathered useful information but lacked historical perspective for balanced interpretation and patience or time for indispensable background research. As a result the book is studded with needless errors.

Here is a random sampling. The evacuation of British and Russian armed forces from Iran in 1946, Kimche asserts, was effected on the basis of an American suggestion. In fact, the Soviet action was not taken until the Security Council had reviewed the question and the Russians had violated the terms of the Anglo-Soviet-Iranian treaty of alliance of 1942, which laid down that British and Russian troops were to be withdrawn within six months of the end of World War II. The production of American-owned oil companies in the Middle East, declares Kimche, overtook in 1949 that of their British and other rivals. This will probably occur for the first time in the current year and then

only because of the expropriation of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company's concession. Even less pardonable are such mistakes as the garbled paraphrase—forming the basis of a key argument—which completely alters the meaning of the original but is presented as a quotation from the abortive Anglo-Iraqi treaty of 1948.

Kimche's volume purports to treat international and intra-regional politics in the post-war Middle East. But the author shows no grasp of American, Soviet, French, or United Nations policies and activities in the area; and for the most part his handling of local poli-

BOOK SALE

**\$3.00—\$5.00 Brand New Books in
HISTORY • ECONOMICS • POLITICS**

\$1.25

(While we are closing out
our remaining stocks of
20—30 copies per title.)

1. **ON ACTIVE SERVICE** by Henry L. Stimson. 700-page behind-scenes story (based on diary and notes) of World War II, two Roosevelts, Hoover, Condlide, trustbusting days, Eisenhower, Marshall, MacArthur, decision to use atom bomb, Stilwell and China, etc. Special war chronology, Index. Original \$5 edition. "One of the most important biographical works of our generation."—*Foreign Affairs*. \$1.25
2. **THE BENDING CROSS: Biography of Eugene V. Debs** by Ray Ginger. "One of the distinguished biographies of the year."—*Sat. Review of Lit.* Labor and socialist movements in U. S. 458 pp. plus Index. Pub. \$5. \$1.25
3. **OUR PLUNDERED PLANET** by Fairfield Osborn. Scientific study of soil erosion, depletion of natural resources, etc. "Its importance is hardly exaggerated."—*N. Y. Herald Tribune*. Pub. \$2.50. 241 pp. \$1.25
4. **DICTIONARY OF MODERN ECONOMICS**, by Horton, Ripley, Schnapper. Big \$5 value that gives quick alphabetically arranged information on business, finance terms, digests of economic laws, court decisions, government and private agencies, Who's Who in Economics, etc. Everything from the AAA and absentee ownership to Zloty, Zollverein and zoning. Scores of biographical references, 3000 terms, 875 pp. \$1.25
5. **DICTIONARY OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS**, by A. M. Hyamson. Companion volume to above. Virtual encyclopedia of world affairs, emphasizing period from World War I to present. About 1500 terms. Pub. \$3.75. 874 pp. \$1.25
6. **TO THE BITTER END** by Hans B. Gisevius. German underground leader gives inside story of Nazi leaders from 1933 to 1945, conflict between Goebbels and Army, bomb plot on Hitler's life, etc. 647 pp. Pub. \$4. \$1.25
7. **LORDS OF THE PRESS** by George Seldes. Expose of Hearst, Howard, Stern, Sokolsky, Thompson, Lippman, et al. 408 pp. Pub. at \$3. \$1.25
8. **INSIDE STORY OF THE LEGION** by Justin Gray. Lobbying, labor record, racial bias, NAM, finances—written by former American Legion committeeman. Pub. at \$2.50. \$1.25
9. **EAGLE FORGOTTEN** by Harry Barnard. Biography of John Peter Altgeld and story of 19th century civil rights. Pub. \$5. 484 pp. \$1.25
10. **ORDEAL BY SLANDER** by Owen Lattimore. Material on hearings, witnesses, China questions, etc., that cropped up in this case. Pub. at \$2.75. 236 pp. \$1.25
11. **1000 AMERICANS** by George Seldes. Luce, Hearst, NAM, and rest of U. S.'s "real rulers" exposed. Tie-ups between money interests and press. 312 pp. Pub. \$3. \$1.25
12. **THE GOEBBELS DIARIES**. Introduction and notes by L. P. Lochner. Pub. at \$4. 568 pp. \$1.25
13. **RUSSIA: A SHORT HISTORY** by Pratt and Moore. To 1946. "Excellent brief history."—*New Republic*. Illustrations, maps, bibl. Pub. \$4. 275 pp. \$1.25
14. **GOETHE'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY**. First modern translation (by Moon). 700 pp. Pub. \$5. \$1.25
15. **ON LIVING IN REVOLUTION** by Julian Huxley. Science and democracy, social planning, "race" in Europe, reminiscences, etc. 242 pp. Pub. at \$2.50. \$1.25
16. **LINCOLN'S HERNDON** by David Donald. Lincoln's formative years examined in biography of his partner and biographer. 400 pp. Pub. at \$5. \$1.25
17. **ENDURING FEDERALIST**. Edited and analyzed by Charles A. Beard. Federalist papers, including checks and balances system, powers of congress, executive dept., judiciary, etc. 407 pp. Pub. at \$4. \$1.25

MAIL TODAY — QUANTITIES LIMITED

Dover Pubns., Dept. 24, 1780 Broadway, N. Y. C. ■
Send books below postpaid:
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17
I am enclosing \$ _____ in full payment. UN-
CONDITIONAL MONEY-BACK GUARANTEE if
book(s) returned in 10 days.

Name _____
Address _____

tics is little more than a repetition of well-worn clichés.

Still, the book has its merits. Many of Kimche's intuitive judgments are surprisingly persuasive, despite the erroneous details in the supporting evidence. The author is at his best in analyzing the British Labor government's policy on Palestine, the reasons for its failure, the temper and resolve of the Palestine Jewish community in the last three years of the mandate, and the inherent drama in the rise of Israel. Indeed, on Palestine and Israel, Kimche has reinforced his intuition with carefully sifted facts to produce a story which is well-balanced, closely reasoned, often original, and always incisive.

What, then, is the conclusion that may be drawn from the works of Hitti and Kimche? Perhaps it is as simple as this: the Middle East is an area that baffles the experts as well as the public.

J. C. HUREWITZ

No Illusions: And No Ideas
IN DEFENSE OF THE NATIONAL INTEREST. A Critical Examination of American Foreign Policy. By Hans J. Morgenthau. Alfred A. Knopf. \$3.50.

YOU remember the story of the emperor and his fine clothes. Everyone bowed before him and praised the wonderful way in which he was dressed until one day a little boy called out, "But the emperor has no clothes!" The sequel to the story is not so well known. The little boy was congratulated everywhere for his stern realism and in no time became a professor of political science. The emperor lost his job. No one pointed out—perhaps no one noticed—that though his clothes were certainly not studded with jewels, he was in fact wearing a neat gray suit and a clean shirt, complete with collar and tie.

Mr. Morgenthau has cast himself for the role of the little boy; and the Administration takes a rough handling as the emperor. "No clothes! no clothes!" he cries. He attacks American foreign policy as utopian, sentimental, legalistic. Once it thought it could do nothing; now it thinks it can do everything. He wants it to give up the illusion that it can run the whole world strictly according to American ideals; instead it should

go back to the realities of power politics. The object of foreign policy should be the defense of the national interest, neither more nor less.

The theme is not so new as Mr. Morgenthau makes out. Though he quotes only Toynbee and Winston Churchill, plenty of modern writers have emphasized the dangers of utopianism in foreign policy. I remember a wise little book on this topic which Carl Becker wrote during the war. Most historians and political observers would agree that power is the determining factor in international relations. But it is dangerous to define power too narrowly. Ideas are also a form of power; and the national interest is best secured by having ideas on your side. Mr. Morgenthau admires Metternich; it was ideas that brought Metternich down. The idealist Gladstone defended British national interests better than Disraeli, when he backed national freedom in the Balkans; just as the idealists who opposed Munich were shown to be better patriots than Neville Chamberlain, who carried it through. At the present time, if the British people came to believe that there was nothing to choose between America and Russia from a moral point of view, it is by no means certain that they would choose America from any other. It is the best form of realism to have superior ideals.

However, let us meet Mr. Morgenthau on his own ground. Can either the analysis he makes of the situation in the world or the policies that he advocate pass the test of realism? His picture of the world is simple—a conflict for world-mastery between Russia and America. No one else counts: Luxembourg and Great Britain, China and Siam, you can write them all off. Moreover, this is a straight struggle of empires; communism and democracy have nothing to do with it. Like most realists, Mr. Morgenthau vastly overrates the material strength of the Soviet Union. He says: let the Soviet Union stand for seventy, then the United States is one hundred. The real proportion is more like seventy and seven hundred. It never occurs to him that the key to the Soviet policy is fear of a power ten times stronger than they are. And he understands still less that communism is the principal Soviet asset. If the Czar still ruled Russia, the balance of power

would be already in complete collapse; the whole world would be at the disposal of Washington. That is why it is possible to be devoted to American ideals—and even to care for the American national interest—and yet to desire the reemergence of powers independent of the United States. For the real problem in the world is not the overwhelming power of the Soviet Union. It is that the Americans have this overwhelming power and do not know what to do with it.

Mr. Morgenthau conducts his analysis with realism, even though it is faulty. When he gets to policy, then he is as idealistic as the next man: his policies, like everyone else's, are pious wishes. In Europe he wants a "deal" with the Russians, a partition into spheres of influence. This is sensible as a practical step; not so sensible when he implies that it will be more than a modified version of the cold war. Whatever the bargain, neither side could disarm; for that matter, no serious disarmament is ever possible in a world of sovereign states. Moreover, no bargain can stop Communist propaganda on the one hand or the attractions of freedom for those under Communist tyranny on the other. "Peaceful competition" between the two take them at their word, but without it we had any faith in democracy we should take them at their word; but without illusions the competition would be fierce.

Late in the day Mr. Morgenthau himself arrives at this conclusion. The real battle, he admits, is for the minds of men—but only in Asia. This is certainly topsy-turvy realism. Europe, the origin of all modern thought and still the greatest concentration of industrial power, has to be treated solely as an object of power politics and partitioned. Asia, where men have hardly begun to think in modern terms, has to be the field of ideological battle. Yet the Russians are strongest ideologically in Asia and strongest materially in Europe; therefore, according to this realism, we should fight them on ground of their choosing.

The truth is that Mr. Morgenthau, like all realists from Metternich onward, is a system-maker. Foreign policy will not satisfy him unless it is universal. A more realist approach would forget all about the struggle for the world and set its attention on the problems as they

turn up. For example, if we could settle the German problem, there would be peace in Europe for a long time; if we could settle Korea and Formosa, there would be peace in Asia—until the next explosion. But to do these things America needs a German policy, a Korean policy, a Formosan policy; instead it follows the rule of thumb of merely doing what will annoy the Russians most. In fact, the Russians dictate American policy by opposites. Let American policy make up its mind what it wants positively, for itself, in a given place at a given time; forget about the Russians and world hegemony; and we shall all have an easier time of it. Looked at from this point of view, official American policy is not very realistic; but it is more realistic than Mr. Morgenthau's.

A. J. P. TAYLOR

Basis of Soviet Conduct

THE OPERATIONAL CODE OF THE POLITBURO. By Nathan Leites. A Rand Corporation Research Study. McGraw-Hill Book Company. \$3.

THE making of the foreign policy of any great power is an exceedingly complex business which cannot be explained exclusively on any one basis. Dr. Leites does not pretend to provide a complete study of the bases of Soviet foreign policy, although the publisher's blurb implies the contrary. With becoming modesty Dr. Leites says only that this book is a preliminary report on one aspect of party operations. Within the limits set, it is a competent and highly useful work. The general reader will find it a clear exposition of basic principles; the professional student of the Soviets, a convenient summation.

In twenty brief "chapters" Dr. Leites has grouped what he calls "general rules of Bolshevik conduct" together with specific illustrations. Some of the "general rules" are direct quotations of specific instructions given by Lenin or Stalin; others are paraphrases of Leninist-Stalinist doctrines. An example—very timely at this moment of truce talks in Korea—is the material given under the chapter heading Deals:

1. Any agreements between the Party and outside groups must be regarded as aiding the future liquidation of these groups and as barriers against the liquidation

of the Party by them. . . . Therefore there is no essential difference between coming to an ostensibly amicable arrangement with an outside group or using violence against it; they are both tactics in an over-all strategy of attack.

This, somewhat abbreviated, is a "general rule." It is supported by a quotation from Lenin's speech on concessions to foreign powers—a speech in which Lenin said: "It would be a great mistake to believe that a peaceful agreement about concessions is—a peaceful agreement with capitalists. This agreement is equivalent to war. . . ." Upon the basis of this and other "rules" and examples Dr. Leites concludes:

These attitudes imply that a "settlement" with the Western Powers . . . is inconceivable to the Politburo, although arrangements with them, codifying the momentary relationship of forces, are always considered.

Some reviewers have dismissed "The Operational Code of the Politburo" as a misleading oversimplification of Soviet policy-making. This criticism is tenable only when directed against the publisher's blurb. Leites does not claim to have told either the whole story of Soviet policy-making or the whole story of Bolshevik rules and conduct. The material which he sets forth is undeniably one of the major bases, if not the major basis, for Soviet conduct, and as such it is of the greatest importance. The danger that Leites's shortened and elliptical presentation may be misleading—on the theory about the danger of a little knowledge—can be minimized by a careful reading of his introduction.

WARREN B. WALSH

Voyage of the SS Branten

20TH MERIDIAN. By Robert Travers. W. W. Norton and Company. \$3.

THE title of this exciting novel represents that point in the North Atlantic where merchant ships were most defenseless during the last war, too far from either England or North America for aerial aid against submarine attacks. The SS. Branten, sullenly steaming towards that isolated area, is an old German tub that has been pressed into convoy service, manned by a fairly typical merchant crew, and loaded for the re-

turn voyage from London with a cargo of Scotch whisky.

The cargo is in its symbolic way as explosive as the blockbusters that the Branten's sister ships had carried on the easterly convoy, for in the midst of a bitter storm several of the thirsty crew break open a hold where the whisky is stored. The bosun's gang is ordered by the Chief Mate, a reformed dipsomaniac tortured by the knowledge of the exposed cargo under his feet, to secure the cargo and batten down the hatch regardless of consequences. These struggles together with the storm result in the Branten's becoming separated from the convoy in the worst area of the North Atlantic and while submarines are picking off vulnerable members of the huddled group. It is a situation calculated to make anyone bite his nails.

This reviewer sailed the North Atlantic during the war and may have been particularly affected because this novel brought back a rush of memories. Nevertheless it cannot be denied that Mr. Travers knows the sea, ships, and the kind of men who sail them. Most

BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

from the USSR

We now accept subscriptions for the new Soviet magazine, devoted to current events in the U S S R and abroad, printed in English only.

NEWS Annual Subscription (24 issues)—\$2.00

Latest Soviet Records, Sheet Music, Handicrafts

1951 SUBSCRIPTIONS OPEN FOR ALL

SOVIET NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS

Ask for Complete Catalogue P-31

FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.

22 W. 11th Street, N. Y. 19 Murray Hill 8-2000

How to Afford Your Home in the Country

You don't need a lot of money in the bank to live in the country all year round. You don't even have to quit your city job.

Within an hour's ride of the biggest cities in America you can find many small farms where you can slash living costs, make an extra income, and get ready for the future so that you can retire earlier than you thought possible. A new book on **HOW TO AFFORD YOUR HOME IN THE COUNTRY** tells you how to enjoy the feeling of independence which only a small farm or country home can give:

- How to get the last cent of value in buying your country home (and in remodeling it).
- Where to buy low-cost land if you have an eye towards future gains in real estate values.
- How to make good money at full-time, weekend, or retirement businesses—and at the kind of work you like.
- The opportunities you might ordinarily overlook in country towns.
- What to do with a small and easily managed farm.

One chapter alone ("The best way known to learn which business to start") could be worth its weight in gold to you.

This book is really your personal **PLAN FOR INDEPENDENCE**. For your copy, tear out ad, print name and address, and mail with \$1 bill to **HARIAN PUBLICATIONS**, 2 Second Avenue, Greenlawn, New York.

Money back, of course, if not satisfied.

of all he knows how to build tension and how to convey with scrupulous accuracy an atmosphere compounded of misery, suspense, and the struggle of ill-assorted men against human and natural enemies.

There are inadequacies in his novel—it begins and ends with an arbitrary abruptness, and the seamen are sketched in with a kind of impressionistic swift-ness that rarely goes more than skin deep and hardly aids the development of the story—but the voyage of the SS Branten is a memorable one, and it leads us to hope that we may hear more from Robert Travers in the future.

HARVEY SWADOS

Verse Chronicle

YOU will find signs of literary influences—mostly good ones, Blake, Hopkins—in the "Selected Poems" of Richard Eberhart (Oxford University Press, \$2.50). You will also find a kind of refractory originality, bent on expressing its compulsions and visions in rhythms which are counterpointed and sprung, sometimes almost to the limits of doggerel. As are, for that matter, the rhymes now and then; but one never can feel quite sure whether what looks like *gaucherie* and *gaffe* may not be intended for ironical effect. The dominant tone of Mr. Eberhart's poetry is intellectual, or it may be spiritual; his epithet tends rather toward the abstract. To say that I prefer the more sensuous *This Fevers Me* or *When Doris Danced* to the more typical manner of *The Soul Longs to Return Whence It Came* or *The Moment of Vision* is perhaps to indict my own taste as much as to pronounce judgment on Mr. Eberhart's work. Reading his book, as distinguished from reading its several poems, one comes to the conclusion that Mr. Eberhart is not a very companionable poet; his "I" is not, nor meant to be, *Everyman*, nor maybe even *Any Other Man*; so the atmosphere, while not exactly lunar, for it has some vegetation, is still a little chill and dry, not enough people around.

The selection of James Hearst's poetry entitled "Man and his Field" (Alan Swallow, \$2.50), is, on the other hand, downright folksy, easy and pleasant-going, especially if you do not want

to fly too high, and not without a hint or two of scariness, as in *Snake* in the *Strawberries*.

In the earliest of Herbert Read's "Collected Poems" (New Directions, \$3) tendrils of the Georgian cling to the imagist framework, and later, when Mr. Read gets around to repainting the trellis pure white he has been a little desultory in using the wire brush to prepare the foundation. The deeply felt war poems, it seems to me, slide down in the direction of verse, or, at worst, prose; the satirical poems are very gentle indeed. A quiet excellence is Mr. Read's best quality; this speaks often in the lyrics, whose concentration gives them something close to intensity and informs the longer metaphysical works, so that, while there is no great tension here, there is reasonable support and sustenance.

"The Irish Poets of the Nineteenth Century" (Muses' Library Series: Harvard University Press, \$2.50) seem, on this evidence, to have been a rather literary lot, all too respectful, more shame to them, to the contemporary English fashion. It is true that the bright needles of their own way can be found in these formidable haystacks, but there is a good deal too much of this sort of thing

O, strew the way with rosy flowers,
And dupe with smiles thy grief and gloom,
For tarnished wreaths and songless hours
Await thee in the tomb.
as distinguished from

May the hearth-stone of hell
Be their best bed forever!

The collection is edited by Geoffrey Taylor, who devotes most of his space to the work of seven poets—William Allingham, J. J. Callanan, Aubrey De Vere, T. C. Irwin, J. C. Mangan, and J. F. O'Donnell. There are biographical and bibliographical notes on these, as there are on some thirty lesser figures, each represented by two or three poems on the average. Among these is William Larminie, who is of interest, says the editor, for his Gaelic use of assonance in English verse. But not of sufficient interest, apparently, to be represented by samples of such usage; I have the idea that Larminie is given rather scanty treatment here.

For readers interested in the work of very young poets two recent books

seem worth mention: "First and Last Poems," by Michael Sloane (Fine Editions Press, \$2.50), and "The Toy Soldier," by Donald C. Reaser (Exposition Press, \$2). Mr. Sloane's book is a posthumous collection, for the young poet died at eighteen as the result of an accident on a glacier in Austria. Mr. Reaser, a veteran of Company F, 395th Infantry, won the Hopwood Award at the University of Michigan.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

Music

B. H.
HAGGIN

IN HIS book on Mozart Dr. Alfred Einstein, seeking possible models for Mozart's first quintet, refers to Boccherini, "the fame of whose quintets began to spread through the world in the late 1760's," and remarks concerning the category of quintet with two violas that "Boccherini himself apparently did not write quintets for any other combinations of strings: he does indeed call the second viola 'alto violoncello,' but its part is notated in the viola clef throughout and is almost unplayable on the violoncello." These statements were aptly characterized, in a letter from Charles B. Farrell, as error typical in, among other things, "the bland serenity of its assertion within the aura of a mighty reputation"—a reputation, he might have added, that is considered to make a statement of sources unnecessary. But from Farrell's letter it was evident that the sources had not included the primary one, Picquot's book, in which the date of composition of the first set of those quintets that had become famous in the late 1760's is given as 1771 and the date of publication as 1774, and in which Picquot, who knew 112 of Boccherini's 113 quintets, describes them constantly as works for two cellos, as do Boccherini's autograph catalogue and the title pages of the early editions that Picquot cites. Farrell transcribed the title page of the edition of Janet et Cotelle, which contained the statement "*La Partie de premier Violoncelle peut être remplacée par l'Alto Violoncelle*," for which the edition provided an additional part—this part for "alto violoncello" having been, then, merely the publisher's ar-

rangement for viola (hence the viola clef) of the original part for first cello, a device to increase the usefulness of the edition. And Einstein doesn't seem even to have taken the trouble to speak to a cellist, who—according to Farrell who *had* taken the trouble—would have told him the first cello part was as playable on the cello as the second cello part.

Einstein's "Mozart" appeared in 1945; already in 1948 Ulrich's "Chamber Music" cited Einstein's belief "that Boccherini's 113 quintets with two cellos are actually for two violins, two violas, and one cello; the 'alto violoncello' part is written in viola clef throughout." And the error will be picked up by the next writer from Ulrich, by one writer after another from his predecessors—the result being another of the countless examples of the *fable convenue*, as Ernest Newman has called it, that becomes our knowledge of all the matters we cannot possibly learn about through our own investigation. This was the process which produced the myths about Berlioz and his work that are still current many years after they were corrected by Wotton and Turner (and note that we were in no position to determine by our own investigation the credibility of Wotton's and Turner's statements).

So with the famous critic Hanslick. We have got our ideas of him not from our reading of his reviews but from our reading of what has been written about his reviews by writers whose knowledge was acquired in the same way as ours. However, we have also read about them in Ernest Newman's "Life of Richard Wagner," whose documented text has supported his claim to be replacing *fable convenue* with the facts established by first-hand examination of source material. And we have therefore had confidence in his statements that the vogue of Hanslick's "fluent, superficial journalism" resulted from his "presenting the reader with bright reading matter that had a minimum of connection with the work of art under discussion"; that "there was hardly a contemporary work of genius or high talent in connection with which he did not demonstrate . . . the limitations not merely of his intellect but of his taste—from 'Tristan' to 'Aida,' from 'Carmen' to 'Die Fledermaus' he was consistently

wrong"; that as one of the Viennese critics who "distinguished themselves by the fatuity and the malice of their remarks on [Wagner's] concert" in May, 1872, "Hanslick sagely opined that if all operas were to be composed in the style of 'Tristan' their audiences would soon be in the lunatic asylum, whither they would be followed by the conductors and the orchestral players if these made a habit of the Wagnerian elasticity of tempi."

But now a volume of Hanslick's articles, "Vienna's Golden Years of Music" (Simon and Schuster; \$3.75), gives us the opportunity to learn about them for ourselves. And we discover that they are indeed fluent, graceful, urbane, and witty, but in the formulation of judgments which reveal great knowledge and understanding and thorough preparation (*e.g.*, by study of the scores of new works) in support of excellent critical perception that is in close contact with the music. Like most critics—and most people—he is out of phase with certain minds and their manifestations in art: the composers of program music, the mature Wagner, Bruckner. But if this makes him incapable of appreciating even the lovely things in "Die Meistersinger," a listener of today finds him accurately perceptive about the wearisome declamatory style, the absurd philosophical pretensions, the horrible verbal jargon of the other mature works; and what he says about Bruckner's symphonies describes what one has heard in them. There is nothing about "Carmen" in the book; but there are articles on Verdi's Requiem and "Otello" which reveal not only full recognition of Verdi's powers but accurate understanding of them and of their development. To the contention that "Otello" shows the influence of Wagner he replies that mere examination of the score had convinced him that "there is not a scene, not a measure, for which Verdi owes any obligation to the composer of 'Tristan und Isolde,'" and Boito and Ricordi confirmed this subsequently by telling him Verdi had heard nothing of Wagner's after "Lohengrin." "Otello," he says, represents only the further development of Verdi's own powers and style: "The sharp, challenging rhythms and melodies of his first period ('Nabucco,' 'I Lombardi,' 'Ernani') are more

rounded in his second ('Rigoletto,' 'Il Trovatore,' 'La Traviata'). In 'Aida' and 'Otello' they achieve noble simplicity"; and whereas "Otello" has more fidelity to the text "Aida" has more beautiful melodic ideas.

The rest next time.

CONTRIBUTORS

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH, Brander Matthews professor of dramatic literature at Columbia University, is the author of "Samuel Johnson" and other books.

J. C. HUREWITZ is the author of "The Struggle for Palestine."

A. J. P. TAYLOR, Fellow and Tutor in modern history at Magdalen College, Oxford University, is the author of "From Napoleon to Stalin. Comments on European History" and other books.

WARREN B. WALSH is chairman of the Board of Russian Studies at Syracuse University.

HARVEY SWADOS has published short stories in the little magazines.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES, *The Nation's* poetry critic, has recently published a verse translation of Virgil's "Aeneid."

25% Less than List on LP Records

Send 15¢ for LP catalog to:

DISCOUNT RECORD CLUB

DEPT. N-31

Box 533, Grand Central Station, New York 17, N. Y.

Add 15¢ per record postage and handling charges (50¢ minimum) SAME-DAY SHIPMENT

PULITZER PRIZE and CRITICS' AWARD
RICHARD RODGERS ■ OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN ■
 present in association with
LELAND HAYWARD ■ JOSHUA LOGAN

ROGER RICO
MARTHA WRIGHT

South Pacific

Music by **RICHARD RODGERS**
 Lyrics by **OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd**
 Book by
OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd ■ JOSHUA LOGAN
 Adapted from **JAMES A. MICHENER'S Pulitzer Prize Winning "TALES OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC"**
 Directed by **JOSHUA LOGAN**
 Scenery & Lighting by **Jo Mielziner**
 with **Myron McCORMICK ■ Diana COSTELLO**
MAJESTIC, 44 St. W. of B'way • Air-Cond.
 Evenings 8:30. Matinees Wed. ■ Sat. 2:30

BUY U. S. SAVINGS BONDS

Letters to the Editors

An Elephant's Tail

Dear Sirs: When Hart Stilwell calls us in his article, "Why They Cheat," which appeared in the August 18 issue of *The Nation*, "a nation of people who can think only at a typewriter and who use whiskey as a substitute for conversation when they meet socially," he is rather like the blind man who felt the elephant's tail and reported that the elephant was somewhat like a rope.

HELEN BUGBEE

Chicago, Ill.

Minority Rights in India

Dear Sirs: I am one of 36 Muslim members of the Indian Parliament and am at present visiting the U. S. on the invitation of the World Assembly of Youths, which met at Ithaca (N. Y.) recently.

In the short time I have been here, it has pained me deeply to observe that even intelligent people, like journalists and public leaders, over-simplify the current tension existing between India and Pakistan as a Hindu-Muslim problem. They forget that there are 40,000,000 Muslims who, even after partition, live in India as full citizens. Their rights are protected by the constitution, they have the fullest confidence in the fairness of their Hindu brethren. In short, India, like the United States, is a secular state where followers of different religions enjoy equal privileges.

Let me make it clear that the Pakistani *jehad* (holy war against non-Muslims) will be a war against the whole of India. The 40,000,000 Muslims of India will resist the Pakistanis with all their might. The Indian Muslims have never subscribed to the theory that Hindus and Muslims are different nations because of a difference in religion.

I say with full responsibility that Pakistan is not interested in the welfare of the 40,000,000 Indian Muslims, nor is she any more interested in the welfare of the 3,000,000 Kashmiri Muslims. She wants to occupy Kashmiri territory to improve her own position. She first tried to grab it by force, and when the attempt failed, she raised the religious issue.

If Pakistan is determined to protect the interests of the Muslims in Kashmir and India, I want to know why she does not express the same concern for the

freedom-loving Pathans who are fighting for their independence. Their beloved leaders, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Dr. Khan Sahib, have been kept in prison since the establishment of Pakistan.

I want to express my agreement with the memorandum submitted by 14 prominent members of my community to Dr. Frank Graham last week. I fully subscribe to their view that: "Our interests and welfare do not coincide with Pakistan's conception of the welfare and interests of the Muslims in Pakistan."

Our religious and cultural life is protected in India, and we stand to share in the opportunities open to all citizens.

Not many people here know that despite the continuous provocation, first from the Muslim League and since then from Pakistan, the Hindu majority in India has not thrown us—or members of other minorities—out of the civil service, armed forces, judiciary, trade, commerce, business or industry.

There are Muslim ministers in the federal and state cabinets; Muslim governors, Muslim ambassadors representing India in foreign countries and fully enjoying the confidence of the Indian nation; Muslim members of Parliament and state legislatures; Muslim judges serving on the Supreme Court and the High Courts, and high-ranking officers in the armed forces and civil service, including the police.

Muslims have large landed estates; they run business and large commercial houses in various parts of the country, notably in Bombay and Calcutta. They have a share in industry and in the export-import trade. Most of the famous Muslim sacred shrines and places of cultural interest are in India.

The hope of the Indian Muslims is that Pakistan will stop meddling with our affairs.

M. I. ANSARI, M. P.

Washington, D. C.

Greek Political Exiles

Dear Sirs: I have just returned from a visit to my son on the island of Eustratios where he is confined with 3,600 other political exiles who were banished from Greece in 1945 and 1946 for refusing to swear that they were not communists or anarchists. The great majority of the exiles are either teachers, lawyers, engineers or physicians. Not one of these

men was given a trial. They were exiled by a so-called Citizen's Committee on evidence submitted to it by the police which they were never given the opportunity to refute. Not one of these men has a criminal record. The only crime they have committed was to stick by their beliefs and stand up for their right as citizens to criticize their government. Both the men exiled on Eustratios and the women exiled on Trikeri are suffering terribly from the want of food and adequate shelter because they have no way of supplementing the meager government allotment which isn't enough to buy them one meal a day. Why should these men and women, many of whom have contributed so much to the welfare of their country and who could serve as the core for a truly democratic Greece, be treated so?

NICHOLAS KATAKALON

Salonika, Greece

Request for Alinsky's Speech

Dear Sirs: Thanks for publishing the excellent and stirring tribute to Dean Thompson by Saul Alinsky in your Letters to the Editor column which appeared in the August 4 issue of *The Nation* under the head Civilization's Cross.

I should like to send it, on to the *Washington Post* with permission to reprint it.

COL. WILLIAM A. CALLAWAY

Charlottesville, Va.

Buy Your Books

through ^{THE} *Nation*



Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C. O. D. No C. O. D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

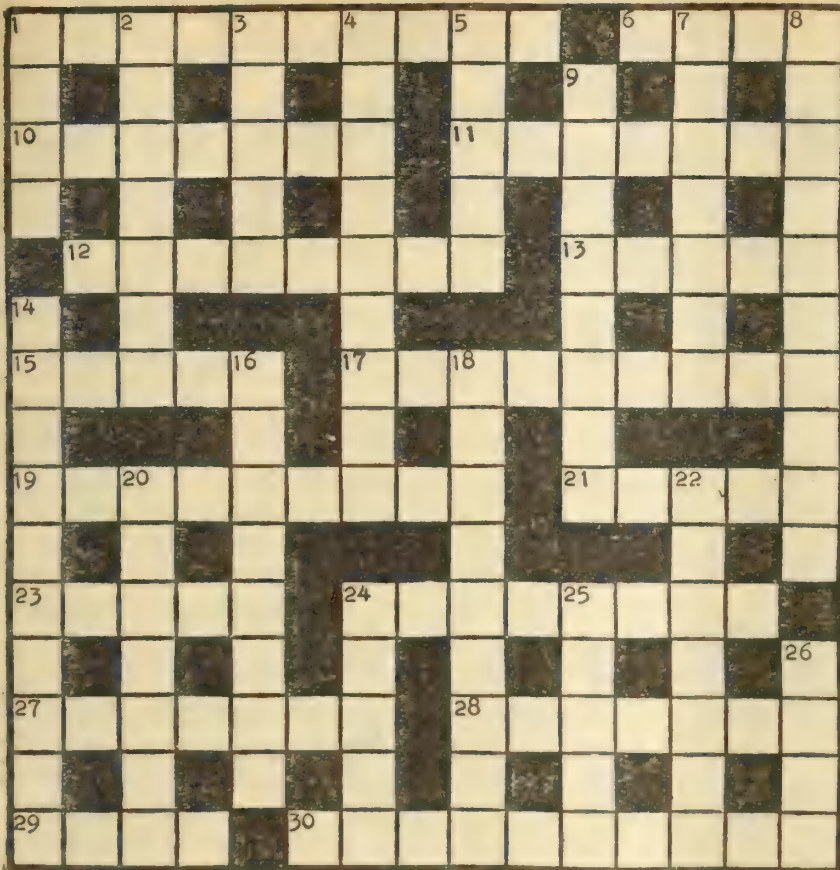
Please address your orders to

Miss Le Pach

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
30 Vesey Street New York 7, N. Y.

Crossword Puzzle No. 429

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 Where these puzzles go? (10)
- 6 A chemist makes nothing but trouble when the cloud lifts. (4)
- 10 and 26 down. Sow this? It's in the bag! (1, 3, 2, 1, 4)
- 11 The worth of a man's years, after proper deductions? (4, 3)
- 12 All but open boats might. (8)
- 13 The state of boots, flies, and mercenaries. (5)
- 15 Half this is out of more than one race. (5)
- 17 One of those taking ways, incidentally. (2, 7)
- 19 Orders a complete course, perhaps. (9)
- 21 Not an egoistic speaker! (5)
- 23 A cruel way to cause 6, perhaps. (5)
- 24 Lives and orders sometimes appear so. (8)
- 27 You'll get the measles, if you try to massage a girl! (7)
- 28 If you make arrangements, you might give her the air. (7)
- 29 Skin this! Superficially! (4)
- 30 When it comes to this, our kids have it on us! (10)

DOWN

- 1 See 24 down.
- 2 and 9. Beheaded, Hugo's workers would be tankers. (7, 2, 3, 3)

3 "...What pain it was to drown:
What dreadful _____ of
waters....." (5)

- 4 Sections of this at one end of a spur. (5, 4)
- 5 The anointed are probably well. (5)
- 7 Double-decked basket? (7)
- 8 An entertaining way of asking not to get in. (10)
- 9 See 2 down.
- 14 See 24 down.
- 16 How to get control of a corporation? (8)
- 18 After speed, obviously! (9)
- 20 Not a simple A. B. C. love word (7)
- 22 Come off it! That's not the way to prepare for competition! (7)
- 24 1 down, 14 down. Report of a Caesarean operation. (1, 4, 1, 3, 1, 10)
- 25 Is one a minimum of 24 inches tall? (5)
- 26 See 10 across.

• • • • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 428

ACROSS:—1 MUSICAL CHAIRS; 10 HOUTON; 11 ARAMAIC; 12 SOLDERING; 13 THYME; 14 NO FAIR; 16 ENERVATE; 19 THANKFUL; 20 EFFECT; 22 JOSEF; 23 GUNCOTTON; 25 CLARION; 26 DURANTE; 27 EFFERVESCENCE.

DOWN:—2 USUAL; 3 IN THE NICK OF TIME; 4 AENEID; 5 CHARGING; 6 A MATTER OF COURSE; 7 READYMADE; 8 CHESTNUT; 9 ACHE; 15 FLAGSTAFF; 17 EXTENDED; 18 TURGENEV; 21 ANODES; 22 JACK; 24 TONIC.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

RESORTS

50 MI.
FROM
NEW YORK



MAMANASCO
Lake Lodge

RIDGEFIELD, CONN.
Phone 6-7000

A beautiful country estate converted into a delightful retreat for vacations and weekends. All outdoor activities. Mile-long lake. Tennis. Golf nearby. Informal, congenial atmosphere. Television, recordings. Excellent cuisine and accommodations. Moderate rates.

50 MILES TO FOREST HOUSE

Near enough for easy travel, far enough for an unforgettable vacation. Forest House achieves new levels of gay relaxation in inspiring surroundings. Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality. Two grand lakes. All sports.

FOREST HOUSE

Lake Mahopac, N. Y. • Tel. MAhopac 8-3449

Colorful! Gay! Exciting!



THAT'S INDIAN SUMMER AT THE GLENMERE!

famed horseback riding!

the Glenmere

Chester, N. Y. in the beautiful Ramapos
Phones: Chester 2151 — N. Y.: REctor 2-5047

HOUSE FOR SALE

KEEN VALLEY, in Adirondacks; furnished or unfurnished; suitable for year-round living. 1st floor, hall, living-dining room with knotty pine paneling and fireplace; attractive kitchen, two bedrooms, bath, porch. 2nd floor, two bedrooms, bath. Basement, furnace room, rooms suitable for workshop and laundry. 1-car garage. Oil burner, hot water heat. 2.1 acres of ground, mostly woodland, mountain view, trout stream. Box 241, c/o The Nation.

FARMS & ACREAGE

OLD CHATHAM, white 8-room Cape Cod, artesian well; two brooks; modern barns; 50 acres, additional land available. \$12,000. We highly recommend this combination of rare charm coupled with the practical. Berkshire Farm Agency, East Chatham, New York.

PUBLISHING SERVICE

AUTHORS! Sales Department available for your short stories, articles, books and plays. Free booklet, write today! Mead Agency, 419 Fourth Avenue, N. Y. 16 (OR 9-1150).

PERSONALS

exit loneliness

Somewhere there is someone you would like to know. Somewhere there is someone who would like to know you. We can help you find a richer, happier life through discreet, dignified "social introductions."

Write for booklet, or phone
MAY RICHARDSON
Dept. TN, 111 West 72 Street
New York City EN 2-2033



Advertising Rates

CLASSIFIED
74¢ a line (6 words)
Three-line minimum

CLASSIFIED DISPLAY

\$7.42 per inch (minimum)
Remittance must accompany all orders

The NATION

Twenty Vesey Street
New York 7, New York
BARclay 7-1066

MONEY-SAVING MAGAZINE COMBINATIONS

For Your Convenience

THE *Nation* with
☐ Harper's Magazine...\$9.50
You Save \$2.50

THE *Nation* with
☐ Consumer Reports...\$10.75
You Save \$1.25

These club combinations are for one year and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses. Remittance must accompany all combination orders.

THE *Nation* by itself:
☐ One Year \$7 ☐ Two Years \$12
☐ Three Years \$17

SERVICEMEN'S RATE \$5 A YEAR

Canadian and Foreign Postage \$1 a year extra

SPECIAL NOTICE TO NATION READERS:

To Subscribers:

We are asking subscribers who wish to change their address to give us at least three weeks' notice, indicating the old as well as the new address.

If you will renew your subscription on receipt of the first notice of expiration, your cooperation will be much appreciated. It will help us simplify our record-keeping, saving us time and expense, and shield you from further renewal letters. At the same time you will avoid interruption in receiving *The Nation*.

To Newsstand Readers:

Since *The Nation* is distributed on key newsstands only, you may have difficulty in obtaining your copy. Therefore, the only certain way of getting *The Nation* regularly is to enter a subscription. By doing so you will not only be sure of receiving your copy promptly every week but save considerable money.

The NATION

20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

- ☐ I want to subscribe to *The Nation* for _____ years.
☐ Remittance enclosed. ☐ Bill me.
- ☐ I enclose my remittance for the following *Nation* combinations listed below.

NAME _____

STREET _____

CITY _____

ZONE _____

STATE _____

9/8/51

THE *Nation*

September 15, 1951

Peace or Blackmail

The U. N.'s Chance in the Middle East

BY LILLIE SHULTZ

*

Maverick from Maine

The Troubles of Margaret Chase Smith

BY DUNCAN AIKMAN

*

Setback for Labor Unity - - - *Willard Shelton*
Helsingör Peace Conference - *J. Alvarez del Vayo*
Malraux's Great Trilogy - - - *S. Lane Faison, Jr.*
Japan as Judah - - - - - *Kizo Kano*

MONEY-SAVING MAGAZINE COMBINATIONS

For Your Convenience

^{THE} *Nation* with
☐ Harper's Magazine..\$9.50
You Save \$2.50

^{THE} *Nation* with
☐ Consumer Reports..\$10.75
You Save \$1.25

These club combinations are for one year and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses. Remittance must accompany all combination orders.

^{THE} *Nation* by itself:

☐ One Year \$7 ☐ Two Years \$12
☐ Three Years \$17

SERVICEMEN'S RATE \$5 A YEAR

Canadian and Foreign Postage \$1 a year extra

The NATION

20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

- I want to subscribe to *The Nation* for _____ years.
☐ Remittance enclosed. ☐ Bill me.
- I enclose my remittance for the following *Nation* combinations as listed below.

NAME _____

STREET _____

CITY _____

ZONE _____

STATE _____

9/15/51

SPECIAL NOTICE TO NATION READERS:

To Subscribers:

We are asking subscribers who wish to change their address to give us at least three weeks' notice, indicating the old as well as the new address.

If you will renew your subscription on receipt of the first notice of expiration, you will be much appreciated. This will simplify our work and save us time and money from further delay. Please let us hear from you at the same time you are in receiving.

To Newsstands:

Since *The Nation* is a key newsstand publication, it is not without difficulty in obtaining your copy. Therefore, the only certain way of getting *The Nation* regularly is to enter a subscription. By doing so you will not only be sure of receiving your copy promptly every week but save considerable money.

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 173

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • SEPTEMBER 15, 1951

NUMBER 11

The Shape of Things

WE EXTEND PROFESSIONAL SYMPATHY, somewhat ruefully, to the *Reader's Digest* (circulation 15,000,000) which has been withdrawn from the 113 diocesan schools of the Catholic Diocese of Green Bay, Wisconsin for publication of an article in its July issue. The piece, entitled "Margaret Sanger: Mother of Planned Parenthood," described Mrs. Sanger's long fight in founding the birth-control movement, a saga long familiar to most of literate America. According to Monsignor Edward Westenberger, superintendent of schools in the diocese, "the article appeared to be one obviously 'ordered' by the editors and hence expressing the views of the *Reader's Digest*—views absolutely irreconcilable with the morality taught by Christ." He termed the article "unpatriotic, un-Christian, and vicious propaganda"—epithets that must have caused a shudder in Pleasantville. While this action is entirely intramural, banning a general magazine to students coming under the Catholic discipline, there are further implications in an editorial in the *Evangelist*, a Catholic weekly published in Albany. This editorial suggests letters of protest to the *Digest*, and adds: "If they fail to bring about a change in this offensive policy on the part of the magazine, then a cancellation of subscriptions will quickly convince the editors of the need of fair play."

✱

ANEURIN BEVAN'S REAL STRENGTH IN THE Labor Party is difficult to gauge from the motions passed at the Blackpool meeting of the Trade Union Congress. The system of bloc balloting—every delegate voting the whole membership of his union—rules out a popular referendum on any subject. Differences in the labor movement are supposed to be resolved in each union and only a majority view is registered at the annual conference. On this basis all the votes taken at Blackpool on such critical issues as East-West trade, the arms program, relations with Russia, the rearming of Germany and Japan strongly supported the government's policy. The vote was undoubtedly weighted even more heavily on the official side by the genuine desire of rank-and-file unionists to avoid any action which might bring

down the government. Just the same, the popular strength of Bevan's position was indicated both by the attempts of the Attlee supporters to minimize it and by heated attacks on American interference with British trade and the revival, with United States subsidies, of Japanese and German competition. The unanimous vote for a strongly worded proposal to end diplomatic relations with fascist Spain gained added significance from the recent exchange of ambassadors, following last year's reversal of policy in the United Nations, and Washington's all-out program to rearm and rehabilitate the Franco regime. On this point, at least, British workers are united—although their views seem to have little effect on their government.

✱

BLACKPOOL, HOWEVER, WAS NO TEST. IT is at Scarborough, where the annual conference of the Labor Party will be held during the first week of October, that the basic issue posed by Bevan and his followers is likely to be fought out. That issue is not, as some American newspapers insist, the need for an effective defense program in Britain or for an alliance with the other Western powers; neither has been questioned by the Labor left-wingers. What they argue for is less emphasis on rearming and more on social services and economic stability. Above all, they want greater independence in foreign policy: a willingness to stand up for British interests and principles, even when necessary against American pressure, and a determination to end the cold war at any time and in any area that is possible. Their position, defined in the manifesto, "One Way Only," is that "once there is clear proof of a change of heart in the countries which now threaten aggression, negotiations can and must be undertaken to reduce the weight of armaments in every country, and that Labor will watch vigilantly for that moment."

✱

LAST NOVEMBER THE MONTCLAIR CHAPTER of the Sons of the American Revolution adopted a resolution calling upon public libraries and schools to label with a stamp or sticker "publications which advocate or favor communism or which are issued or distributed by a Communist organization formally designated by any

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things	201
Judges or "Mere Instruments"?	202
Beyond San Francisco <i>by Freda Kirchwey</i>	203

ARTICLES

Peace or Blackmail in the Middle East <i>by Lillie Shultz</i>	204
Maverick from Maine <i>by Duncan Aikman</i>	207
The Helsingör Peace Conference <i>by J. Alvarez del Vayo</i>	210
Setback for Labor Unity <i>by Willard Shelton</i>	212
Japan as Judah <i>by Kizo Kano</i>	213

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

What Does Russia Offer? <i>by George Soule</i>	214
Malraux's Great Trilogy <i>by S. Lane Faison, Jr.</i>	214
"Most People Are Other People" <i>by Ernest Jones</i>	216
Books in Brief	216
Drama <i>by Joseph Wood Krutch</i>	217
Films <i>by Manny Farber</i>	218
Music <i>by B. H. Haggin</i>	219

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 430

by Frank W. Lewis opposite 220

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Associate Editor: Carey McWilliams

Foreign Editor
J. Alvarez del Vayo

Literary Editor
Margaret Marshall

Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin

Assistant Editor: Charles R. Allen, Jr.

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside

Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting

Staff Contributors

Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: Mary Simon

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1951, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas. Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$7; Two years \$12; Three years \$17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address ■ well ■ the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

authorized government official or agency as communistic." The resolution went on to suggest that publications which were found to be "subversive should not be freely available in libraries or in schools but should be obtained only by signing suitable applications." No specific proposals were offered on how these recommendations might be put into effect until last April when the S. A. R. asked the American Library Association to take on the job. Nine members of the association's eleven-member Committee on Intellectual Freedom voted and rejected the proposal. The association then submitted the proposal to twenty-four public and school librarians throughout the country for comment. Twenty replied and voted against it. One librarian wrote, "labeling is not only an attempt to prejudice the reader; it is an attempt to control and frighten people." Another voted against labeling "because there can be no reasonable end once it is begun." On the strength of the committee's report and survey, the council of the American Library Association has adopted a resolution vigorously denouncing labeling and rejecting the S. A. R. proposal. Momentarily defeated, the S. A. R. is now rallying support from like-minded organizations, determined to demonstrate its revolutionary antecedents by waging a national campaign for book-labeling.

Judges or "Mere Instruments"?

ANY attempt to intimidate judges is a matter of concern in a democracy, but when government itself attempts the intimidation then the independence of the judiciary is directly imperiled. This is the issue involved in the recent attempt by the Department of Justice to disqualify Federal Judge Delbert E. Metzger in a case pending in Hawaii.

Unlike federal judges on the mainland, territorial judges are given specific term appointments, and Judge Metzger's appointment expires on September 28. When the seven alleged Communists arrested in Hawaii were brought before Judge Metzger for arraignment late in August, Acting United States Attorney Howard K. Hod-dick demanded \$75,000 bail in each case. Judge Metzger demurred. "Bail," he said, "was never intended as a punishment before trial." He thereupon set bail at \$5,000 in each case, which he later raised to \$7,500 at the suggestion of the grand jury. Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney, chairman of the Senate committee in charge of Hawaiian affairs, promptly denounced Judge Metzger's refusal to accept the government's suggestion on bail as "outrageous" and went on to say that this action would "speedily terminate the Judge's services in Hawaii . . . Judge Metzger has sacrificed any right to further consideration."

The Acting United States Attorney then filed "at the request of the Attorney General of the United States,"

an affidavit to disqualify Judge Metzger. The affidavit is an extraordinary document. It calls attention to Judge Metzger's refusal to accept the government's suggestion on bail; quotes him as having said, "So far as I am concerned, people who choose may belong to the Communist Party"; and then, referring to the fact that Judge Metzger had acquitted of contempt of the House Committee on Un-American Activities 39 witnesses who had claimed the protection of the Fifth Amendment, quotes him as having expressed disapproval of Congress for "adopting suppressive measures which have a tendency to lead toward a police state." Queried by *The Nation*, a spokesman for the Department of Justice could not recall another instance in which the department had sought to disqualify a federal judge.

The official indignation about Judge Metzger contrasts unpleasantly with the absence of official comment on the disqualification of Judge James M. Carter in a similar case. Recently the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that Judge Carter was permanently disqualified on the score of "personal prejudice" in the case of one of the alleged Communists arrested in Los Angeles. On at least five occasions, so the court found, Judge Carter had expressed the belief that "membership in the Communist party" was tantamount to a violation of the Smith Act, thus in effect announcing, in advance of a trial, that the defendants were guilty.

The outcry against Judge Metzger takes on added meaning, moreover, against the background of recent attempts to coerce federal judges. When Judge Leon Yankwich had a minor brush with the Tenney Committee in California some years ago, there were vague threats of a Congressional inquiry. Somewhat later the action of the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in ordering the release of Harry Bridges on bail pending an appeal provoked threats of a general investigation of the federal judiciary. Similar threats were voiced by Congressmen who disapproved of Judge Samuel H. Kaufman's conduct of the first Hiss trial.

The power of judges to punish for contempt affords ample protection against attempted intimidation by litigants or private parties; but the contempt power does not protect judges against Congressional pressure or pressures applied by the Department of Justice.

Those who know Delbert E. Metzger will not fear that he may be intimidated. Judge Metzger does not intimidate easily—as the military discovered in Hawaii during World War II. But that a judge who lacks lifetime tenure should be singled out for this unprecedented action, undertaken on direct orders from the Attorney General, only underscores the implications so far as other federal judges are concerned.

Fortunately Judge Metzger has some courageous colleagues on the federal bench. In Michigan, Judge Arthur E. Lederle has ruled that denial of bail should not be

used as a punishment, and in New York Judge Edward Weinfeld has questioned the right of the Attorney General to set up special regulations governing the acceptance of cash bail. But if the fine example of these men is to prevail over current fears and pressures, then Congress and the Attorney General should recognize that neither is the keeper of the judicial conscience. "There was a period in English history," as Judge William Healy pointed out in ordering Bridges released on bail, "when high judges prostituted themselves to the role of mere instruments for carrying into effect the arbitrary will of the Crown; and the memory of that experience took deep lodgment in the hearts of the English-speaking peoples. It was in part owing to these unhappy experiences that in our constitutional system the judiciary was set up as an equal branch of the government, independent both of the executive and the legislative arms." Current unhappy experiences should remind us that American judges are not "mere instruments" of an Administration's foreign policy. Under the circumstances a refusal to reappoint Judge Metzger can only be interpreted as an attempt to subvert the principle of an independent judiciary.

Beyond San Francisco

BY FRED KIRCHWEY

FORTY-NINE nations signed the Japanese peace treaty last Saturday in a show of solidarity that made the three Soviet standouts look lonely and rather ineffective. Gromyko and his two backers, the delegates of Poland and Czechoslovakia, left before the signing, their efforts to prolong debate firmly rolled under by the smooth-running conference machinery, their protests and counter-proposals virtually ignored. Even the absence of India and Burma, which with Yugoslavia had declined the invitation to San Francisco, was at least partly offset by the fact that six other "free Asian" countries were present and among the signers. The inclusion in this group of the three states of Indo-China, still unfree dependencies of France, was not stressed in the news stories. Altogether the intention of the State Department to hold a "conference" which should be an impressive demonstration of unanimity was nearly successful. If Gromyko and his colleagues had any immediate effect it was to insure that other delegates, even some with serious doubts to express, took pains to cushion their critical comments with sharp attacks on the Soviet Union.

But beyond San Francisco lie the somber realities which diplomacy temporarily obscured. They were not changed by forty-nine signatures. Gromyko's implied warning that the treaty would set off another war in Asia may have been merely a final dramatic denuncia-

tion of a pact he had already described as an "instrument of aggression." Or it may have been a hint that the talks at Kaesong, stalled for the duration of the conference, would presently end in a new offensive from the north. Or it may have been a serious threat of the greater war in everyone's mind. But whatever it portended, the troubles due to follow the treaty are closely linked to its rejection by the Communist powers, China and Russia, by India and Burma, to the disapproval of Indonesia and the Philippines, and to the grave objections raised before the conference by liberal elements inside Japan. In spite of six Asian signatures on the treaty, it is still a fact that most of Asia repudiates it at heart and will try to modify it in practice. It is a more ominous fact that until Japan is at peace with Russia and China and India no real peace has been made with anybody.

Nor will post-treaty difficulties be confined to Asia. The fragile solidarity that emerged at San Francisco cannot long survive unless Russia, by threat or overt act, holds the "free" nations together. Already the British are worrying about cheap Japanese goods flooding markets absolutely essential to the export trade that must support Britain's shaky economy—more than ever now that rearmament is creating new, unmanageable burdens. Norway is worried about fishing rights. Many nations are apprehensive because the treaty establishes no controls to prevent the ruthless industrial and trading practices that built Japan's pre-war commercial empire. And all the powers, save perhaps the United States, which will have the whip hand, fear the rapid rise of Japan's war-making capacity, industrial and political as well as military. They know that a new balance of power in Asia has been created by the treaty, and some of its consequences are already visible. Even the security pact between Washington and Tokyo, signed as a postscript

to the treaty, is only partly reassurance. As long as American forces remain stationed in Japan and the neighboring islands, they will presumably insure the use of Japan's restored military power against Communist aggression rather than for Japanese aggression. But the combined weight of arms in Japan, concentrated just off the coast of Asia's mainland, can also lighten the frayed bonds between Russia and China and serve as a provocation rather than a warning to both. Already many comments in the European press reveal a fear that the treaty of peace may be a step in the direction of war.

Two developments will either fortify or help dispel this feeling. The first is the course of coming events in Korea. If the Kaesong talks are resumed, then it can be assumed that Russia is willing to bide its time, confident that Asian discontent with the treaty will mount as its effects become evident. If the northern drive begins, and especially if Russian mechanized units appear on the front, then the danger of general war will be greatly increased. The second, closely linked to the first, is the decision that must be made as to Japan's relationship with China. Mr. Acheson has denied any intention of forcing Japan to turn to Formosa. But it is hard to believe that our new Asian ally will be encouraged to make a peace treaty with Peking at a time when we are warring against Chinese forces in Korea and are committed to the massive rearming of Chiang Kai-shek's troops on Formosa. The one thing that might tip the scales toward Peking would be a cease-fire. If Japan should come to an agreement with Communist China, as both its economic and security needs urgently dictate, most of the nations signing the treaty would experience a great sense of relief. Peaceful relations between Japan and China are the one force that might bring about a stable balance of power in Pacific Asia.

Peace or Blackmail in the Middle East

BY LILLIE SHULTZ

Flushing, September 1

AFTER more than six weeks of reluctant debate the Security Council today adopted by a vote of 8 with 3 abstentions (Russia, India, and China) the resolution calling upon Egypt to end its blockade of the Suez Canal against the passage of Israeli ships and the search of other vessels bound for Israeli ports. The result is a

LILLIE SHULTZ, director of *The Nation Associates*, frequently analyzes developments in the United Nations for this journal. She attended all the meetings of the Security Council during its debate on the Egyptian blockade.

clear-cut victory for international law. For the U. N. it could mean a unique opportunity to make peace between the Arab states and Israel—or its greatest headache.

Although Israel may be the beneficiary of the decision, it was a victory dictated not by the justice of Israel's complaint but by big-power interests. Here was a clear-cut violation of international law which if unchallenged would have created most dangerous precedents, allowing Egypt, despite the convention guaranteeing freedom of passage through the Suez Canal of international shipping both in war and in peace, to stop any ship of any registry at its own discretion.

If Egypt fails to comply with the resolution, as seems likely in the light of its past record, the United Nations will have three alternatives. It may simply ignore Egypt's defiance. But inaction would mean more than loss of prestige: it would undermine the whole Israel-Arab armistice. For failure to enforce the resolution could reasonably be interpreted by Israel as acceptance of the Egyptian premise that a state of war still exists, in which case Israel would seek to protect itself. Retaliation in its mildest form would mean a search of ships bound for Egypt passing through Haifa.

Or the U. N. could take action under Chapters VI, VII, and VIII of the Charter. Under Chapter VI, it might seek conciliation, using the Palestine Conciliation Commission; or it might refer the entire matter to the International Court of Justice. But that would mean retrogression. For the Council could have used either device without adopting a resolution which clearly states that the blockade of the Suez Canal is contrary to the Constantinople Convention of 1888 governing the canal, the right of nations to navigate the seas and trade freely with one another, and the Israel-Arab armistice agreements. Furthermore, if the blockade were maintained, the British-owned Haifa refinery would continue to operate at 25 per cent of capacity—at the very moment when its full output of 4,000,000 tons annually is urgently needed to offset the loss of production in Iran. Thus a central purpose of the resolution would be defeated.

Under Chapter VIII, the Council could presumably invite the Arab League to help it conciliate the situation. How far this move would get may be readily imagined: intransigence toward Israel is the one thing that keeps the Arab League from splitting apart.

Should Egypt prove recalcitrant, the U. N. also has authority under Chapter VII to call for an economic or diplomatic boycott, or a blockade and "other operations by air, sea, or land forces of members of the United Nations." This procedure would mean a protracted and costly embroilment, not simply with Egypt, but probably with the whole of the Arab world. Besides, other differences inevitably arising out of the central fact that a permanent settlement is still lacking would keep the U. N. in continuous ferment.

But the United Nations has a third recourse. It can begin to perform its central function of promoting peace by seeking actively to bring about a settlement between Israel and the Arab states, using today's resolution as its point of departure. Although the U. N. Truce Commission and the Palestine Conciliation Commission have cost the U. N. almost \$9,000,000 since 1947, neither has shown a creative ability to advance a permanent settlement.

The advantages of peace are obvious. In the narrow sense peace between Israel and the Arab states would

make possible a gradual approach to normal relations. It would mean a mutual resumption of trade, to the benefit of both areas, particularly of Jordan and Lebanon. It would make possible the carrying out of joint projects by Israel and Jordan, including resumption of operations of the Rutenberg Electric Works, thus applying the water power of the Jordan to the industrial growth of the two countries. It could mean the development of the Dead Sea concession, with its enormous mineral deposits, benefiting both Jordan and Israel. Peace would also invite the establishment, with international funds, of a Jordan Valley Authority, similar to the TVA, which would bring enormous advantages to the entire area. Dr. Walter Clay Lowdermilk has estimated that this development alone would so fructify both sides of the Jordan as to make possible the eventual settlement of 10,000,000 persons.

Today Israel has a population of 1,516,000 while Jordan, in an area four times as large, has approximately 1,000,000. Because of its dynamics, Israel is managing to build a growing economy based on Western standards while Jordan, today as yesterday, remains a backward country, with virtually no industry, still dependent on British subsidy.

From the international standpoint a fact of overriding importance is that a settlement would promote stability in the whole area. The Middle East today is in a state of legitimate ferment against both feudalism and colonialism. Campaigns for a "second round" against Israel have become a kind of lightning rod used by the governing oligarchies to divert the revolutionary impulses of millions of people against unspeakable conditions. At this moment all the countries of the Arab League are casting covetous eyes at Jordan, now deprived of its strongest personality by the murder of King Abdullah. Annexation plots are brewing; intrigue is rife; new military adventures may be anticipated which could have Israel as a target point at a moment's notice. The "second-round" agitation could become explosive. But these plots could be nipped in the bud if concerted and vigorous action toward a peace settlement were begun at once.

STABILITY in the Middle East would make it possible for the Western world to build an alliance which has meaning. For months there has been talk about a Middle Eastern defense pact which would include Turkey, the Arab states, and possibly Israel. But in the absence of a settlement no Arab state will enter any pact which includes Israel. And the weakness of such a pact without Israel is also apparent, since Israel is the one dynamic democratic force in the Middle East.

Peace would also mean that oil-hungry Europe would be sure of being fed and would make possible the resumption of the flow of oil from Iraq to the Haifa

refinery, second only in size to Abadan, interrupted by the Palestine war.

Stabilization would also open the way to genuine efforts to develop the area for the benefit of its own people and the rest of the world. A real Point Four program would then become possible. Large-scale development backed by adequate funds and the whole experience of democracy would save the Middle East from the blandishments of the Soviet Union by making the peoples of the area our allies. Without the friendship of these peoples, an alliance would have no meaning. Shoring up feudal regimes and securing bases and treaty rights will be of small avail when the basic test comes. The peoples of the Middle East would not support those who support their oppressors. In such a test, no Arab government, whatever its pledges, could deliver the loyalty of its people.

Whether the U. N. will seize this moment to act for peace is the big question. Until now, little leadership has been shown by any of the great powers. The resolution itself, the first of its kind directed against an Arab state, is primarily the result of British pressure—animated less by the interests of Israel than by its own oil interests.

The United States agreed to sponsor the resolution only after weeks of insistence by the British. In this, as in every case relating to the Middle East, the controlling factor was the State Department's self-defeating policy of appeasing the Arab states. Even before the discussion began in the Security Council, the State Department performed what it hoped would be an act of propitiation. Without being asked by any Arab state, it informed Congress that it would sanction a grant-in-aid to Israel only if an over-all grant were made to the Middle East as a whole. Thus the Arab states stand to get a sum which may reach \$89,000,000, of which some \$20,000,000 would be for economic assistance, \$50,000,000 for Arab refugees, and \$20,000,000 for military purposes.

That Egypt's intransigence was largely blackmail became increasingly clear as the discussions progressed, although the Egyptians apparently could not agree among themselves on what the price should be. At first they demanded, it was reported, transfer of the Haifa refinery to Egypt. Subsequently they were said to be ready to accept American assurance that a refinery would be built in Egypt. Still later their clamor behind the scenes was over the amount of money which Congress allotted; Egypt could not tolerate the notion of being equated with Israel in a division of funds. Egypt is now said to feel that if Iran rates a Harriman, it merits no less. To be sure, none of this was said publicly by the delegate of Egypt. His case was based on a denunciation of the Anglo-Egyptian treaty, insistence that a state of war continues to exist between Egypt and Israel, and the contention that Egypt's defense requires the interception of ships bound for Israel.

Although the United States backed the U. N.'s rejection of these arguments, the era of Arab appeasement is by no means at an end. In fact, the Security Council may soon undertake a balancing act. Arab pride, it is said, may be assuaged by a new and strong resolution directed against Israel in connection with the Huleh project.

On May 18 the Security Council adopted a resolution rebuking Israel and calling upon it to halt its drainage of the Huleh swamp, an area of 22,000 acres, on the ground that it had evacuated Arabs living on six and a half acres in the demilitarized zone without authorization. The demilitarized zone, in Palestine territory, never in the possession of Syria, is 2½ miles at its widest point, one-sixth of a mile at its narrowest; and creates a buffer zone between Israel and Syria. It was understood at the time of the armistice that this zone would be formally incorporated in the Jewish state in the final settlement: the residents of this area are now citizens of Israel.

In adopting the resolution the Security Council ignored Israel's contention that Syrian regular and paramilitary forces were using the demilitarized zone to attack Israeli settlements, that Syria's purposes were aggrandizement, and that important humanitarian issues were at stake in the Huleh project. At an expenditure of \$10,000,000, the Israelis have undertaken to drain Lake Huleh. Once the job is done, they hope to establish 3,000 farming units on the reclaimed land. With the exception of the six and a half acres in the demilitarized zone, the whole area is formally part of Israel. While the U. N. had the power to condemn Israel for its action in removing Arabs from the zone, without its permission, common sense and a decent appreciation of values should have dictated a practical settlement which would have allowed the Arabs to be compensated and the project to proceed. After all, common practice in other countries, including our own, is to condemn areas required for public projects and to compensate their owners.

Syria itself may have torpedoed this proposed new adjustment. From the start, it denied that its regular and semi-military forces had invaded the demilitarized zone. And General Riley, chief of the U. N. Truce Commission, reported on July 21 that he and the U. N. observers had been unable to conclude that such participation had taken place. But on July 19, 1951, the *Official Gazette*, Number 31, of the Syrian Republic listed the decorations awarded members of the Syrian forces who participated in war operations in the area. Among those granted awards for wounds received "while on active duty in the zone of military operations" were fifty Syrians wounded on May 5 and 6 at Tel el Mutilla, at Telabizeid, and at Tel Mutallaka, all in the demilitarized zone.

Syria's strategy is to create a situation where it can demand the partition of the demilitarized zone and se-

cure for itself riparian rights on the Jordan. But Syria does not need water rights. A country of more than 66,000 square miles, with a population of a little over 3,000,000, Syria has an excellent water supply. In ancient times the area occupied by Syria supported a population of 20,000,000; today three-quarters of the cultivable land lies waste. Israel has one river, the Jordan; Syria has five. But the waters of Syria's rivers, as well as most of the smaller streams and the waters that flow from the hills during the rainy season, are largely lost in the sea.

THE attitude of the United States on war or peace in the Middle East could be controlling, but a curious ambivalence prevails in Washington. On the one hand, the President and Congress are both friendly to Israel. The President, since 1947, has played a decisive role in bringing about the establishment of the Jewish state. And Congress recently showed an unusual sense of realism in dividing the \$138,000,000 allocated to the Middle East equally between Israel and the Arab states. The State Department, on the other hand, has not yet accepted that equation.

But more important is the reluctance of the State Department to deal realistically with the refugee problem and, most fundamentally, with the problem of peace. At every stage of every discussion the Arab states inject the issue of the Arab refugees. No governmental authority has yet reminded them, however, that the Arab refugee question was created by the Arab states themselves and by their war. And although the fact is privately acknowledged by virtually everyone, no one has clearly told the Arabs that these refugees can never be returned to Israel.

From every point of view, therefore, the moment for

decisive action has arrived. A bold policy should be embarked upon to produce a peace settlement—not at the expense of Israel or the Arabs but in accordance with the basic realities of the situation. Such a settlement should include an international undertaking to resettle the Arab refugees permanently—not on a stop-gap basis—in the areas where they now are or in under-populated countries such as Syria and Iraq. It should include a commitment to make available, instead of the present Point Four pittance, adequate funds to help the Middle East develop its resources. It must provide for new and dynamic personnel assigned by the U. N. to produce a settlement.

As long as the Arab states believe they can name their own price, they will continue to resist peace with Israel. But once it is clear to them that the benefits of the Western world will accrue to them only if there is peace, a more realistic attitude is certain to emerge. Undoubtedly some Arab leaders would cut their throats to save their faces, but other leaders can be found who understand that oil has value only when it is used or sold; that the Arab states cannot exist in isolation; and that they could benefit enormously from what the United States and the Western world have to offer. Until now we have been operating as if what the Arab states had to offer was a priceless commodity, oil. A reappraisal of our assets and theirs would be helpful all around. The fear of the State Department that a firm "no-appeasement" policy would throw these states into the arms of the Soviet Union is nonsense. The governments of the Arab states are shrewd enough to know that once wooed and won by the Soviet Union, their days would be numbered.

Failure to act for peace now may be the U. N.'s great lost opportunity.

Maverick from Maine

BY DUNCAN AIKMAN

Washington, September 10

AMONG colleagues in Republican practical politics in Washington, Senator Margaret Chase Smith of Maine, with all her five feet four inches and 120 pounds of charm and conscience, is sometimes referred to as "the girl scout with a mission." The phrase is not meant in compliment. The mine run of G. O. P. stalwarts can usually take girl scouts or leave them. And the mission of Republicans in Congress, in their view, is simply to raise so much hell with the plans, programs, and errors of the Truman Administration that the

G. O. P. will return to power in 1952 on something like a national wave of nausea.

This leaves Margaret Smith, now deep in her third year as a Senator, in the position of an uneasy and not always too consistent maverick. Her idea of a mission seems to be to put together the pieces of the G. O. P. Humpty Dumpty so that in 1952 the party can offer the voters the prospect of reasonably "moderate" and responsible government. Since this involves fitting isolationist and internationalist pieces, Asia-first and Europe-first pieces, smear-spreading and rationally critical pieces, nostalgic and perceptibly contemporary pieces, into the pattern of party doctrine, it is a whopping assignment.

Moreover, most of the Republican bigwigs in Con-

DUNCAN AIKMAN, a veteran newspaperman, has written a number of books, the latest being *"The Turning Stream."*

September 15, 1951

gress want none of it. Indeed, in the fourteen months since Senator Smith's celebrated "Declaration of Conscience" speech against the calumny tactics of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin, the G. O. P. organization has sharply disciplined her for even trying to accomplish her mission. In consequence, she has chosen during most of the 1951 session to further it less by preachment than by personal example on the voting record and by dignified abstention from name-calling orgies. At the same time she has evidently felt under such compulsion to maintain her party standing that her operations occasionally resemble the footwork of a circus rider trying to balance on several horses at once.

On the one hand, Smith votes have been cast in the Senate for all the foreign-economic-aid appropriations growing out of E. C. A., for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and all its sequels in military aid to Europe, for our own huge defense program, including universal military training. The Smith voice has been heard in favor of federal aid to public schools. And with a shrewd suspicion that housewives may be more concerned about prices in 1952 and in her own reelection year of 1954 than they seem to be now, Senator Margaret has also gone down the line for the Truman price-control program. All these measures, in a Down East lady's practical judgment, have too much of the flavor of non-partisanship for the Republicans to make hay by obstructing or resisting them.

On the Douglas MacArthur effulgence of last spring Senator Margaret blew both hot and cold. Once in the press column, *Washington and You*, which she contributes to some forty newspapers throughout the country, including the Chicago *Sun-Times*, the Philadelphia *Bulletin*, and four papers in Maine, she seemed on the point of indorsing the retired folk hero for President. "No one in the Senate or the House of Representatives," she declared, "even approaches the stature of General MacArthur as a popular leader in opposition to President Truman." But by June 4 the column was painstakingly extricating her from any trap in the MacArthur corner. The hearings on the General's recall were "sheer politics," she maintained.

On the other hand, some of the Smith efforts to demonstrate party regularity register a fairly full tonal scale of G. O. P. orthodoxy, plus occasional coloratura flourishes. With the best of Old Guardsmen, Senator Margaret brands the Brannan plan and the Administration's medical-aid program as "socialized agriculture" and "socialized medicine." She is fond of warning that many Fair Deal projects represent dangerous tendencies to sell out liberty for economic security.

Now and then, in her column and elsewhere, she has tossed sugar crumbs to the G. O. P. anti-Europe isolationists by representing General Eisenhower's Atlantic Treaty command not as a permanent assignment but

simply as an inspection commission to find out whether the treaty agreements will work or not. During the Korean war's black days last January, in a speech at the Lexington Forum (Kentucky) she conciliated the Asia-firsters with fair words for aid to Chiang Kai-shek and the defense of Formosa, adding that if the United States "keeps a foot in Asia, it will be a victory for such Republican critics [of the Administration] as Hoover, Knowland, Taft, and MacArthur."

In a flamboyant display of her respect for Republican administrative capacity, the Senator, indeed, has pleaded consistently for a pet idea of hers—that Mr. Truman, in deference to a chronic world emergency, should appoint a coalition Cabinet. She began this crusade on the morning after Truman was elected in 1948, with a telegram urging the Chief Executive to name his defeated rival, Governor Dewey, as Secretary of State. Early this year, in her January 30 column, she broadened the list of eligibles to include Senator Taft and ex-President Herbert Hoover. Such a concession to bi-partisanship would not, to be sure, "condone or erase the past tragic errors of Democratic administration." Nor should it bar G. O. P. dissidents from criticizing the Administration's policies. It should not even prevent Secretary of State Taft, Dewey, or Hoover from seeking the Republican Presidential nomination in 1952 or, if nominated, from resigning from the Cabinet and lambasting Trumanism.

THESE somewhat haphazard contributions to party unity should not lead one to conclude that Margaret Smith is in any sense an insincere or a frightened political character. She is still the same woman who announced in the Declaration of Conscience speech, "I don't want to see the Republican Party ride to victory on the four horsemen of calumny—fear, ignorance, bigotry, and smear." She is still proud of her success in getting seven more or less like-minded Republican Senators to sign a declaration against the use of these "totalitarian techniques" in partisan politics. She stands today by both her words and her actions. She made this clear early in August when as a member of the Senate Rules Committee investigating the election of Senator John M. Butler of Maryland, she signed a report blasting the use of McCarthy tactics to defeat the Democratic incumbent, Millard Tydings.

But certain things that have happened since the Declaration have considerably increased her already hefty stock of wisdom from experience. The Declaration did not check McCarthyism, for instance; and it did get Mrs. Smith into trouble with the Senate's Republican party organization. Throughout the 1950 Congressional campaign, with the Taft-Wherry leadership's obvious silent encouragement, the Wisconsin Senator's invectives against "Communist sympathizers in the Administration" constantly rose in defamatory violence. Then,

when the Eighty-second Congress convened in January with a greatly increased Republican membership, Senator Margaret was promptly dropped from her place on the G. O. P. Senate Policy Committee, and a little later from the important investigation subcommittee of the Committee on Executive Expenditures.

Anyone with fourteen years' Congressional experience could easily see what the score was. The heavy Republican election gains manifestly had persuaded large numbers of her previously doubtful colleagues, perhaps a majority, that riding with "the four horsemen of calumny" paid off. In effect, then, her committee demonstrations, accomplished at the known instigations of Senator McCarthy and with significant symptoms of approval from Republican leader Robert A. Taft, put Mrs. Smith on notice. She could pursue a continuous crusade against McCarthyism only at the risk of a party ostracism which would render it ineffective. At best she could start an intra-party feud which would seriously damage prospects of a Republican unified front for victory in 1952.

Boxed in by these pressures, Senator Margaret quite evidently has fallen back on what one of her Democratic admirers calls her "residual Republican mysticism." She honestly believes, from inherited-family and her own lifelong adherence to it, that the Republican Party is the nation's most efficient instrument of government. She is honestly confident that once the G. O. P. has returned to power and the raging frustrations of its twenty-year minority status are ended, it will ditch McCarthyism, and acquire a sobering sense of responsibility.

She believes equally that the Declaration of Conscience has served its purpose, and so, to use an old Down East expression, she is not inclined to "keep up a fuss" over it simply in order to enhance her moral-courage rating in the nation. She knows that it drew a clean line between Republicans who wish to fight the 1952 campaign on legitimate issues and those who condone the use of the smear and the big lie as political weapons. If the line has identified Presidential aspirant and Senate G. O. P. boss Taft as an outstanding condoner, there are no signs that Senator Smith regrets it. With this much to its credit, she is disposed to let the Declaration ferment in the voters' conscience, while she tries to be the best Senator and Republican she knows how to be.

SUCH objectives involve her in one of Washington's toughest working schedules and in a Spartan living regime to keep up with it. This does not bother her much, because ever since as a high-school girl she was a Saturday sales clerk in the Skowhegan five-and-ten

her days have been full of work. After high school Margaret was successfully a Skowhegan telephone operator, circulation manager of the county's weekly newspaper, office manager of a woollen mill, and secretary to the late Representative Clyde H. Smith, her husband. After his death in 1940 she served four and a half terms as a member of the House of Representatives and of its extremely busy war-time Naval Affairs Committee.

She has learned how to take fifteen-hour working days in stride. She gets along bouncingly on six hours' sleep, and lives in a small apartment half a mile from the Capitol to be sure that she takes a daily walk. She tactfully but insistently shuns Washington's big-time entertainment, including mass cocktail parties, in order to protect her naturally abounding energies. As a result, the Smith record for Senate attendance is better than average; the roll-call voting record is almost super-

excellent. Senator Margaret studies most legislative items with such diligence that she has made herself something of an expert on defense expenditures, taxation, and social-security legislation as well as on the needs of her Maine constituents.

She runs a medium-sized Senate office which makes it a point to answer all mail the day it arrives. Through hundreds of telephone calls and long-term personal friendships in the federal administrative establishments, she tries to grant innumerable constituents' requests for information and services. Chiefly by getting down to

the office before eight in the morning and often not leaving before eleven at night, she finds time to put a five-day-a-week newspaper column through the works and to see practically every Maine visitor who drops in for a greeting or on business. She manages, too, to spend a month, usually October, in arduous fence-building on the home front, and to prepare and deliver several fairly weighty formal speeches each year.

It may be that in the Smith constitution there is just a shade too much euphoria. It is this quality, some critics suggest, which enables the Senator to live with her conscience without fighting for it grimly and continuously in the way of the early-century party progressives. It accounts, too, no doubt, for the chin-up attitude with which she took her punishment for the Declaration of Conscience gesture. The cheerfulness is so near insouciance that she and her major antagonist, the junior Senator from Wisconsin, still remain, at least in their surface relations, on "Joe" and "Margaret" terms; while her Maine colleague, Senator Owen Brewster, whose beetling disapproval of the Declaration she knows all about through cloakroom authentications, is still welcome, when visiting delegations from the Bangor or



Margaret Chase Smith Seligson

Kennebunkport high school appear in Washington, to drop around at her office and horn in on the chat.

Now and then, however, the Smith determination to unify her party imposes strains even on chronic euphoria. The June 28 *Washington and You* column, for example, expressly dismissed foreign policy, the Fair Deal,

the ouster of MacArthur, and the Korean war from current partisan agitation. "The simple, tailored issues for 1952," it proclaimed, "are moral decay and corruption in the Democratic Administration." "What other issue," Senator Margaret pursued, "can we all so completely agree on?"

The Helsingör Peace Conference

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Helsingör, August 28

DURING the entire past week, with sessions interrupted only during the lunch hour and lasting until evening, the conference convoked in this peaceful and charming corner of Denmark by the International Liaison Committee of Organizations for Peace has been reviewing the world situation and searching for alternatives to World War III. The concrete subject of the conference was East-West relations. The broad spirit animating the meeting was shown by the presence of such divergent groups as the Partisans of Peace and the Yugoslav Council for the Defense of Peace. The British were represented by a number of organizations, among them the Quakers and also the National Peace Council, whose views weigh heavily in Britain, particularly with the Labor government. Various national branches of the Association for the United Nations were on hand, along with several important women's organizations. There were delegations from America and Asia as well as representatives of the liberation movements of the colonial countries. The discussions were extraordinarily frank, and one was able to get a very complete picture of prevailing sentiment.

Given the liberal slant of the majority of the delegates it was natural that consideration of the state of civil liberties in the world should have preceded the analysis of the East-West question.

My subject was "Democracy in the World." I discussed it under three heads: democracy in each country; democracy in international relations; and democracy inside the United Nations. The long discussion period brought general agreement that after each war democracy finds itself in far worse condition than before, despite solemn promises that the war was being waged in defense of democracy. Delegates gave precise and disquieting reports about the decline of civil liberties in each country during the past two years. With respect to democracy in international relations, the new turn in

United States policy toward Franco Spain was considered serious enough to threaten the democratic aims of the Western coalition. No more reassuring is the situation of democracy in the United Nations, where on most issues the number of "sure votes" guarantees an automatic majority for the American position.

The disquieting performance of the world's major newspapers, on one side as well as on the other, was fully discussed. Instead of contributing to an atmosphere favorable to reconciliation between the two opposing blocs, the press only increased existing tensions by its violent partisanship. On this point the following recommendation was unanimously adopted:

As the primary necessity in all sincere efforts to secure peaceful settlement of international disputes and a cooperative world is respect for truth and, therefore, the avoidance of mere tendentious propaganda, we urge that facilities should be given by all governments and by private agencies for the regular, frequent interchange and publication of national viewpoints, which aim not at recrimination but at honest, restrained, and constructive expositions in the interest of a greater clarity and mutual understanding.

We propose that attempts should be made to secure reciprocal arrangements for the broadcasting by all countries to all other countries, including America, Britain, and Russia, of items of human and cultural value under the supervision of an agreed Mixed Commission.

We also suggest the exploration of the possibility both of securing through news agencies and other channels more sympathetic, constructive articles in the existing press and of publication of international journals in which equal space is given to complementary or divergent national contributions; and we press for wide opportunities for the visitation of individuals and groups, without political selection or prejudice, that they may enjoy mental contact, human fellowship, and free discussion of cultural and economic subjects in international gatherings.

During the discussion which preceded the adoption of this recommendation several speakers indicated that the

J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO attended the conference of the International Liaison Committee of Organizations for Peace as a representative of The Nation Associates.

publication in *Pravda* of the article by British Foreign Secretary Morrison was a step in the right direction, and one delegate suggested that Edouard Herriot, president of the French Parliament, should contribute another article to a Moscow newspaper to keep the East-West discussions alive.

The "visa war" was vigorously denounced in the light of concrete examples. The well-known former French deputy, l'Abbé Pierre, who resigned from the M. R. P. because of differences on foreign policy, described his difficulties in trying to obtain a visa for Moscow, as well as for Washington. After the war he had been cordially received in Washington, he said, but had become *persona non grata* since he voted in Parliament against the North Atlantic Pact.

MUCH attention was given to the rearmament of Germany. Responsibility for the fact that only six years after its defeat Germany should again be the biggest headache of world politics rested, in the opinion of the conference, equally with the four big powers. The rearmament of Germany—East against West, or the reverse—should never have been used as a bargaining point. But it was not so much past mistakes as the present situation that concerned the delegates. Today the rearmament of Western Germany is the single most serious threat to peace. This problem is complicated even further by the revival in Western Germany of powerful Nazi forces which in some places directly or indirectly dominate policy. In the discussion on Germany a pathetic note was struck by the intervention of a young, severely wounded German war veteran. This is what he said: "At the end of the war I saw myself as an involuntary war criminal, having heard daily from the Allies that German militarism was the cause of all humanity's misfortune. But now the same Allies who condemned German militarism are preparing the rearmament of my country and I ask whether I should forget my past and be willing to kill again."

The German problem was examined from several points of view. The rearmament of Western Germany, in face of repeated warnings from Moscow, might close the door to an accord between East and West. On the other hand, Germany might well provide the possibility of striking a bargain: for if Russia is so greatly concerned over the rearmament of Western Germany, it may be disposed to make concessions on this issue. The recommendation on this aspect of world peace ran as follows:

It is our conviction that German rearmament would be calamitous not only because the majority of German people at present reject it, but also because it is utterly inconsistent with previous Allied declarations and actions in respect of German militarism, and would therefore deepen the cynicism that makes human minds liable

to gross exploitation and contemptuous of moral values. [That the same reasoning applies to the case of Spain and present Spanish-American negotiations in Madrid was recognized throughout the discussion.—J. A. DEL V.]

We emphasize the peril of remilitarization in Western Germany and are convinced that Western German rearmament would operate provocatively and would diminish still further the possibility of more pacific considerations of crucial issues between the Soviet Union and the West; it would provide scope for the emergence of a neo-Nazi leadership; it might involve the German people in civil war; it could issue in a renewed menace of German aggression; and it would still further increase the immense economic burden borne by Germans and other peoples at a time when all economic resources are needed to meet pressing human needs in Europe and throughout the world.

We consider that an invaluable contribution towards world peace could be made by utilizing the present disarmament of Germany, by mutual general agreement, to establish Germany and also other areas as permanently guaranteed, non-military neutral zones, thus enabling the two parts of Germany to be reunited and serve as a large international bridge. This would provide an example capable of expansion and imaginatively impress world opinion with a positive peaceful achievement.

Although the conference naturally refused to accept war as inevitable, a sense of reality led it to recognize that the danger of war increases every day. Although in various connections Russia was severely censured, the delegates were more apprehensive, at the moment, over certain policies of the United States. Two things were chiefly emphasized: first, that the tremendous progress of the American military-industrial mobilization may make the United States feel so powerful that it will pay little attention to the sentiments and advice of its allies; and, second, that the American government and political parties are becoming prisoners of their own anti-Russian propaganda so that it may be impossible for them to turn back and enter into negotiations with Russia.

There was complete accord among the British, French, and Scandinavian delegates in regarding the absence of Red China from the United Nations as one of the principal causes of political tension in Asia. On this point the following recommendation was unanimously voted:

We welcome the prospect of an armistice in Korea and urge that nothing should be allowed to frustrate efforts to secure peace negotiations that will issue in a sound, peaceful settlement and the extension of appropriate means for the relief of the Korean peoples and the reconstruction of their devastated land. We condemn violent aggression from whatever source. We contend it is essential to recognize the existing People's Republic of China and her right of admission to the United Nations; and we call for the withdrawal of military support of Chiang Kai-shek in Formosa and the avoidance

of any encouragement to military adventures that can only involve further human tragedy, political futility, and social chaos.

The consensus was that Peking should represent China in the United Nations. But the conference went on to say: "In the event of [Communist] China not being admitted to the United Nations, we urge that the existing grave world situation demands that initiative be taken to secure an early conference of all leading responsible powers, including China, in order that outstanding disputes shall be earnestly reconsidered. . . ."

In discussing this recommendation, delegates stressed two points: first, that the United Nations, as the supreme international body, should deal with the present increasingly dangerous situation; but, second, that, if it proves incapable of taking action, time must not be allowed to slip by without an attempt being made to effect reconciliation between East and West. As an alternative to action by the United Nations, the conference considered the idea of a Five Power meeting as suggested by Moscow. Speakers also recommended that the various international organizations be on hand in Paris during the coming General Assembly to exert their influence with the U. N. delegations. This session they regard as critically important.

Setback for Labor Unity

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, September 7

WHEN the United Labor Policy Committee was organized last winter as an instrument through which unions could effectively fight Charles E. Wilson's early mobilization blunders, many believed that a new era had begun in the relations between independent unions, the American Federation of Labor, and the Congress of Industrial Organizations. The new era didn't last very long; the Policy Committee is already dead, killed by unilateral and sudden withdrawal of A. F. of L. representatives. So is the dream that by the steady practice of functional cooperation the great divided labor federations would learn how to work together for vital political ends. How this came about—why the A. F. of L. decided to torpedo the U. L. P. C.—can be explained partly only on the basis of informed guesses. But a few facts should be stated.

First, the "United" Policy Committee never included spokesmen of large groups of independent unions, such as the Railroad Brotherhoods and the United Mine Workers of John L. Lewis. It included only spokesmen

of the A. F. of L. and C. I. O., plus the once independent International Association of Machinists which has since joined the A. F. of L. Lewis was a member of an advisory group set up by W. Stuart Symington, Wilson's predecessor as chief mobilizer, but this group withered on the vine, and Lewis was studiously excluded from the U. L. P. C. and from President Truman's belatedly established Labor Advisory Council.

Second, the sense of peril created by enactment of the Taft-Hartley law in 1947 is gradually becoming less acute as union leaders concentrate more of their energy on intra-union politics and jockeying for position. This may be denied, but I see no other way to interpret the fact that unions themselves are now advocating piecemeal revision of Taft-Hartley rather than outright repeal or drastic and complete redrafting.

The only big unions that have been intransigent about Taft-Hartley are the United Mine Workers and the International Typographical Union (A. F. of L.), the leaders of which have steadfastly refused to sign non-Communist affidavits—although notoriously left-wing labor officials have signed such affidavits and still have control of their unions even after expulsion from the C. I. O.

With union indorsement, a bill has passed the Senate to eliminate the harassing T-H provision requiring a National Labor Relations Board referendum before negotiators can legally request a union shop. Richard J. Gray, president of the A. F. of L. Building Trades Department, has specifically requested that Congress abolish all Taft-Hartley elections, at least for the building trades. These elections are onerous because of the irregularity of employment in the building trades, but the union-shop provision and other relatively trivial burdens put on the unions are not the basic evils of Taft-Hartley. They are not the sections of the law which have resulted in the virtual collapse of A. F. of L. and C. I. O. Southern organizing campaigns.

Neither the continued cramping existence of Taft-Hartley nor the conservatism of a Congress which ignores most union legislative proposals—including those in the fields of mobilization, inflation, social security, education, health, and housing—has produced a labor movement aware that the danger to one is the danger to all. The Typographical Union officers and John L. Lewis are violently anti-Communist, but they are so violently opposed to Taft-Hartley as well that they refuse to have anything to do with its machinery if they can help it. But Lewis and the Typographical Union officers stand alone.

Within the A. F. of L. and C. I. O. generally the emphasis is unfortunately on something else. The A. F. of L.'s publicly stated reasons for withdrawing from the United Labor Policy Committee are preposterous; its charges of "raiding" by the C. I. O. could easily be—and were—countered by C. I. O. charges of A. F. of L.

WILLARD SHELTON frequently reports from Washington for The Nation.

"raiding." So far as this reporter can comprehend it, the real reasons were a growing A. F. of L. disaffection at realizing that it was treating the smaller C. I. O. as an "equal," and some internal politics.

The strong man of the A. F. of L. today is not President William Green but Secretary George Meany. Meany took a very militant attitude within the U. L. P. C. regarding the new defense-production act; he advocated that labor ask the President to veto it. Green joined Walter P. Reuther and other C. I. O. spokesmen in refusing to support this militancy, since a veto would have meant that the country had no mobilization machinery whatever. George Harrison of the Railway Clerks, who had been advanced to a position as special adviser to Charles E. Wilson but had never worked at the job, also threw his influence against Meany. But Meany had the last word, and proved his power, by getting an overwhelming vote in the next A. F. of L. Executive Council meeting to pull out of the Policy Committee.

How much direct harm will be done remains to be seen. The President's Labor Advisory Committee is still in existence, and both A. F. of L. and C. I. O. spokesmen remain on that group. Unions on the state and city level, where a high degree of cooperation in political campaigns has been built in some areas, may disgustingly refuse to imitate the disruptive attitudes of their bureaucratic superiors. But Charles E. Wilson can view with some amusement the non-performance of his "adviser," Harrison, after labor shouted so loudly for Harrison's appointment, and the destruction of the "United" Labor Committee which only a few months ago seemed both powerful and farsighted enough to force beneficial changes in the mobilization program.

Japan as Judah

BY KIZO KANO

Fukuoka City, September 6

WHEN Mr. John Foster Dulles came to Tokyo, he held a series of conferences with both purged and unpurged Japanese leaders on the proposed Japanese treaty. Among these leaders were Ichiro Hatoyama, former president of the Liberal Party, and Tanzan Ishibashi, ex-Finance Minister. Both gentlemen were "depurged" shortly after this conference. The fact that they were "depurged" is recognized in Japan as an indication of the satisfactory nature of the conference. On the occasion of the conference both Japanese leaders submitted a statement of their opinions and observations on the treaty and of Japan's future position in international

relations. No one knows the content of these statements, but it is generally assumed that the attitude of Mr. Hatoyama and Mr. Ishibashi must have been agreeable to Mr. Dulles and that their views must have coincided with those of General MacArthur on Formosa and China and the containment of Soviet Russia.

Although the nature of the statements is not known, Mr. Hatoyama's recent talk about maintaining a Japanese military force of twenty divisions may be taken as indicating the views he expressed. Mr. Tanzan Ishibashi was a priest by birth, and his given name, "Tanzan," means "Floating the Mountain." Mahomet called the mountain to him, but Ishibashi wants to float a mountain. The impossible in his spiritual eye may be the possible. He is a man of faith and his strong character must have won Mr. Dulles's confidence. In any case, he is now expressing his views, which are strongly pro-American, in his influential magazine, the *Oriental Economy*.

These leaders seem to represent the general trend in political as well as economic matters in Japan at present. They are clever persons and sagacious enough to catch the so-called *Zeitgeist*. For they are following a general trend in international affairs, absolutely supporting the American cause since there is no other way by which Japan can become vigorous and independent. In other words, they are reconciled to their fate. This is, of course, the traditional attitude of the Japanese people, whose nature it is to submit to irresistible conditions as to the typhoon. It was this attitude which enabled the Japanese to accept the occupation as an irresistible political fact. And this is why General MacArthur found the Japanese so subservient to their lords and masters. But in this case it would be difficult to say which party was most to blame: the superior, the Occupation, or the inferior, the Occupied.

In much the same way the Japanese people may be said to have drifted by force of destiny from the beginning to the end of the last war without exerting their own will. Even after the peace treaty is signed, as during the occupation, they will be carried along by the tide of destiny. Is this, then, the inevitable lot of the Japanese? Where there is no freedom of opinion and speech, there is no democracy; and where fear and hunger exist, there is no freedom of speech and opinion. This is the reason why economic independence is so essential.

But in what position is Japan standing at present? Let me recall the history of Judah. In ancient times Judah lay between two powerful countries, Syria in the north, Egypt in the south. Oppressed by overwhelming powers on both sides, Judah finally perished as a state. Japan's situation today is not unlike that of Judah in ancient times. In these circumstances, Japan longs for real independence, but before achieving that desire, it now longs for the help and support of the stronger nation.

KIZO KANO was for twenty-five years editor of the *Nishi Nippon Press*, of which he is now editor emeritus.

BOOKS and the ARTS

What Does Russia Offer?

RUSSIA'S SOVIET ECONOMY. By Harry Schwartz. Prentice-Hall. \$6.65.

THE Iron Curtain, no doubt, prevents Russians from knowing much about the West except what is not true, but it does not prevent Western experts from knowing the essential facts about Russia. Harry Schwartz is a scholar who has devoted years of study to the Russian economy. To call his report a textbook is scarcely fair, because the clarity of its writing makes it superior to most volumes read only by those compelled to do so in order to qualify for a degree. Nevertheless it was written to inform, not to attack or to defend.

The author begins by surveying the resources of the broad Soviet Union, its riches and deficiencies. A chapter on the historical background of the revolution is followed by one on the ideological equipment of its leaders—an equipment that had to be drastically revised to suit the new situation. Marxist orthodoxy is evidently emphasized by Soviet leaders in proportion to their departure from Marx. There follows a series of chapters on economic development since 1919—the main achievements, the planning system, the organization and performance of industry, agriculture, transportation and communication, trade, housing, consumer services, and finance. The position of labor is described, and the conduct of foreign economic relations is outlined.

Any such study suggests answers to the puzzles of those confused by the internal contradictions of current propaganda. Why should anyone fear the power of a regime said to be weak in production because of socialist mistakes and bureaucratic inefficiency? If the Soviet peoples are universally oppressed and spied upon, how could their loyalty withstand a war? Why should a system sustained only by deceit, conspiratorial seizure of power, and failure to fulfil its promises make a dangerous appeal to great masses throughout the world?

In fact there is little appeal to peoples of nations like the United States and Britain, which are industrially advanced

and democratically experienced. Only tiny minorities in the stronger Western democracies want their countries to be governed like Soviet Russia, and few of the governments are in the slightest danger of conspiratorial overthrow. But two-thirds of the people of the world live in still underdeveloped regions, and Russia is the most dramatic recent example of rapid industrialization of an underdeveloped region. Their experience and their hopes make them a prey to penetration by a movement which has exhibited the competence, political and economic, to organize agrarian and industrial revolution, to proclaim a minimum of discrimination among races and nationalities, and to hold at bay "capitalist imperialism" in alliance with native feudalism—a combination with which the people are only too familiar in poverty-stricken lands.

These observations are not Mr. Schwartz's, but they are prompted by any fair description of the Russian economy. Soviet Russia has carried on industrialization at an extremely rapid pace, especially in the heavy industries. Official figures, because of technical defects in the price index, probably overstate the rise in the national income, but the most careful estimates do not dispute that there has been great advance in industrial capacity. Whether it has been any more rapid than that which occurred in the United States after 1867 for the same number of years is doubtful. There is no doubt that Russian consumers have not benefited to anything like the same extent as did Americans, because the emphasis in Russia has been on military preparation. The Russian agrarian revolution dispossessed private landlords, organized larger production than could be obtained from small proprietorships, and fed a rapidly growing urban population.

Others tempted to follow the Soviet example should ask themselves whether the results in both city and country are worth the tremendous costs incurred in loss of life, suffering, absence of personal freedom, deprivation of material and psychic welfare.

The record also gives rise to crucial

questions for Western policy. Neither the Russians nor their satellites would be so likely to endure the costs of Communist rule if they thought the goals they seek could be obtained by less rigorous methods. Do we have as clear and convincing a program to offer them? Does our behavior arouse the requisite faith? The Communist justification of hardship on the ground that it is necessary to defend the revolution against aggressors is widely believed. Does our foreign policy, coupled with extracts that Communist propaganda can daily cull from our newspapers, radio commentators, the *Congressional Record et al.*, tend to confirm or to undermine that charge? Widespread lack of knowledge in the United States of what the Soviet Union has to offer has led too few Americans even to ask themselves these questions. A cogent defense of our foreign policy is possible, but its obvious failure to win friends in important quarters suggests that something is lacking.

GEORGE SOULE

Malraux's Great Trilogy

THE TWILIGHT OF THE ABSOLUTE. By André Malraux (Volume III of "The Psychology of Art"). Translated by Stuart Gilbert. Pantheon Books: the Bollingen Series XXIV. \$12.50.

WITH the sustained brilliance that marked "The Museum without Walls" and "The Creative Act" (reviewed in *The Nation* for May 27, 1950) Malraux has brought to completion his tripartite apostrophe of the visual arts. As before, the major outline is rather hazy, and a later edition would be improved by an addition of titles for the several chapters and by a reshuffling of the order of the contents. In fact, this volume contains three separate essays which are designated as complementary to sections in the earlier volumes. This amorphous structure is chiefly responsible for considerable repetitiousness in phrase and idea which a more scrupulous writer would have avoided. Nevertheless, with all its faults Malraux's work

remains the most profound estimate yet to appear of the whole vast range of the history of art. Since an unlimited knowledge of this subject is exclusively a twentieth-century possibility but one which few besides Malraux are able to encompass, the importance of his trilogy would be difficult to exaggerate.

However Wagnerian or Spengleresque the title of the present volume may seem, the content is nothing of the sort. There is a terrible tragedy, Malraux agrees, in the loss of absolute faith, which has, until now, always given the artist his assurance of social understanding, if not his very point of departure. But for the first time in history, in any full sense, this very decline of faith has made it possible for artists—living no matter when and where—to be understood as artists, rather than as persons caught up in a prevailing attitude. Here the three appended essays admirably serve Malraux's purpose: The detailed and wonderfully persuasive accounts of how Georges de la Tour, apparently a follower of Caravaggio, radically transformed Caravaggio's art; how the nameless designers of Celtic coins—their art now made accessible by photographic enlargements—evolved a strikingly modern calligraphy, one attuned, for example, to the recent work of the German painter Fritz Winter; and how the tide of history submerged the potential effect of a kind of sixth-century Masaccio, the master of the apse mosaic of SS. Cosmas and Damian in Rome. These essays, like that on Tintoretto and El Greco in the second volume, are among the most extraordinary parts of this great trilogy.

The absence of a particular faith, Malraux believes, opens up the possibility of a common understanding between men of all times and places.

It was only when at last the link was broken which, by way of a communion (not a birthright), across centuries whose "history" was mere synopsis or chronology, had united men to Mother Earth as to the Hero, to Venus as to Christ—it was only when this link was broken that the supreme value of art as something existing in and for itself was first glimpsed, then boldly proclaimed. and

Our awareness of destiny, as profound as that of the Orientals but covering a far vaster field of reference, stands in the same relation to the various "fates" of

the past as does a modern museum to the "Collections of Antiquities" of our forefathers; those wraithlike marble forms have given place to this Revelation of our century, the "Museum without Walls," and there is tentatively taking form, for the first time on earth, the concept of a worldwide humanism. and

The truth is that our civilization, mighty as it is, differs from all preceding it—save the Greek—in not being affirmative. Like its sciences, it is interrogative; and our art, too, is becoming an interrogation of the world.

The final quotation offers a clue to the kind of affirmation Malraux champions. His is the most challenging answer I know to those who believe that a comprehension of art is possible without an understanding of the forms of the twentieth century. It is the whole difference between antiquarianism—a current form of pessimism—and the resilient sense of life which the arts can convey. Here enters Malraux's concept of our cultural resuscitations, which pervades the whole volume ■ a sort of Leitmotiv:

This first worldwide art culture, which is bound to transform modern art (by which until now it was given its lead), is not an invasion, but one of the crowning conquests of the West. Whether we like it or not, the West will light its path only by the torch it carries, even if it burns its hands, and what that torch is seeking to throw light on is everything that can enhance the power of Man.

Rome welcomed in her Pantheon the gods of the defeated.

The parenthetical phrase in the above quotation is of highest importance. Modern art has always pointed the way to these resuscitations, particularly in the direction of primitive and archaic art. If the results have seemed anti-humanistic to the Old Guard of culture, a more inclusive humanism has unexpectedly replaced the Greek-dominated anthropomorphism, which alone has been respectable in Western culture since the Renaissance.

English readers owe a considerable debt to Stuart Gilbert for the translation of this monumental work. On the whole it is admirable, although occasionally marred by too close an approximation to the original text. Somehow "ce qui" gets properly absorbed in the rhythm of a French sentence, whereas "that which," constantly repeated, becomes a metric obstacle. "And" and "for"

SCIENTIFIC
AMERICAN

THIS
MONTH

The Human Resources of the U.S.

FIFTY CENTS

The Editors of SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN are privileged to announce publication of a special issue devoted wholly to an assay of our country's most precious resources—its people and its brainpower.

The rising demand in our economy for intellectually trained and able personnel now raises a serious question of supply: "Can our population continue to produce enough people with the specialized abilities necessary to staff and administer our complex society?"

Able investigators in many fields have assembled a wealth of information that will play a decisive part in the plans of industry and in many areas of public policy from strategy in foreign affairs to secondary education.

For every responsible citizen, this extraordinary issue should provide an authoritative foundation for a realistic understanding of his own place and that of 150,000,000 U. S. citizens among two and one-half billion members of the human race at this epoch in world history.

In anticipation of the widespread demand for this important issue of SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN, a limited number of extra copies are being made available for new subscribers who share a responsible concern in the advance and use of scientific knowledge. You are invited to accept this invitation to receive SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN for the next nine months at the special introductory rate of only \$3, saving you \$1.50 from the single-copy price (ten months for cash with order). The September Human Resources issue will be sent to you at once.

SCIENTIFIC
AMERICAN

24 West 40th St.,
New York 18, N. Y.

Sirs:

Please enter my subscription at the special rate of 9 months for \$3, starting with the September Human Resources issue.

☐ Payment enclosed* ☐ Bill me later

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ Zone _____ State _____

Business Connection _____

*Save us billing costs by sending payment now and receive an extra issue free. N-91

make awkward beginnings to English sentences, and several "its" in the same sentence, without benefit of enclitics or of distinctions of gender, can produce grammatical chaos (page 56, third paragraph).

Fortunately, the editors have provided an exhaustive index to all three volumes, which will make them more serviceable than heretofore. This is particularly true in view of the brilliance of Malraux's detailed and often parenthetical observations. Without an index they would be irretrievable.

The illustrations are abundant and of magnificent quality. Taken merely as a collection of images, the three volumes provide a superb compendium of the history of art, far more stimulating and informative than what is provided in the

usual surveys. Like Roger Fry, Malraux cuts through traditional estimates to discover the artist. One is sufficiently persuaded that the living force of art survives all catastrophes and overcomes all taboos—and all academies.

S. LANE FAISON, JR.

"Most People Are Other People"

THE LIMIT. By Ada Levenson. W. W. Norton and Company. \$3.

ADA LEVERSON—she was Oscar Wilde's "Dear Sphinx" and a literary hostess of the nineties and after—published six novels between 1908 and 1916. Although they have recently been reprinted in England, "The Limit" is the first to appear here.

It is the work of a gifted amateur who had some difficulty turning her brilliant vignettes of the Edwardian *baut monde* into fiction. There are several loose ends to a plot important because on its resolution depend the total comic effect of the novel and the fulfilment of a serious though never weighty purpose. For the last chapters of "The Limit," like the last scenes of "The Way of the World," begin to explore feelings hitherto touched on lightly.

She is more amusing than Saki, for she never strains tiresomely after brightness; her wit does not date. "The Limit" is not a period piece, though it recreates an actual, vanished, fashionable society. It is a bright picture of the world Henry Green shows us in collapse in "Nothing." Ennui is the malady it most fears. Everyone is either rich or has at least an income sufficient to incur frivolous debts. The chief characters are all young or in early middle age. Their only mild revolt is against the Victorian conventions represented by a few survivors of the sedate eighties. Their pre-occupations are love-making—not passion—well-bred intrigue, and gossip.

Ada Levenson does two things very well. In her leisured society relations between individuals have an importance which they have not had—money and time lacking—since. Her procession of at-homes, intimate conversations, and week-ends in the country—how she delighted in them and in writing about them!—is designed to record the emotional complexities and the subtle shifts

in feeling within a small group of pleasantly idle men and women. At the end, quite wonderfully and without violating the tone of the rest of the book, real if inarticulate feeling arises to dissipate the potential adultery which is the center of her plot.

More important are the natural high spirits out of which she wrote, high spirits which have almost disappeared from English and American fiction, Joyce Cary and Henry Green, in their various ways, excepted. They color all this luxury and fashion. At the same time she penetrated her surfaces:

It is hardly too much to say that most domestic tragedies are caused by the feminine intuition of men and the want of it in women.

Her heart is good; the unforgivable sins are lack of real feeling and any attempt to use others for one's own ends. Her moderately engaging villain comes a cropper because of them. "It is an infallible sign of the second-rate in nature and intellect to make use of everything and every one." The "second-rate" implies first an exercise in taste and then a moral judgment. At the crisis of her plot she remarks, commonsensically, on the damage which literature may do those who conduct their lives by it:

It never even occurred to him to try to act as the husband ought to act, or as by the incessant insidious influence of plays and novels most of us have been brought up to think he ought to act. Most people are far more guided than they know in their views of life by the artificial conventions of the theater and of literature, or by tradition. In fact, most people are other people.

"The Limit" is always lucid; what depths it has are real. And it is more amusing and has more substance than the large and hollow profundities decked out as fiction that have come my way this summer.

ERNEST JONES

Books in Brief

JOURNEY WITH GENIUS. By Witter Bynner. John Day Company. \$4. Any first hand information about D. H. Lawrence is important, even if it only confirms what we already know. Witter Bynner's record of the trip he and the Lawrences took to Mexico in the spring of 1923—out of it came "The Plumed

WHO INSPIRED LINCOLN TO ABOLISH SLAVERY?



Early in life Abraham Lincoln was tremendously influenced by the writings of Thomas Paine—particularly his essay advocating the abolition of slavery. Lincoln constantly sought inspiration in Paine's works. He said: "I never tire of reading Paine." Let Paine do for you what he did for Lincoln!

FREE "THE AGE OF REASON"

By Thomas Paine

Write for your copy of Paine's masterpiece. 190 pages; complete and unexpurgated. Sent to you free, as part of an educational campaign... but please add 10¢ for cover postage and handling.

THE THOMAS PAINE FOUNDATION

Dept. N9, 370 W. 35th St., New York 1, N. Y.

JUST RECEIVED — VOLS. 4 & 5, 2nd Ed.
Available Now! Vols. 1 through 3

GREAT SOVIET ENCYCLOPEDIA

Deluxe printing and binding. Profusely illustrated with color plates and maps. In Russian

This new enlarged edition will consist of 50 volumes. The Collegium of Editors and contributors includes leading personalities in Soviet Arts, Literature and Science.

Regular Price — \$9.50 per Volume

SUBSCRIPTION OFFER — \$8 per Vol.
Subscribers will be billed for each volume delivered. We urge immediate subscription — the supply will be limited.

FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.

Importers from the USSR

W. 56 St., N. Y. 19 Murray Hill 8-2860

Fall Book Number

- Reviews of the more important books of the season will be featured by THE NATION in its regular Fall Book Number to appear on Oct. 13.
- Publishers wishing to utilize the special advantages offered by this feature issue for advertising of better books are urged to make space reservations as soon as possible.
- For information on space reservations, copy deadline and rates, phone Barclay 7-1066, or write to

The NATION

Advertising Department

20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

Serpent"—does not alter the existing composite picture which one can assemble from the recollections of Frieda Lawrence, Mabel Dodge, Dorothy Brett, Catherine Carswell, and others. He makes it clear, however, that from the beginning of their association he, at least, was certain that Frieda was exactly the kind of wife her husband needed. Mr. Bynner's general tone has already been denounced by the idolators as petty and malicious. Actually this part of "Journey with Genius" is a history, as veracious as such histories can be, of day-to-day meetings and of the fluctuations of his own feelings and judgments; the occasionally exacerbated emotions of 1923 are recorded now in fair tranquility. The second half of the book, an explication of Lawrence and his views, is a mosaic of familiar matter from his writings and from books about him. This summing up, though it has its moments of vision, is often so apocalyptically presented that it affords only fitful illumination.

WHITE MAN RETURNS. By Agnes Newton Keith. Atlantic-Little, Brown. \$4. The author of "Land Below the Wind" and "Three Came Home" describes the return of the Keith family to North Borneo after their war-time imprisonment and their recuperation in Canada. A chatty, readable story of tropical domesticity; of servants, neighbors, natives, and the difficulties of daily life in a colony still suffering from the after effects of the war.

Drama

JOSEPH
WOOD
KRUTCH

LACE ON HER PETTICOAT (Booth Theater) is an English comedy-drama by one Aimee Stuart whose many previous plays are better known in London than in New York. Herman Shumlin has given it a remarkably finished production with a largely English cast and he has got for his pains a shrug of the shoulders from most of the reviewers. A new dramatic season, they said, really ought to begin dramatically and with a bang. But of course it usually doesn't and we have seen duller plays than this one. If—as seems highly

improbable—you are interested in knowing what happened when the pre-adolescent daughter of a Scotch marquis made friends with the daughter of one of his tenants then perhaps "Lace on Her Petticoat" is your dish. Personally we did not find ourselves much concerned.

On the second night when I saw the piece the audience was considerably warmer than that and if I were Mr. Shumlin I think I should decide that this was one of those rather rare occasions when somewhat less than tepid notices are not necessarily a death warrant. Sometimes plays which are too English for America turn out to be just what a lot of Americans want—"Autumn Crocus" for example—and this may just possibly be one of them. It is not that, by any stretch of the imagination, the piece could be called "great" or "important" or even "original." It depends a good deal upon local color, Scotch dialect, and the quaintness of simple people. It is unblushingly theatrical in method though genuine in feeling and, in the main outline of its action, convincing. The literary tradition in which it belongs is as different as the

life with which it deals from the stridency of Broadway. But that does not necessarily mean that there are not a good many who will find it a minor refreshment.

Escaped from her dragon of a Fraulein, the young marchioness discovers her soul-mate in a cottager's daughter, gets by telegraph the blessing of her mother, and for a time it looks as though class distinction were an insubstantial shadow. Presently, however, the good intentions on both sides prove insufficient to avoid a clash between goodwill and the unyielding framework of a society. The mother steps in, cuts the connection between the two, and they will henceforth lead their different lives sadder and wiser because they have learned the ways of the world.

Had this play been written fifty years ago—and there is little in the manner and not such a very great deal in the matter to prove that it wasn't—the emphasis would have been only a little different. Perhaps the sympathy of the author would have been a little less obviously on the side of those forces which are breaking down the distinctions be-

FREE EXAMINATION OFFER on the famous Manchester Guardian

YOU ARE INVITED to read the next four issues of the *Manchester Guardian*, weekly air edition, at our risk. This famous publication brings you a fresh viewpoint on British and international affairs—especially on the confusing questions of Korea, East vs. West, and the internal situation in England today. The *Guardian* is fearless, honest, liberal. It will stimulate your thinking as it does for the great opinion makers throughout the world who read it regularly. Accept this Free Examination Offer by mailing the coupon with your payment today. Money back if not delighted. *Manchester Guardian*, 53 East 51st St., New York 22.



"The *Guardian* is far more important than its circulation indicates . . . It is known and read throughout the world." (N. Y. Times.) "Unquestionably, one of the world's half-dozen great newspapers." (Time Magazine.)

MAIL COUPON FOR SPECIAL FREE OFFER

THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN N 6
53 East 51st Street, New York 22, N. Y.

Please enter my subscription to the *Manchester Guardian*, Weekly Air Edition, as checked below. If not satisfied after seeing the first four issues, I may cancel and get a full refund. My payment is enclosed.

☐ 1 year, \$6.50 ☐ 20 weeks, \$2

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ Zone _____ State _____

tween classes. Perhaps the moral would have been "thus it probably has to be" rather than "there is not really any unchangeable reason why it could not be otherwise"; but that would have made rather less difference than one might assume. As the play stands it is still gentle and wistful rather than dogmatic or indignant. And the moral of that probably is that there is a strong streak of conservatism even in revolutionary England.

If the present performance achieves considerable humor and charm without, certainly, being very exciting, that is probably in considerable part because direction and acting alike are very sure in style and pace. Languidly played it would be intolerably dull. Jazzed up in an effort to make it more "significant" it would have been irritating. As it actually exists it furnishes a very pleasant interlude. Perlita Neilson as the young noblewoman and Neva Patterson as her humble friend could hardly be better but there are no weak spots in the cast and they all work perfectly together.

CORRECTION

In last week's issue a passage in a review by A. J. P. Taylor of "In Defense of the National Interest" was badly garbled. The passage should have read as follows:

"Peaceful competition" between the two systems is a favorite Soviet slogan. If we had any faith in democracy we should take them at their word; but without illusions the competition would be fierce.

Buy Your Books through *THE Nation*

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C. O. D. No C. O. D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to
Miss Le Pach

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
10 Vesey Street New York 7, N. Y.

Films

MANNY
FARBER

THE design of "Force of Arms" is rather simple-minded. This World War II tear-jerker starts off with Bill Holden fighting in the trenches behind some lush mountains, and then, with hardly more than a transitional line of dialogue, comes to a loquacious love scene between Sergeant Holden and WAC Lieutenant Nancy Olson, the girl he bumps into one midnight during a jaunt through a military cemetery. Thereafter, this structure repeats and repeats—a bit of war, a bit of love—to form the checkerboard cast up by script-writer Orin Jennings, whose cinematic naiveté is matched only by his idealism. In his version of the Italian campaign, there is a jeep waiting within elbow-reach of any infantryman worth his fighting weight; and beatific romance, Errol Flynn heroics, and brotherly affection geyser up like Old Faithful.

The sergeant-hero is a sensitive, moody, kindly one-man army who does the thinking for his platoon, writes letters to the parents of deceased buddies, plays poppa to the drunks, throws strikes with hand grenades, and looks frequently off into the cloudcast mountains while murmuring that it's going to be tough tonight for some poor doggies somewhere. (There are some very frightening battlefront clips from Huston's San Pietro, sandwiched in with pictures that always seem to be slanted to give a glamorous impression of combat. When a soldier is hit, he always goes into a graceful half gainer; slotted carefully into every composition is a glistening olive tree freshly dipped in black syrup for poetic imagery.) Holden's sweetheart is even more noble, highminded, wholesome, and intellectual, although she does seem singularly addicted to battlefront romances. When the sergeant first meets her, in the potter's field of a Flanders Field designed by some Grant Wood disciple, she is laying a wreath on the grave of her last boy-friend. She rejects Holden's first rather interestingly truculent advances in a manner becoming to an officer and gentlewoman—an obstacle the film expediently and disappointingly hurdles in the very next sequence by having Holden hustled off

to see General Mark Clark and receive a battlefield promotion to second loogie. (Nice shot of Clark; ingenious montage trick by the special-effects people.) All succeeding problems are handled in the same nimble fashion, which means you can stop worrying about the plot and concentrate on the items of greater interest: the flashy, schmaltzy vigor injected by Director Michael Curtiz, who showed in "Casablanca" that he knew a movie had to move and that its players should bounce against each other democratically; the Cézanne-like sculptural realism of cameraman Ted McCord, an artist whose atmospherically accurate work I am forced to admire in spite of my distaste for the self-conscious; and especially the gifted acting of the team of Holden and Olson.

This ladies' magazine facsimile of "Farewell to Arms" is really a startling, intimate show-window displaying the talents of two unheralded young dramatic dynamos: the girl with more subtleties than Hollywood has seen in several decades and the guy with more controlled and potent American grace than it may have ever seen before. Miss Olson fills the slightest requirement for a change of mood with a compacted intensity of technical razzle-dazzle and the astuteness of an actress who is about 150 points smarter on the Binet scale than the 4-H character she is portraying. One begins to realize presently that she is editing the role as she goes along—and the idea also begins to dawn on you that this flat-eyed starlet is a diamond-hard sophisticate, full of hidden crossness, the icy ambition of a Hepburn, and the determination to play a traditionally pure and lofty role in such a way as to reveal the sterility, stubbornness, and rigidity of the middle-class American heroine. Her most powerful weapon here is her voice—a flexible carillon that pierces into a scene like a knife and cuts it into a frame for her words. Like that vocal magician, Mercedes McCambridge—who came up the hard way, through radio—Olson can wind her voice into an ambiguous composition of ferocious, haunting, demanding elements that captures the ear and refuses to relinquish it until the moment has been milked dry. Holden does the same thing in a different manner—disclosing the self-righteous stupidity of the awkward, charming Jimmy Stewart type of hero,

but doing it less intricately, less pretentiously than his co-star. He's at his best when laying it on thickest, as when he asks a sentry the way to town, takes in the answer, and then spins off in the opposite direction. Or when he pouts viciously because his light o' love has caught him with his defenses down.

There are other ingratiating or interesting things: a good, driving trio playing "Ain't She Sweet?" in the Mamma Mia dive; a pragmatic WAC major, so obviously intended as the one ugly note in an otherwise optimistic film that she stands out like a Turpin fan on Lenox Avenue; the two usual Bronx-Brooklyn comic riflemen who this time put across a certain smutty aroma of both homosexuality and the real thing; and a furloughed officer (Frank Lovejoy) who, having picked up a girl without much front, darts a hopeful backward glance at her behind. But there's also a tidal wave of tedious bright talk, including all sorts of visually unproved references to the beggared peasantry, Hershey-bar prostitution, and the glories of Italian architecture. "Can you hear my heart beat?" Olson asks during one typically gabby embrace, and Holden, who is forever answering such difficult questions, replies: "I thought it was mine."

Music

B. H.
HAGGIN

THE volume of Hanslick's articles that I discussed last week contains the review of Wagner's concert described by Ernest Newman; and we discover that in it "Wagner is recognized as a brilliant conductor," and "his spirited reading of the 'Eroica,' with its fine, individual nuances, was, on the whole, a real pleasure." We discover also that Hanslick finds it necessary to insist that this was not the first good performance Vienna has heard of the "Eroica"—in contradiction of Wagner's contention in his essay on conducting (presumably echoed by the fanatical Wagnerians) "that our conductors have no idea of tempo and that the Beethoven we have learned to know through public performances is a 'pure chimera'." And so he points out that Wagner's principle of frequent modification of tempo works out successfully in the

WHERE DO YOU WANT TO GO?

France? Brazil? West Indies? Hawaii? Canada? Round the World?

Have you discovered the secret of lower cost travel?
Read what the Christian Science Monitor says about a new way to travel that sometimes costs 1/3 to 1/2 less.

By the travel editor of The Christian Science Monitor: Many fascinating travel booklets pass over this desk in the course of a year but the one that arrived the other day interested this department that it cost the office several hours of work in order that we might absorb its content. The booklet is entitled, "Travel Routes Around the World" and is the traveler's directory to passenger-carrying freighters and liners. In no time at all you find yourself far out to sea cruising along under tropical skies without a care in the world. You find yourself docking at strange ports and taking land tours to those places you long have read about. Most interesting of the vast listings of ships are the freighters which carry a limited number of passengers in quarters comparable to the luxury offered in the so-called big cruise ships which devote most of their space for passengers.

The booklet first of all answers the question: What is a freighter? The modern freighter, says the booklet, ranks with the de luxe passenger vessels as far as comforts and accommodations are concerned.

LARGE ROOMS WITH BEDS

It is important to realize that in most cases today, freighter passengers are considered first-class passengers, although the rates charged are generally on a par with either cabin or tourist class fares. Most cabin-carrying freighters, to quote the booklet, have their private bath and shower, and these cabins offer beds, not bunks. The rooms are generally larger than equivalent accommodations aboard passenger ships, and the cabin of a modern freighter is sometimes even twice as large as first-class cabins on some of the older passenger ships. It goes without saying that your room is on the outside, and amidstships, the most expensive of all locations, for which you are usually charged a premium over the advertised minimum fares on passenger ships.

The freighter, as most of us know, plods along at half the speed of a passenger ship and goes into off-the-beaten-path ports. These two features alone are what has made freighter travel popular—the leisure of the voyage and the unexpected places one visits.

This booklet points out that it is frequently astonishing how low freighter fares are as compared with passenger ship fares; for example, less than one-half of the passenger ship fare to California is the amount asked on freighters. On most of the longer runs, the difference in favor of the freighters is regularly from a third to half of the passenger ship fare.

SERVICE AND MEALS RATED EXCELLENT

Service and meals on a freighter leave little to be desired. You will be treated with consideration. Stewards will go out of their way to make your voyage pleasant. On ships with East Indian stewards you will be waited on almost hand and foot, in a manner that is completely unknown to Americans and most Europeans.

Foreign ships offer their own specialties, says the booklet. Thus vessels in the East Indian trade serve Rijkstafel (or King's Table), the East Indian dish which can run to as many as 50 different courses. Scandinavian ships serve smorgasbord every day, and some of their desserts (like strawberries smothered in a huge bowl of whipped cream) are never forgotten. Another feature of freighter travel is in its informality. No formal clothes are needed. Sport clothes are enough.

Other valuable information such as how to tip, shipboard activities, and costs are covered in the booklet, "Travel Routes Around the World."

Some of the trips listed include a trip to England for \$160, a 12-day Caribbean cruise for \$240, or a leisurely three-month Mediterranean voyage for \$500.

The booklet is published by Harian Publications, Greenlawn, New York, and may be obtained by sending to the publisher.

So, when it arrives all you need to do is sit down and take your choice. The booklet lists literally hundreds of ocean trips.

\$1 sends you this up-to-date guide plus two other guides:

1. EUROPE ON A SHOESTRING. What to see and how to see it at lowest possible cost. 50,000 words.
2. LANDS IN THE SUN. Where to stay while—even retire!—in the West Indies, Mexico, Guatemala, and other lands to the south where the dollar buys so much.

To get your copies, simply fill in coupon below and mail today with \$1 bill to Harian Publications, 3 Franklin Blvd., Greenlawn, New York.

To HARIAN PUBLICATIONS, 3 Franklin Blvd., Greenlawn (Long Island), New York.
I have enclosed a \$1 bill. Please send me TRAVEL ROUTES AROUND THE WORLD, EUROPE ON A SHOESTRING, and LANDS IN THE SUN.

(Please Print)
NAME _____

STREET ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____

☐ Check here if you want special \$2 offer, which includes the three books listed above plus THE SEAFARER'S TRAVEL FOR FUN KIT. This kit includes three publications which tell you all about choosing a cabin, which radio to take, etc. It answers the hundreds of questions which every traveler wants to ask about ships and the sea. Travelers say it helps double their fun. Just check the box and mail two \$1 bills.

final variation movement of the "Eroica," that "the Funeral March was beautiful, particularly the gradual dying away of the main theme," but that the "conspicuously slower" tempo of the so-called second theme in the first movement, after the very fast beginning, diverted "the 'heroic' character of the symphony toward the sentimental." And he observes in conclusion:

Wagner approaches conducting as he approaches composition. What suits his individuality and his utterly exceptional talent must be accepted as the one and only universal, true, and exclusively authorized artistic law. From his highly personal poetic-graphic-musical endowment he evolved a new theory of opera which has led him to brilliant and original accomplishments, to compositions whose imaginative sincerity is their own accreditation, and which are effective because they are Wagnerian. But not satisfied with that, he denounces all other opera styles as "colossal errors," overlooking the fact that his own, in the hands of any other composer, would be only a caricature. If all other opera composers were to write in the style of "Tristan und Isolde," we listeners should inevitably wind up in the madhouse; and if Wagner's "tempo modifications" were to gain general ascendancy in our orchestras, then conductors, fiddlers, and wind players would soon be our companions in lunacy.

If there is any "fatuity and malice" it would appear to be not in the comments of Hanslick but in their misrepresentation by Newman.

Now this is not the first instance of such malpractice by Newman; nor was the business about Boccherini's quintets last week the only thing of its kind in Einstein's writings. In fact, the extraor-

dinary and important thing one discovers about these renowned scholars and their formidable products—and at this point I remember to include Barzun and his "Berlioz"—is that their elaborate and rigorous documentation at one point or in one book seems to make them feel privileged to speak elsewhere without any documentation, or without rigor in their documentation, and without regard for the facts which contradict them; and that the documented portions confer their authority and authenticity on the products of pure invention or scholarly malpractice. And one reason why this is important is that most of us, as I said last week, are in no position to detect it; and that includes most of the writers who have the task of informing the public about these books. The result, in fact, is that the general public almost never reads a genuine and adequate review of them. The performances, instead, range from Barzun's amusing single statement, in a *Harper's* book column, that he can only marvel at the scholarship and handsome format of Einstein's great monograph on the madrigal, to the lengthier evasions of a Taubman filling a *Times* review of Einstein's recent "Schubert" with statement after statement about its scholarship and deep comprehension and so on, or of a Winthrop Sargeant automatically describing Einstein's "Music in the Romantic Era" as "a heavily documented, scholarly study" and getting on with the writing of his own piece on romanticism, though he is equipped to perceive at the very least what was reported to me by someone who read the book—that it is as undocumented as Einstein's other books for the general public.

And as a matter of fact there are usually some things in these books which even a person with only the critic's presumed familiarity with music should be able to perceive and report. Someone who hasn't done the digging into the material on Boccherini that Charles B. Farrell happens to have done will not be able to detect the inaccuracy of Einstein's statements about Boccherini's quintets; but anyone who knows Mozart's Quintet K.515 is in a position to see that Einstein's characteristic comment, that the minuet movement "is more of a *tempo di minuetto*, with a Trio in the subdominant, which itself

grows into complete song-form," is about everything except what is important in that extraordinary movement; and anyone familiar with the last movement of Beethoven's Quartet Opus 130, and the last movement of Schubert's posthumous Sonata in B flat is in a position to see that Einstein's assertion of their relation is—like most of his endless twitterings about derivations of one piece of music from another—nonsense.

But since the general public never reads anything like that in the reviews of books like Einstein's, the writer who does point it out runs into trouble. Faced with a painstaking demonstration that Einstein's way of writing "informally" for the general public is to write not merely, as he says, without formal documentation, but without even informal regard for factual evidence; or that Barzun's "Berlioz" is the product not only of scholarship but of fluent invention, and that its scholarship is not above selective quotation of a supporting sentence out of its contradicting context—faced with a demonstration of such shocking things the unprepared public is shocked, but so shocked and so confused about what it is shocked by, that in the end the shocking thing is not what Einstein or Barzun has done but the demonstration that he has done it. The public doesn't wonder whether personal friendship has influenced Roger Sessions's praise of Einstein's "Mozart," but it does wonder what personal grievance has led Haggin to cite such damning evidence in dispraise of this book or of Barzun's "Berlioz," and would find it difficult to believe that no personal grievance was involved—that what caused Haggin to cite those damning details was their presence in the book.

CONTRIBUTORS

GEORGE SOULE, on the staff of Bennington College, is the author of "Introduction to Economic Science" and other books.

S. LANE FAISON, JR., chairman of the Art Department of Williams College, has just returned to this country after a year as director of the central art-collecting point at Munich.

ERNEST JONES is a member of the English Department at Queens College.

PULITZER PRIZE and CRITICS' AWARD
RICHARD RODGERS & OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd
 present in association with
LELAND HAYWARD & JOSHUA LOGAN

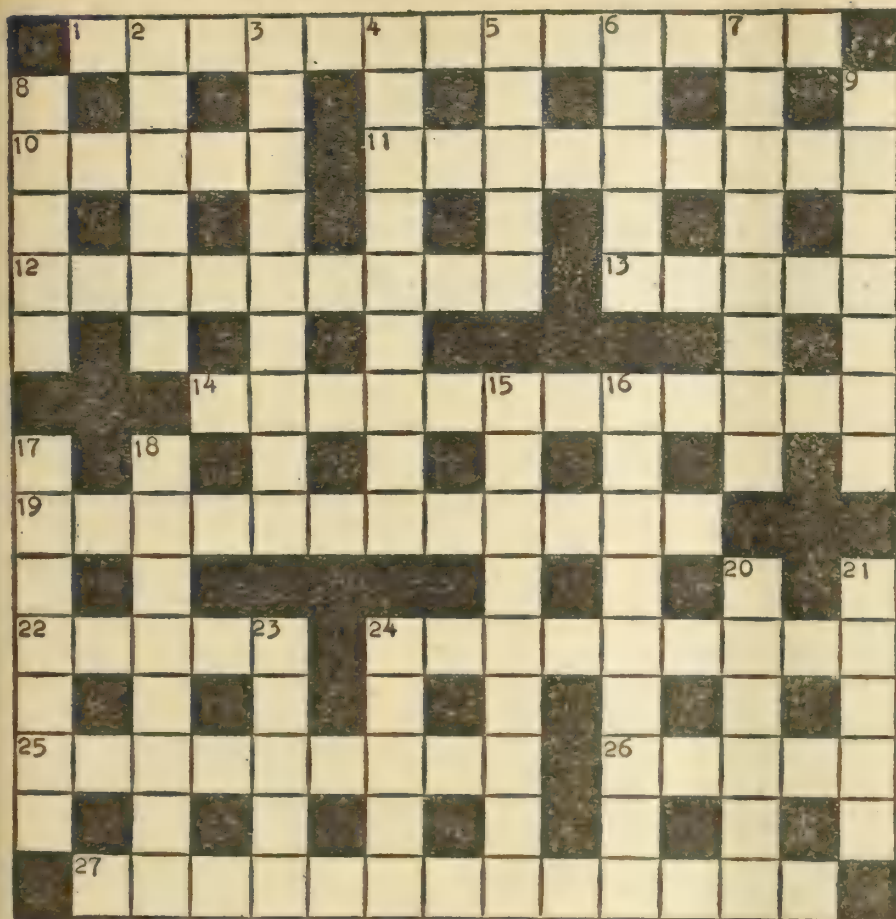
ROGER RICO
MARTHA WRIGHT

South Pacific

Music by **RICHARD RODGERS**
 Lyrics by **OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd**
 Book by
OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd & JOSHUA LOGAN
 Adapted from **JAMES A. MICHEER'S** Pulitzer
 Prize winning "**TALES OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC**"
 Directed by **JOSHUA LOGAN**
 Scenery & Lighting by **Jo Mielziner**
 with **Myron McCormick** - **Diosa Costello**
MAJESTIC, 44 St. W. of B'way - Air-Cond.
 Evenings 8:30. Matinees Wed. Sat. 2:30

Crossword Puzzle No. 430

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 Fruit vessel, but not trim aft. (5, 8)
- 10 For those who believe variety is the spice of wife? (5)
- 11 A sort of big lie about the wrong measure. (9)
- 12 In favor of the proposal before the assembly? (9)
- 13 Scandinavian, formerly a confused gentleman from Iberia. (5)
- 14 Displayed in photographic contests? (4, 8)
- 19 Bob-tailed nag of French contention, no longer in the running. (4, 2, 6)
- 22 Complains bitterly against bars. (5)
- 24 Waved. (9)
- 25 Responsible for making a nursery-rhyme parlor. (9)
- 26 Men are, when they woo, according to *As You Like It*. (5)
- 27 Are they flipped away on a fishing trip? (5, 3, 5)

DOWN

- 2 We might be the first with 20. (6)
- 3 Caricatured at Harvard? (9)
- 4 A railing on the platform? (9)
- 5 The middle of any long piece of material, perhaps. (5)

- 6 This part might have bars for the feet (unless it's a hand or mouth). (5)
- 7 Left like a tightly muzzled dog? (8)
- 8 Out-of-phase contour. (5)
- 9 What a back-slider does, with all his faults. (7)
- 15 With the Legion medal taken away? (9)
- 16 A mixture of metal and Spanish water is found in this country. (9)
- 17 See 24.
- 18 Shows skill, if a dessert? Naturally not! (8)
- 20 See 2 down. (6)
- 21 You've got your notice last month, old man! (5)
- 23 Council. (5)
- 24 and 17. Take heart, armies! A queen emerges! (5, 7)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 429

ACROSS:—1 INTONATION; 6 ACHE; 10 and 26 A PIG IN A POKE; 11 LIFE NET; 12 BEDECKED; 13 HESSE; 15 CASTE; 17 EN PASSANT; 19 NAVIGATES; 21 ALDEN; 23 ULCER; 24 INHABITS; 27 RUBELLA; 28 SOPRANO; 29 DEEP; 30 DEPENDENCE.

DOWN:—2 and 9 TOILERS OF THE SEA; 3 NOISE; 4 TRACK MEET; 5 OILED; 7 CANASTA; 8 ENTREATING; 16 ENGIRDLE; 18 POSTHASTE; 20 VOCABLE; 22 DETRAIN; 24, 1 down: 14 I CAME, I SAW, I CONQUERED; 25 BIPED.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York

RESORTS

50 MI.
FROM
NEW YORK



MAMANASCO
Lake Lodge

RIDGEFIELD, CONN.
Phone 8-7300

A beautiful country estate converted into a delightful retreat for vacations and weekends. All outdoor activities. Mile-long lake. Tennis. Golf nearby. Informal, congenial atmosphere. Television, recordings. Excellent cuisine and accommodations. Moderate rates.

WINDY HILL ON ORANGE LAKE

A pleasantly informal vacation in friendly atmosphere. Books, Records, Ping-pong, a two-mile lake for boating, fishing, swimming. Food of excellent quality in generous quantity. Rate: \$45 weekly, \$7.50 daily.

65 Miles From N. Y. C.
JANE C. ARENZ, R. D. No. 1, Walden, N. Y.
Phone: Newburgh 115 W 2

Colorful! Gay! Exciting!
THAT'S INDIAN SUMMER AT THE GLENMERE!
famed horseback riding!
the Glenmere
Chester, N. Y. in the beautiful Ramapos
Phones: Chester 2151 — N. Y. Rector 2-5047

50 MILES TO FOREST HOUSE

Near enough for easy travel, far enough for an unforgettable vacation. Forest House achieves new levels of gay relaxation in inspiring surroundings. Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality. Two grand lakes. All sports.

FOREST HOUSE
Lake Mohopac, N. Y. • Tel. MAhopac 8-3449

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING analysis. Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel. WA 4-1575. Cooperating with doctors, psychologists, schools, firms, industries. Lessons by appointment, evenings. Marital, educational, vocational, psychological problems. Fee, \$5.00

PUBLISHING SERVICE

AUTHORS! Sales Department available for your short stories, articles, books and plays. Free booklet, write today! Mead Agency, 419 Fourth Avenue, N. Y. 16 (OR 9-1150).

WE print, publish and distribute your non-fiction or fiction manuscript in pamphlet or book form. Send for free folder. WILLIAM-FREDERICK PRESS, 313 West 35th St., New York 1, N. Y.

PERSONALS

exit loneliness

Somewhere there is someone you would like to know. Somewhere there is someone who would like to know you. We can help you find a richer, happier life through discreet, dignified "social introductions."

Write for booklet, or phone
MAY RICHARDSON
Dept. TN, 111 West 72 Street
New York City EN 2-2033



Advertising Rates

CLASSIFIED
74¢ a line (16 words)
Three-line minimum

CLASSIFIED DISPLAY
\$7.42 per inch (minimum)
Remittance must accompany all orders

The NATION
Twenty Vesey Street
New York 7, New York
BARclay 7-1066

Medal of Honor



Sergeant Charles Turner, of Boston, Massachusetts—Medal of Honor, Korea. On September 1, 1950, near Yongsan, Korea, Sergeant Turner took over an exposed turret machine gun on a tank. Despite fifty direct hits on the tank, he stayed by his gun and destroyed seven enemy machine gun nests before he was killed.

You and your family are more secure today because of what Charles Turner did for you.

Sergeant Turner died to keep America free. Won't you see that America *stays* the land of peace and promise for which he gave his life? Defending the things he fought for is *your* job, too.

One important defense job you can do *right now* is to buy United States Defense* Bonds and buy them regularly. For it's your Defense Bonds that help keep America strong *within*. And out of America's inner strength can come power that guarantees security—for your country, for your family, for *you*.

Remember that when you're buying bonds for national defense, you're also building a personal reserve of cash savings. Remember, too, that if you don't save *regularly*, you generally don't save at all. Money you take

home usually is money spent. So sign up today in the Payroll Savings Plan where you work, or the Bond-A-Month Plan where you bank. For your country's security, and your own, buy U. S. Defense Bonds now!

****U.S. Savings Bonds are Defense Bonds - Buy them regularly!***



The U. S. Government does not pay for this advertisement. It is donated by this publication in cooperation with the Advertising Council and the Magazine Publishers of America ■ public service.

Louis Adamic: American—Carey McWilliams

THE *Nation*

BURLINGAME
PUBLIC LIBRARY
Burlingame, Cal.

September 22, 1951



6

After Japan—Germany

The San Francisco Conference

BY FREDERICK KUH

*

Wage Controls No Bargain

BY SID LENS

Echoes from San Francisco

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Paris, September 11

FROM the American point of view the headlines in European newspapers over reports of the San Francisco conference were entirely satisfactory: "Brilliant Victory for the United States; Defeat for the U. S. S. R." was the substance of most of them. Beneath, however, were comments which if read attentively might well give pause to American policy-makers.

President Truman's remarks at the meeting of Democratic Party leaders on the first day of the conference received much more notice here than his speech at the Opera House. Many were shocked that he should choose the moment when the peace conference was about to open to announce "fantastic new weapons," capable of destroying civilization. The Gaullist *Paris-Presse*, which could hardly be suspected of being pro-Russian, said:

Traditional diplomacy is indeed dead. In former times diplomats had the courtesy never to stress the power of the arms and divisions behind them except by allusion.

It added with reference to Mr. Truman's speech before the conference:

It is unusual to hear the head of a state declare at the opening of a peace conference, "There are bandits among nations."

And returning to the boast of "fantastic new weapons," this rabidly anti-Communist paper warned:

Soviet propaganda will not fail to make good use of that phrase.

The procedure followed at the conference also provoked criticism in rightist circles. The Continental edition of the London *Daily Mail* doubted whether the Western powers were well advised "to use Russia's own tactics and stifle all debate." A dispatch from San Francisco in the same issue of the paper said:

Western opinion has been noticeably affected by the curt American rejections of other so-called Russian "peace" gestures in recent weeks.

But more serious than any matter of procedure in the view of observers on

this side of the Atlantic was the fact that the most urgent Asian problems—the restoration of peace in Korea, relations with the new China, relations with India—remained unsolved. There is great anxiety here over the increasing international tension. Pertinax, in one of the acute analyses he has been cabling from San Francisco to *France-Soir*, said that the cold war was being speeded up and the gulf between the two blocs was widening.

The same impression was conveyed in a dispatch from Washington sent by the semi-official Agence Française de Presse. Certain Western diplomats in Washington, the A. F. P. correspondent said, "are asking themselves whether a policy of firmness à l'outrance toward the Soviet Union might not rebound against the Western world."

It would be dangerous to adopt such a policy even slightly in advance of having the means to carry it out. If America got tough, and Russia responded similarly, touching off a conflict in the entire Far East, the United States and its far from enthusiastic allies would face a war of exhaustion in Asia from which, it is believed in these circles, only the Soviet Union and communism would profit.

The comments of that sector of liberal European opinion represented, for example, by the Manchester *Guardian* were of course even more outspoken. In such quarters there has been general assent to the view expressed by the London *Times* last April—that "the forces of old Japan are gathering again." It is believed, moreover, that the signing of the treaty with Japan, given the political and other circumstances in which it took place, is bound to encourage the most reactionary elements in Germany. Liberal and left papers have called attention to the fact that on the very day of the signing fifty-seven German generals and admirals announced at Bonn the merger of a number of associations of war veterans, "uniting several million Germans who intend to have a say in the future policy of Germany." Liberal opinion is not happy, either, over the clause in the defense pact between the United States and

Japan which states that American troops stationed in Japan may be used, in agreement with the Japanese government, to repress "internal disturbances." But let us return to conservative sources.

The fear that the policy of containing Russia was pushed too far at San Francisco was clearly expressed in an editorial in the London *Observer* of September 7:

America is not only engaged in a vast rearmament program of her own but is giving arms to countries on Russia's periphery; she is establishing air bases all round the world; she is bent on rearming Germany and Japan; she holds on to Formosa and supports Chiang Kai-shek. Is there not great danger that Russia, faced with what she regards as encirclement, may decide to gamble on war before the odds against her become overwhelming?

About the motives which led Russia to go to San Francisco to suffer "total defeat" opinions differ. The leading columnist of the right-wing Paris *Figaro*, Raymond Aron, cabled his paper:

Those who pose this question do not know the Stalinists. It is only necessary to read Lenin's brochure on the infantism of communism to understand. Lenin criticized the Bolsheviks who wished to keep out of electoral and parliamentary struggles so as not to appear in the minority. The men in the Kremlin did not wish to give the impression, by staying away, that they were afraid of Japan to Western influence scored their interest.

Most of press commentators I have seen with eagerness echo his word some sign offered as strained K once more an aggressor not escape doubtably offensive up to the moment that the U. N. Assembly opens in Paris in November.

In Early Issues

The Oatis Trial

By James Lawrence Fly

The World Newsprint Famine

By Andrew Roth

Indonesia: The Youngest Republic

By Dorothy Woodman

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 173

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • SEPTEMBER 22, 1951

NUMBER 12

The Shape of Things

GENERAL MARSHALL WAS A DISTINGUISHED Secretary of Defense, a man whose personality and record lent great dignity to his post. His retirement came at a time, and in a manner, that reduced its consequences to a minimum. The country accepts Robert A. Lovett as an appropriate successor. In fact, the shift will probably make little difference in policy or procedure. If any change is to be expected, it is in the direction of an even more aggressive drive toward rearmament and a more hard-boiled approach to relations with both allies and enemies. Mr. Lovett is undoubtedly as efficient and as prompt in action as General Marshall proclaimed him to be, but if he has any real awareness of the political implications of American military policy we have never noticed it. He has also taken a consistently "tough" position on Russia, opposing any moves that might produce a settlement he considered inexpedient and premature; he intervened personally, according to Marquis Childs, to block the plan in 1948 to send Chief Justice Vinson to Moscow to talk terms with Stalin. Of a very different nature is the choice of Chester B. Bowles, as ambassador to India to replace Loy Henderson, who will succeed Ambassador Grady at Tehran. Former Governor Bowles is not only an unrepentant New Dealer; he is also a man who has thought deeply about the needs of the underdeveloped areas of the world and about the political tensions that develop out of economic misery and exploitation. In India he will speak a language that makes sense to people struggling with problems of unparalleled magnitude. No single individual can overcome the prejudice and suspicion toward the United States that today dominates the mind of Asia, but Chester Bowles can do as much in that direction as any envoy we could send. *

THE SWEATER-AND-JEANS SET OF CARLSBAD, New Mexico—with an assist from the high cost of segregation—has overruled the recent decision of the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals holding segregation in secondary schools constitutional. When the New Mexico school board first refused to accredit Carlsbad's Jim Crow high school, liberals in the Southwest hardly took notice. Unaccredited Jim Crow schools in southeastern

New Mexico were old hat. In tiny Hobbs the citizenry voted to appropriate \$127,000 for a new Jim Crow school rather than exercise the state constitutional option of permitting Negro youths to attend existing "white" schools. In Las Cruces, Negroes attend an unaccredited, segregated high school of which there is no official record! The fiction of non-existence is even applied at graduation time when the Negro students are issued diplomas from the "white" school and are thereby "qualified" for entry into the University of New Mexico. But in Carlsbad the unexpected happened. There Irvin P. Murphy, the Superintendent of Schools, advised the community that a new Jim Crow school with facilities equal to those of the "white" high school could be constructed only at the cost of \$10,000 per student. Carlsbad, which has long followed the Deep South pattern, promptly reconsidered its Jim Crow policy. In a poll on the question of segregation the 1951 graduating class and the senior council of the "white" high school voted unanimously to welcome Negro students. The junior and senior class and faculty members were 95 per cent in favor of mixed attendance. As a result, for the first time in Carlsbad's history Negro and white students are attending integrated high-school classes.

★

FIRST REACTIONS TO THE JAPANESE PEACE Treaty reveal an interesting cleavage between close adherents to the position of the China lobby, on the one hand, and those Senators and Congressmen who favor the "broader" views of MacArthur as interpreted by John Foster Dulles. The first group has a curious personal attachment and loyalty to Chiang Kai-shek, while the second would use or not use the Chinese Nationalists as circumstances might dictate. Thus Senators H. Alexander Smith and William Knowland, inclining toward the MacArthur-Dulles view, praised the treaty as a triumph of bipartisanship. But Senator Pat McCarran, in a speech in Reno, was quick to denounce it as Andrei Gromyko's "greatest victory." The Senator's theory, of course, is that "a free and sovereign Japan" would be more likely to be drawn into the trade orbit of the Chinese Communists than a Japan without a treaty. This is also the theme of McCarran's Republican colleague from Nevada, Senator George W. Malone—a circumstance which suggests a possible connection between

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things	221
Ten Million Families	223
The Issue Is Germany <i>by Freda Kirchwey</i>	224

ARTICLES

After Japan—Germany <i>by Frederick Kuh</i>	225
Wage Controls Are No Bargain <i>by Sid Lens</i>	228
Louis Adamic, American <i>by Carey McWilliams</i>	230
Why French Workers Vote Communist <i>by Alexander Werth</i>	232
Round Two on the Pechan Bill <i>by Scott Keyes</i>	234
Father Dunne: A Study in Faith <i>by Joseph Stocker</i>	236
Science Notebook <i>by Leonard Engel</i>	239

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Essays and Asides: Love and Reason <i>by Helen M. Lynd</i>	240
Virgil Thomson as Critic <i>by B. H. Haggin</i>	242
A War A Poem <i>by Randall Jarrell</i>	242
Moscow's Role in China <i>by Richard L. Walker</i>	243
Concerning Happiness <i>by Irwin Edman</i>	244
Paying for Defense <i>by Charles E. Noyes</i>	245
Books in Brief	246

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 247

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 431 *by Frank W. Lewis* opposite 248

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Associate Editor: Carey McWilliams

Foreign Editor J. Alvarez del Vayo *Literary Editor* Margaret Marshall

Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin

Assistant Editor: Charles R. Allen, Jr.

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside

Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting

Staff Contributors

Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: Mary Simon

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1951, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas. Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$7; Two years \$12; Three years \$17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

"silver" and the China lobby. Senator Malone, more specific than his colleague, charged that the treaty was calculated to bring about the downfall of Nationalist China; it was, he said, "the final slap in the face." Similarly Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, while conceding that Mr. Acheson "did a good gavel-banging job," protested that the treaty undercut "anti-Communists in China" and kept Nationalist China from attending the conference. These objections should be interpreted with the aid of the twenty-eight-page "White Book" which the Chinese Nationalists distributed in San Francisco. The book contains a statement by Chiang Kai-shek issued in Formosa during the summer denouncing any treaty negotiated with Japan without the participation of the Nationalists as "unjust and unrealistic . . . lacking in both moral force and legal justification." The Chinese Nationalists are aware not only that the treaty is highly unpopular in China but that the failure to include them in the conference was a serious blow to what little prestige they may still possess among opportunistic or rightist elements in China.

★

IN HOLLYWOOD ON SEPTEMBER 2, 1947, playwright Emmet Lavery, actor Albert Dekker, Mrs. Lela Rogers (mother of Ginger Rogers), and Senator Jack B. Tenney took part in a Town Meeting radio debate on the question: "Is There Really a Communist Threat in Hollywood?" In the course of the debate, Mrs. Rogers accused Lavery, a prominent Catholic and author of a motion picture based on the trial of Cardinal Mindszenty, of "following the Communist Party line" and charged that his play, "A Gentleman From Athens," was "un-American propaganda." A Los Angeles jury recently agreed with Mr. Lavery that these remarks were libelous and damaging and awarded him \$30,000 damages. Our interest, however, is not so much in the verdict as in a point which was argued during the trial. Morrie Ryskind, one of the defendants, testified that to charge a person with writing "un-American propaganda" would have no effect on his earning capacity as a writer. Yet Mr. Lavery testified that his earnings, which amounted to \$45,491 in 1945 and \$42,219 in 1946, dropped to \$28,394 in 1947 and \$16,358 in 1948. In the year following the radio debate, only one studio in Hollywood offered Lavery, author of many successful screen plays and the highly successful play, *The Magnificent Yankee*, a writing assignment. Now that the trial is over it is possible to suggest a realistic test of Mr. Ryskind's theory of the relation between reputation and earning capacity. Let a series of witnesses, including Elizabeth Bentley and Louis Budenz, make against Mr. Ryskind the same charges that were made against Mr. Lavery. If Ryskind could be persuaded to cooperate in the experiment, we are confident the results will refute his theory.

ON JUNE 21, 1949, NINE PERSONS WERE injured in racial fighting which broke out at Fairgrounds Park in St. Louis in the wake of a court order opening the park's formerly segregated swimming pool to Negroes. More than 350 police were rushed to the park to restore order. Last year, with police standing by, Negroes and whites used the pool together. Verbal threats were hurled at the Negroes but there was none of the violence of 1949. This summer found more and more whites and Negroes using the pool. Police surveillance was still maintained, but tolerance appeared to have gained a beachhead. Then one hot mid-afternoon a "protest" meeting was held on the sidewalk in front of Beaumont High School, one of the largest secondary schools in St. Louis, directly opposite Fairgrounds Park. Mounting a truck, two leaders of the Christian Nationalist Crusade filled the air with abuse and invective. John W. Hamilton, associate editor of *The Cross and Flag*, called for "a return of the black plague to Africa." Denouncing Mayor Joseph M. Darst for not stepping in to halt mixed swimming in the Fairgrounds pool, he shouted: "The politicians won't do anything because they don't want to lose the Nigger vote! The Nigger is taking St. Louis from the white man!" Don Lohrbeck, editor of *The Cross and Flag*, followed Hamilton to the microphone. "The Negroes are destroying the property values of the white people. . . . The next thing you know they will be taking away your jobs." The Christian Nationalists—a legally recognized party in Missouri—have now drawn up a petition for a segregation ordinance which they hope to place on the ballot for the next city-wide election. They claim to have 25,000 signatures already or enough to insure the measure a place on the ballot. The Nationalists promise that they will not slacken their efforts until "the Negro population of the United States has been repatriated to Africa." They are equally acid in their verbal and printed attacks on American Jewry. "We believe in white supremacy," Hamilton said recently, "and we won't stop until every black in St. Louis is gone."

Ten Million Families

WHEN the Joint Committee on the Economic Report appointed a Subcommittee on Low Income Families, which published its studies last year, some members wondered what human problems lay behind the statistics. They can find the answer if they will take the time to read a report of the Conference Group on Low Income Families, prepared in the spring and summer of 1950 by nine voluntary social-welfare organizations and recently published under the title "Making Ends Meet on Less than \$2,000 a Year." The report contains summaries of 100 case studies of individual households in twenty-seven states and the District of Columbia that

somehow managed to get along on annual incomes of less than \$2,000 in 1949—a year in which 10,500,000 American families fell within this same category. Today, as the figures cited on page 229 of this issue indicate, the number of families might be even greater. While a hundred families cannot be taken as a fair statistical sample of ten and a half million, the case histories point up the anachronism of mass poverty of the "not-quite-making-ends-meet" variety in the United States in the middle of the twentieth century.

In the report you meet the people, not the statistics: bakers, truckmen, postmen; goldsmiths and mold-makers; tool and sheet-metal workers; owners of pickle works, machine shops, and laundries; G. I.'s on their way up, mothers trying to keep their homes intact; share-croppers and migratory workers. Here they are: the Diaz family of San Diego, the migrant Crompton family of Texas, the Dobbs family of Elmira, the Mahoneys of Pittsburgh, and dozens of others, with their struggles and desperate makeshifts, their ingenuity and grit, as well as their failures and unwise choices.

Looking over these cases, the Conference Group found a number of recurrent themes: low wages; intermittent employment; ill health, broken homes, handicaps in education and skills; poor diets; miserable housing, except for the fortunate few who live in public housing projects; crushing burdens of debt, frequently caused by disastrous illnesses. But there was also the theme of hope—hope that the children would get a better education and ultimately have a better life; hope that the defense program would bring back the "good times" of the war years, with steady jobs, good wages, and prices "held to reason."

The facts which attest to this unpleasant reality of ten and a half million families dependent on annual incomes of less than \$2,000 in a year of high employment are ably presented in the report, but the analysis sidesteps the basic issues. To cite as "causes" of insufficient income such factors as low wages, broken homes, debts, and ill health is rather like explaining the causes of an automobile accident in terms of dented fenders and cracked crankcases. A glance at Sid Lens's article on wage stabilization in this issue will indicate that symptoms have been mistaken for causes.

Without attempting to formulate a precise legislative program to deal with the needs revealed in the report, the Conference Group offers some comments. "Through a framework of protective legislation we have tried to safeguard livelihood at its weakest points. . . . But . . . throughout the day-by-day work of our voluntary services we are repeatedly made aware of households which are not covered or are inadvertently covered by the provisions we have set up." And in each instance excellent suggestions are presented for remedying the various weaknesses and inadequacies in our scheme of social

security. But the basic problem faced by the hundred families of the report is that they lack sufficient political power to insist that they be paid incomes adequate to their needs; they are the unorganized whose interests cannot compete politically with those of the powerful pressure groups.

It is perhaps too much to hope that every member of Congress will read this report. But we would like to express the hope and also to repeat a warning which every sober friend of American democracy knows in his heart to be true. If in the name of containment and defense, we put aside action of the sort called for by the Conference Group to meet the needs of ten million American families, we shall dangerously weaken the cause which our policies are designed to support. As the Conference Group significantly remarks: "We have left it for the most part to the insight of all concerned to sense what such conditions exact in terms of the human spirit." Not that the hundred families of this report have despaired; their spirit, on the whole, seems to be admirable. But the fact that ten and a half million American families should be hovering in the twilight zone between utter destitution and bare subsistence is some measure of the extent to which the foundations of democracy need strengthening at home.

The Issue Is Germany

BY FRED A. KIRCHWEY

AT THE end of four days of off-the-record consultation in Washington, the foreign ministers of Britain, France, and the United States published a Declaration which concluded with these lines:

The three ministers reaffirm that this policy, which will be undertaken in concert with the other free nations, is directed to the establishment and the maintenance of a durable peace founded on justice and law. Their aim is to reinforce the security and the prosperity of Europe without changing in any way the purely defensive character of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. They reaffirm their determination that in no circumstances shall the above arrangements be made use of in furtherance of any aggressive action.

According to an unnamed American official, quoted in the *New York Times*, this paragraph was regarded as most important, indicating that "the door is not closed to negotiations with the Soviet Union," and that the Western powers are willing to "try again," if Moscow makes it possible, for a settlement with Russia.

The Declaration followed a Communiqué announcing the decision of the three ministers to end the occupation of Western Germany, negotiate new agreements with the Bonn government which would integrate "the Federal Republic on a basis of equality within a Euro-

pean community itself included in a developing Atlantic community," and provide for "German participation in Western defense through the proposed European defense community, whose forces would form part of the joint defense forces under the North Atlantic supreme command." The fact which lies bedded in that thick pad of cushioning words was of course settled before the ministers met: Western Germany, armed and sovereign, will now take its place as one of the Western allies. Juxtaposed beside this momentous fact, the affirmation that the Big Three powers are ready to try for a negotiated settlement is rather astonishing, for if anything short of armed attack is likely to goad Russia into direct military action it is the rearming of Germany and its integration into the Atlantic alliance. Following on the heels of the Japanese peace treaty and Japan's bilateral defense pact with the United States, the challenge is even more direct, and one is led to suspect that the peaceable purposes voiced in the Declaration were intended as much to reassure members of the Western coalition themselves as to impress or convince the Russians.

For the West needs reassurance. Even the high military and political brass of all the North Atlantic treaty nations gathered at Ottawa to work out accelerated plans for the defense of Europe need to be convinced, and to be able to convince their anxious people, that they are not rushing headlong toward war. First of all, they want to be sure that the United States is *in* the Atlantic "community," a participating member rather than a boss and paymaster. They are disturbed by the many critical decisions which have been made and announced in Washington before being fully discussed within the N. A. T. O. They are worried by the threat to their economies and to the stability of their governments implied in the size and tempo of the rearmament plans. They are particularly afraid of inflation, with its frightening political overtones. Anne O'Hare McCormick, commenting from Ottawa on the reasons why the N. A. T. O. conference was held in that capital, said that the Western European nations had come to regard Canada as "a goad and a brake on our course." "They think," she went on, "that Canada is in a better position than they are to argue with Washington. Thus Mr. Pearson's thesis that inflation has become the major menace to Western security, with its corollary that our policies are largely responsible for it, reflects the view of so many statesmen here that the economic aspects and effects of rearmament are certain to be pretty thoroughly examined and discussed."

The European nations want to thrash these matters out and arrive at understandings about raw materials, prices, and the financing of rearmament which will put the whole stupendous effort on a basis of mutual and equal sacrifice. It was not a Communist or Gaullist paper but the now ultra pro-American and conservative *Le*

Monde which recently published an editorial series arguing that "if the Atlantic community is to become a reality and assure the victory of the West over communism, it seems necessary that America revise its conceptions, political and moral, as to the share of the sacrifices she must assume in our common fight. The Atlantic community cannot be built on the prosperity of one and the misery of the others." These are strong words from such a friendly source, and even though they are not official words they represent an opinion that must be heeded in Ottawa.

But the main issue, and the main source of anxiety, is of course Germany. The United States may be able to still the fears of the smaller powers over the inclusion of Greece and Turkey in the alliance, but the inclusion of a rearmed Germany, though officially accepted by the Big Three and acquiesced in by everybody else, remains a huge and undigestible monster—even to many of the democratic elements in Germany itself. The governments know the actual hazards involved; they know, too, what political difficulties it will create in their own countries.

An armed and sovereign German state, no matter how many guaranties are established, will be in a position to bargain effectively with East and West. To rebuild Germany's military strength will draw off much-needed materials from the Western nations, whose rearmament programs are only beginning to get under way. If the Germans accept the terms that are offered them and start rearming in earnest, as must now be assumed, the competition for supplies will be as great and as dangerous as the French fear. Our readers will perhaps recall an article by our Washington correspondent "Scrutineer" in *The Nation* of July 21, which

revealed a "top secret" plan for restoring German military power submitted by Chancellor Adenauer but developed largely by two former generals—Hans Speidel and Adolf Heusinger. It provided for a German tactical air force of at least 2,000 planes with personnel of 40,000; armed forces of some 250,000 built up on the basis of army corps of two divisions, each division to comprise 12,000 men, rather than combat teams of 4,000 to 6,000 as the French had proposed; a future coastal-defense force of small craft; a staff "at corps level"; and the eventual reintroduction of conscription. This plan had not been accepted by the Western powers at the time we published it, but it was supposed to have been fully discussed by Allied officials in Germany and regarded as reasonable by the Administration in Washington. How closely it will be followed in practice we cannot say. But Americans should know what is already in the minds of those who are working out the plans for integrating Germany into the Western alliance, and why the fears of Europe have become a serious factor in the discussions at Ottawa.

In a short time the decisions of these days will begin to be translated into tools and men and administrative structures. A monstrous machine will be created. Then it will be too late to slow down the tempo or shift the direction of events. If the Big Three seriously mean that "the door is not closed to negotiations with the Soviet Union," surely this is the moment to "try again." One honest effort should be made to come to an agreement on Germany before its armed power is restored, before it is again equipped to call the turn in Europe. Only such an effort will provide the reassurance that the Declaration of the foreign ministers probably intended to convey.

After Japan—Germany

BY FREDERICK KUH

San Francisco, September 12

ON THE last day of the Japanese peace conference Andrei Gromyko met some three hundred newsmen. After the way they, and especially the camera men, had swarmed around him even when he visited the toilet, he could not gladly have invited them. It was not sociability that prompted him to call a press conference.

An American reporter asked him: "If you didn't come to San Francisco to sign the peace settlement, why did you come?"

Gromyko answered: "I came to state publicly the

truth about the United States-British draft treaty for Japan and to present Soviet amendments to it. This has been done."

Not just while facing the rows of journalists but throughout the conference sessions Russia's delegate must have felt an impulse to button his coat more tightly against the freezing hostility surrounding him. However, he was peering beyond the fifty-two delegations seated there. He was looking across the Golden Gate and over the seas toward the restive peoples of Asia. He made clear that the Communists' ultimate response would not be delivered in San Francisco but far afield.

When he met the press he declined to comment on the United States-Japan security pact, although its importance—in the minds of many—overshadowed that of

FREDERICK KUH is widely recognized as one of the ablest diplomatic reporters and analysts now writing for the American press. His headquarters are in Washington.

the treaty of peace. In fact, there was a widespread impression that the peace settlement was a façade for the American-Japanese alliance.

Gromyko mocked the preparing of the peace treaty "with participation of such states as El Salvador and Nicaragua but without China."



Andrei Gromyko

Knowing that the suggestion would be rejected, he proposed even at one minute past twelve that Communist China be invited to attend this conference. He protested that the rigged rules of procedure for the conference clamped a strait-jacket on all debate. He pointed to India's and Burma's boycott of the whole San Francisco performance. Above all, he warned again and again against a treaty that lets Japan rearm without limit.

These were the things he came to say, and he said them. Members of the American delegation privately conceded that Gromyko had accomplished his mission.

Nevertheless, Russia's acceptance of the invitation and Gromyko's appearance at the conference were probably a Soviet blunder. He had little to say that Moscow had not said before. His only new suggestion was to state the numerical limits to which Russia wanted Japan's armed forces to be confined by the treaty: a maximum of 150,000 ground troops, a navy restricted to 25,000 men and 75,000 tons of warships, and an air force limited to 350 planes—with no bombers.

Gromyko's other ideas were familiar. Essentials of all the thirteen changes he proposed for the treaty were four months old. They were in the published note Russia sent to the United States on May 7. At best San Francisco gave him a chance to repeat them in a larger forum. It enabled him once more to proclaim the Soviet Union's solidarity with Asia's advancing nationalism and social revolution.

Against this, the presence in San Francisco of Russia, Poland, and Czechoslovakia caused delegates of the other forty-nine countries to close their ranks. It induced many of them to muffle their anxieties and grievances against the American-made Japanese settlement. Who could doubt that the dissatisfied nations would have resisted more strongly if they had not feared being identified with the Soviet opposition? To that extent Russia's

appearance at the conference was an asset to the United States.

American diplomacy won at least a temporary success in Asia when Indonesia joined the treaty. Like India, Indonesia has been treading a neutral line between the United States and Russian camps. It objected to the treaty's failure to commit Japan to make amends for Indonesia's terrible war-time losses. Indonesia's plump, bearded Ahmad Subardjo told the conference that the Japanese invasion cost Indonesia four million lives and billions of dollars' damage.

Subardjo put three questions to Japan and made his nation's decision whether or not to sign the treaty depend on the Japanese answers: (1) Is Japan ready to pay Indonesia "adequate" reparations? (2) Does Japan agree that the reparations sum be fixed in a separate Indonesian-Japanese treaty? (3) Will Japan negotiate agreements to safeguard the fishing rights and seafood supply of the 80,000,000 Indonesians?

To all three questions Japan's Premier Yoshida replied "Yes," as prearranged by United States mediation with Pakistan's help. (Was this an advance payment for American backing of Pakistan against India in the Kashmir conflict?) In fact Japan agreed to do little more than talk things over with Indonesia. Yet Indonesia signed. The last word will be with Indonesia's Parliament when the Japanese peace settlement is submitted for ratification.

ANYHOW, the treaty bears the name of Indonesia along with other Asian states—Pakistan, Ceylon, the Philippines, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, and Japan. Several of these nations are wards of the great powers. Their adherence to the treaty falls far short of offsetting the absence of China, India, and Burma. However, their inclusion and that of Australia and New Zealand roughly delineates the foothold which the West retains against the Communist bloc in Asia and in the western Pacific. The firmness of that foothold is problematical. In several of these countries, notably in India, existing social and economic conditions are comparable with those which swept the Communists into power in China.

A few of the delegates entered legal reservations against clauses in the treaty. A much larger number made it clear informally that their governments were swallowing certain treaty provisions very grudgingly. After the three Communist delegates, it was the Philippines' Carlos Romulo who inveighed most vehemently against the treaty. He uttered criticism which other delegates repressed out of deference to the United States. He refused to share the hopes of peace which others at the conference were attaching to the Japanese settlement. "It is straining credulity to believe," he said, "that Japan has been completely transformed from the ag-

gressive, feudal, militarist police state which it has been for centuries into a thoroughgoing democracy." Romulo overreached himself. He is a gifted, moving speaker, and he made so strong a case against the treaty that his final acceptance of it seemed wholly inconsistent.

Romulo said that the great powers were benefiting by seizing Japan's overseas assets and by depriving Japan of various territories, while its payment of reparations was being severely restricted. His comment on this was a measure of Philippine bitterness against the peace terms: "While the treaty is one of forgiveness in respect of the smaller countries, it is plainly a punitive treaty in respect of the great powers." He agreed that Japan's resources are at present insufficient to make complete reparation for all the damage and suffering. But he described the nation's remarkable recovery. He marshaled facts to show the quick rise in national income, industrial output, trade, and capital investments. He demanded why, with Japan's economic vigor continually growing, its victims should renounce forever the compulsory payment of reparations. The peace settlement limits reparations to Japanese processing of raw materials supplied by a claimant state and to salvaging ships. Significantly, it leaves to Japan itself the decision whether it should render even those services.

What is the truth about reparations? Would it be unwise to exact them? It is held with a good deal of logic that their payment in Japanese goods, which is the only form, except services, they could take, would let Japan push its way into important markets and thus by the back door at last establish that celebrated co-prosperity sphere. Yet even without the compulsion of paying reparations Japan is already irresistibly returning to those markets.

There is a fundamental difference between extracting reparations from Japan in the future and the dismal experience of the twenties in trying to squeeze them out of Germany. German deliveries then went to Allied industrial nations, where they promoted unemployment and depression. Today the principal claimants to Japanese indemnities are agrarian countries with an insatiable need for the machinery and plant which Japan can supply. Yet everyone knows that the treaty bars reparations, except for chicken feed.

DISCONTENT with the peace terms was evident even in the remarks of Percy Spender of Australia and of New Zealand's Sir Carl Berendsen, who passed the loyalty test by sharply denouncing Russia. "We have yet to be satisfied," Spender said, "that freedom is now in full flower in Japan, that militarism has been eradicated, evils of huge monopolies destroyed, and the roots of the police state wholly torn from their soil."

The Arab states, Norway, and Holland all lodged varying reservations.

The Japanese Prime Minister's address at the conference was ill suited to dispel some of the delegates' doubts about the peace treaty's wisdom. Fifteen hours before signing the treaty Yoshida opened Japan's campaign to revise it. He told the conference that it was "with diffidence" that he mentioned points in the treaty from which Japan dissents. Then he asked for early return to Japan of the Ryukyu and Bonin Islands, now occupied and governed by the United States and including the American base at Okinawa. In much bolder language Yoshida challenged Russia's right to the Kuriles and South Sakhalin, which were pledged to the Soviet Union by Franklin D. Roosevelt and Winston Churchill at Yalta.

It passed almost unnoticed that John Foster Dulles, on behalf of the United States, repudiated this Yalta arrangement and backed Japan's claim. Dulles blandly informed the conference, "There have been some private understandings between some Allied governments; but by these Japan was not bound, nor were other Allies bound."

When the six Japanese delegates slowly walked to the table, the last of the procession to sign the peace treaty, they were dressed in formal attire. All other delegates wore lounge suits. When I asked a Japanese journalist why his country's envoys appeared in morning coats with tails and striped trousers, he said, "It was to show Japan's modesty and sincerity." It was presumably part of the same diffidence which led Yoshida, on the eve of the signing ceremony, to launch Japan's crusade for revision of the treaty's territorial provisions.

One other passage in Yoshida's remarks deserves mention.

"The role of China trade in Japanese economy, important as it is," he said, "has often been exaggerated." Here Yoshida was kotowing to forces in the American Congress which are insisting on complete embargo of trade with the Communist orbit. But the Japanese Premier at

home will have to reckon not simply with ineffectual Communists but with Japan's powerful business community. Without coking coal and iron ore from China's mainland, Japan's steel industry must spend scarce dollars for these vital raw materials and pay a big surcharge



Dean Acheson

for the long haul if it buys them from the United States. Further, Japan's export industries will hardly approve Yoshida's caprice in belittling the China market.

NOW, as to the separate American-Japanese military pact signed at San Francisco six hours after the general peace treaty:

A clause in the bilateral agreement commits Japan to refrain from concluding a similar pact with any other nation unless the United States consents. This provision has an interesting implication. Does it foretell an American plan to insert such a stipulation in the coming "contractual relationship" with the Bonn republic? Will the United States obtain a treaty right to veto West Germany's negotiation of a new Rapallo with Moscow or with East Germany?

Another passage in the two-nation pact provides that at the Japanese government's request American armed forces may aid Japan not merely to repel a foreign attack but also to suppress internal disturbances. This poses the question: Will it be for the Pentagon to decide whether, in a future emergency, United States troops shall intervene in Japanese strikes?

In contrast to the peace treaty, which is believed to have the support of a majority of the Japanese, there is impassioned Japanese antagonism against terms of the alliance with the United States. The pact gives the United

States the right to station an American garrison in Japan and to bases there. It puts no limit on the size of our forces, nor does it fix the duration of their presence on Japanese soil.

India, which shunned the conference, is by no means alone in objecting to inclusion in the general peace treaty of a clause authorizing retention of foreign troops in Japan. Other states, particularly Asiatic countries with their deep anti-colonial emotions, resent being put in the position of underwriting America's garrison in Japan. For the peace settlement says to Japan, in effect, "We recognize your sovereignty, providing you let us place troops on your territory."

Attached to the bilateral pact is an exchange of notes between Acheson and Yoshida. In this correspondence Japan agrees to support United Nations forces engaged in the Far East. So in the Asian theater of a coming world war it will be Japan which supplies the mass of infantry to fight at the Allies' side against the Soviet Union and China.

In San Francisco the United States consummated its military alliance with Japan. It was the footnote to this which put events in historical focus: from San Francisco, Acheson and the British and French foreign ministers hurried by air to Washington, there to speed the rearming of our other new associate, Germany, at the opposite pole of the good old Axis.

Wage Controls Are No Bargain

BY SID LENS

ONE of the first acts of the French government when World War II broke out was to add eight hours to the work week without pay. Paying forty hours' pay for forty-eight hours of work was assumed to be the way to fight inflation. But the effect on the morale of French labor played no small part in the defeat of France.

We are not doing anything so crass in America today, but we are undoubtedly heading in that direction. To be sure, the Wage Stabilization Board is more liberal than was its war-time counterpart in permitting wage increases as prices go up and has been less inflexible in dealing with labor's leadership, including even John L. Lewis. It has not imposed a rigid "Little Steel" formula. Here and there it has yielded to pressure. General Wage Regulation II exempted John L. Lewis's coal

miners from the freeze as of January 25, 1950. Another ruling granted productivity increases to Walter Reuther's automobile workers in excess of the 10 per cent formula. Several hundred thousand packing-house workers and some railroad employees have received more than the 12 per cent raises authorized. A few smaller unions have crowded the formulas and pushed through borderline increases.

But these are only superficial aspects of stabilization. After all, this is "peace time," and labor has not yet given a no-strike pledge; the board must tread warily. What is truly disturbing about our economic mobilizers is their basic philosophy. Essentially they have said to the American workingman: "Under no circumstances will we permit your standard of living to rise above what you enjoyed on January 25, 1950. What is more, every time one of your standards falls below that of the base date we feel it is a positive gain in the war against inflation." The more money they keep from the retail market the more they think they have reduced the

SID LENS, director of Local 329 of the United Service Employees' Union (A. F. of L.) in Chicago, is author of "Left, Right, and Center: Conflicting Forces in American Labor."

"inflationary pressure." In practice, therefore, the effect of stabilization policy has been (1) that wages have lagged far behind prices; (2) that the lowest-paid workers—those on the brink of starvation—have been frozen to their poverty and their inequality; and (3) that only the stronger unions have been able partially to break through the limits set.

BY SOME fancy figuring Eric Johnston, back in February, came up with the statistic that prices had risen approximately 10 per cent since January 25, 1950. Wage increases up to that amount, therefore, were to be approved. But two errors of logic were immediately apparent in Johnston's formula. First, these increases were not made mandatory; they were merely permissive. In other words, although the dollar had already declined by 10 per cent, only those workers who belonged to unions strong enough to enforce the demand would receive a 10 per cent raise. The rest—about three-quarters of the working force—had to settle for much less or nothing.

Secondly, the formula did not take into account the lag in time between price and wage increases. Prices began to rise in June, July, and August, 1950; most wage increases came six or nine months later. All that time the workingman's actual pay was smaller. The aim of stabilization, as enunciated by Congress, was to keep prices and wages in line, but no retroactive wage increases were granted to compensate for the higher prices that had been in effect for some time.

Serious as were these defects, the percentage method of computing increases was even worse. Skilled carpenters who earned \$2.75 an hour would be permitted a raise of 27½ cents, or \$11 a week. Retail workers who earned 50 cents an hour—the retail industry is exempt from the minimum-wage law—would be permitted only 5 cents more, or \$2 a week. The percentage method thus not only widened the gap between high-paid and low-paid workers but placed the low-paid in a position where they could not hope to improve their standard of living. The best they could do was to maintain their existing low standards: a \$30-a-week wage could be boosted to \$33, but it would still be worth no more than \$30 in purchasing power. Wage stabilization has actually condemned 16,000,000 families earning less than \$39 a week—one-quarter of the population—to semi-starvation, and 38,000,000 families earning less than \$77 a week to a wage considered substandard by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Before stabilization, workers with substandard wages could win considerable increases by organizing. In hundreds of instances workers getting 50 cents an hour in 1947 are now earning \$1.10 or \$1.30 because of unionization. But today even joining a union can gain only a niggardly raise for the low-paid worker. Though the Wage Board recently agreed to relax the 10 per

cent formula and make it 12, the percentage system keeps the low-paid permanently impoverished.

Eight months after the board was established, during which time it has issued sixteen general wage regulations, there is still no policy or regulation on substandard wages. This is the more remarkable in that the present board, unlike the War Labor Board, believes in codifying its underlying principles before starting to process cases. Presumably the problem of substandard wages is not yet important enough to deserve a regulation. Even the matter of inequities has not been taken up, although a ruling may be forthcoming soon.

Permitting percentage increases in both prices and wages appears fair on the surface but really benefits only one side. It is next to impossible, for instance, to police the thousands of retail outlets so as to prevent violations of ceilings, particularly when ceilings are computed by the present cumbersome method based on profits. Who knows whether the corner restaurant has cut its hamburger from four ounces to three? Who can detect and prosecute countless other deceptions—deterioration of quality, relabeling, and the like? The government, for all practical purposes, has no machinery for policing prices; consumers are too unorganized to do it and anyway do not understand how ceilings work.

But wages have an automatic policing mechanism: every employer is a policeman for the Wage Stabilization Board. Note the hypocrisy of the copper-mining companies in demurring to a 16-cent increase proposed by the federal mediation service on the ground that they were uncertain whether the Wage Stabilization Board would approve it or not! Thousands of stewards and individual workers have heard the argument from their foremen in the last eight months: "I'd like to give you a raise, but the government won't allow it." Moreover, the board's methods discourage even permissive wage increases. Under present stabilization policy, wages at best must lag many months behind prices.

An amendment to Wage Regulation VIII still permits a semi-annual review designed to bring wages in line with prices. Thus if prices go up 3 per cent in January, employees may receive a 3 per cent wage increase sometime around the end of August, seven and a half months later. The month-and-a-half delay is caused by the Bureau of Labor Statistics' practice of publishing its cost-of-living figures six to seven weeks late; January 15 figures, for example, come out about March 1. Workers fortunate enough to be covered by escalator clauses before January 25, 1951, may have their wages reviewed every three months, in which case they are only four and a half months behind the price spiral.

Labor suffers also from the deliberate confusion of "prices" with "cost of living." Prices may have gone up only 10 per cent, but that does not mean that the standard of living has gone down only 10 per cent.

Increased taxes, deterioration in quality, unavailability of scarce items cut standards much more. Wage stabilization rudely brushes such considerations aside.

The government actually considers wage stabilization in lifeless, abstract economic terms. Inflation, it says, is caused by people having more money than there are goods available; therefore we must prevent workers from earning this surplus money. Since there will be a smaller amount of civilian goods available in the future than there was in January, 1950, we must lower the standard of living. Simple, logical—and thoroughly stupid.

A DYNAMIC wage-stabilization policy would plan for a redistribution of wealth—raising the standard of the lowest one-third of our population at the expense of the highest one-third. It would stringently suppress the black market and price violations. It would either curb profits or eliminate them entirely. It would refuse to be blackmailed by the machine-tool industry, the automobile industry, steel, and the like into granting price relief, or by industry generally into granting tax relief. Instead, it would use the threat of nationalization to force private enterprise to make some sacrifices in defending its system.

A dynamic wage-stabilization policy would make wage increases mandatory for the whole working class, not just permissive. Some union officials would probably oppose such a policy on the ground that unorganized workers might say, "Why join a union when we can

get a raise through the government anyway?" But the experience of Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Britain proves this does not happen. Even when increases are practically made mandatory for the whole working class, as they are in Denmark, or for sections of the working class, as in England, workers still join unions. They join in even greater numbers because they gain a certain class-consciousness and look to the unions to handle things other than wages—social security, housing, grievances, and so on.

A dynamic wage-stabilization policy, above all, would be aimed at boosting morale. Toward the end of World War II workers everywhere were chafing at the bit. Thousands of "quickie" strikes were called. Millions of men lost faith not only in government but in their own union leadership. Union meetings were sparsely attended. Had the war lasted another six months, there surely would have been some minor or major explosion; the powerful C. I. O. automobile workers were on the verge of tossing their no-strike pledge into the ashcan. War-time stabilization was a pathetic failure.

The Wage Stabilization Board today must divorce itself completely from the war-time approach. Instead of regarding itself as a continuation of the War Labor Board, it must express antagonism to the old board's philosophy. It must act according to humanitarian and social criteria rather than lifeless "economic principles." Otherwise it will defeat its own purpose and lay the groundwork for the same deterioration in morale that destroyed France back in 1940.

Louis Adamic, American

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

THE first time I saw him he was striding, with swift, long-legged steps, toward my desk at the rear of the ground floor of the old fortress-like structure which then housed the *Los Angeles Times*. A few days before, I had received a note from George Sterling, the San Francisco poet—the note is dated September 11, 1926—telling me to be sure to read a short story called "The Crusaders" by "a young chap who's in the pilot station office at San Pedro, name Adamic," and suggesting that Adamic might call.

My first impression was of an extremely proud, nervous, set-apart person—he seemed, somehow, to be "driven" and also to have a chip on his shoulder. But later that evening at Agazzoni's, a long-since-forgotten restaurant, that first impression quickly yielded to a second—of a young and immensely attractive Slovenian peasant with a magnificent sense of humor, direct, earthy, irresistible. In fact, I have no more persistent recollection

than of Louis laughing, laughing until he cried, laughing with his whole body.

He was a myth-maker, a spinner of tales. Over the years I listened to endless oral versions of nearly every book he ever wrote. Somehow whenever he started to tell a story he could not stop, but had to tell it all, from first to last, almost as it would later appear in print. Although I heard the same story many times, I was never bored; it was impossible not to be interested in his own interest. I still recall, for example, his extraordinary excitement on discovering the story behind the "official" version of the dynamiting of the *Los Angeles Times*. I have known many writers, but never have I known one who was so completely at the mercy of the project-of-the-moment as Louis; a story would dominate his imagination like a nightmare, demanding to be told.

His understandings were poetic and intuitive; not reasoned or scientifically deduced. He did not construct

arguments or sift evidence or build theories. He understood people better than he understood situations; of people his understanding was clairvoyant. Often he sensed a great deal more about situations than he could satisfactorily explain.

Curiously, he was well aware of what he was cut out to be; in fact, he had an abiding fear of being drawn into some other role, of being swept into currents of action and decision which would not only destroy his chance to be an artist but would destroy him, literally. "There were things in me," he wrote, "which I did not want to see killed or harmed. I wanted to get into America and at her as a writer on my terms. I didn't want the turbulent, superficial, temporary, non-essential America to get me altogether. . . . It was (as I now see it) my Carniolan peasant egoism, of course, that stood in the way of my thorough Americanization, in the current sense; but not that alone. There were things in contemporary America that just naturally went against the grain. . . . I wanted nothing to do with them except fight them if I ever got a chance." Or, as he said of Lonie Burton, the tragic hero of his first story, "The Crusaders," and in words that foreshadowed his own tragic death: "He is living proof to me (perhaps soon to be a dead one) that one cannot afford to plunge too far into the economic and social issues of American life. One is too apt to be caught in their ramifications, overwhelmed and crushed without beneficial results to anyone." I never knew a writer who so consciously, ruthlessly, and, on the whole, successfully guarded against precisely this danger of engulfment—that is, until the last few years of his life.

He was, of course, an extremely sensitive person: keenly aware of the tensions in any situation, sensitive to changing climates of opinion, and a complete prey to dominant emotions and concerns. He was more than concerned, of late years, about the state of the world; he was obsessed by it. He simply had no defense against the catastrophic "bad news" of our time. Also political tensions aggravated personal tensions, a case in point being his dual allegiance, in the finest sense of the term, to America and to Yugoslavia. Yet he was not a political person. I thought, as many of his friends thought, that it was unfortunate that he had been caught up in politics. It had come about not because he willed it but because of the role which he had been forced to play during World War II in rallying Yugoslav-American opinion behind Tito's partisan resistance. It was a fine role, but he should have returned to his story-telling once the war was over. But by then there was no returning; he was caught in the trap which he had always feared and in which he had always known he would eventually be caught, as Lonie Burton was caught.

Today an enormous interest exists in racial and ethnic minorities; but there was little interest as late as 1940. In his writings, lectures, correspondence, and his editor-

ship of *Common Ground*—that valuable publication—Adamic created a new awareness of such issues. He did more to dramatize what might be called the "secondary consequences" of immigration than any American of his time. He also had unique insight into certain phases of American life. "I was caught up in this America," he wrote, "but, simultaneously, I was a bit apart. I wasn't a native . . . I could stand aside and watch things at the same time that, unknown to anyone else, I was mixed up in them." His best writing deals with what might be called "the American problem," notably such books as "Grandsons," "Laughing in the Jungle," portions of "My America," and "The Native's Return," which, of course, is really more about America than about his native land: "Dynamite," too, is an American social classic. Most of his best writing—for example, "Cradle of Life"—was autobiographical; it was all part of the record of the Americanization of Louis Adamic.

I HAD several long talks with him in Los Angeles last winter. He was terribly exhausted and, as usual, driving himself at a cruel pace. I was worried about him, as was my wife, who feared that he might kill himself. He was seeing only one or two of his old friends and had divided the day and night into three work shifts, one of which extended from midnight until dawn. But he seemed pleased with the book he was writing and, as always, recited long passages. He was greatly disturbed by the "witch-hunt" and bitterly disappointed that there was so little public opposition to it. He was also distressed and embittered by "the big fix," the corruption that seemed to be spreading through all levels of American life. There was much less laughter than usual, although there was some; he enjoyed reciting a passage from the new book in which he had ridiculed the witch-hunters.

Those who knew him well will, I trust, never forget or forgive those who slandered him when he was alive and persisted in their slanders when he was dead. To imply that this man was "un-American" in any sense whatever was an evil libel. Yet all the Los Angeles *Herald-Express* could find to say of him after his death was that the California Committee on Un-American Activities had listed him "forty-nine times" and had referred to him as "the notorious pro-Communist, pro-Soviet Louis Adamic." To read such a statement is to be forced to the reluctant conclusion that there are, indeed, two American traditions and that they cannot be reconciled. It is to realize, too, that an aspect of the America he loved is in grave danger, for fear breeds corruption and corruption is a form of death.

Louis Adamic was generous, honest, incorruptible; a fine brave person; a man who loved people; a man of immense good-will. An eager and enthusiastic immigrant, "bewitched and bewildered by America," he wanted to

be Americanized but on his terms; he did not want to be forced to accept both American traditions. But in an effort to understand and serve the America he loved, he was destroyed by the forces of that "turbulent, superficial, temporary, non-essential America" which he had long ago resolved to fight if he ever got a chance. His Americanization was complete from the moment he realized—which must have been shortly before his death—that he had surrendered more of himself to America than he had ever intended to surrender. There was, in fact,

nothing more to surrender; he could no longer be detached; the social and the personal tragedy were one. But he was exhausted, not defeated; and if he appeared to surrender too soon it was not because he lacked courage but because he felt betrayed. And so he was, in a time when Louis Budenz, as in this instance, sits in judgment on the living and the dead. But that older American tradition, which his life and work enriched so much, is not dead by any means, and his faith in it will be vindicated.

Why French Workers Vote Communist

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Paris, September 11

RECENTLY François Mauriac wrote, with some irony, of the French intellectual's hankering for closer contact with the working class, and noted that all attempts to satisfy it were a failure, since the mind of the intellectual and that of the workingman were so different. This, up to a point, is true in all Western democracies, but perhaps the gulf between the working class and the rest of the nation is wider today in France than anywhere else.

It is too simple an explanation to say that the working class is predominantly Communist—five million people in France voted for the Communist Party last June—and that "it's their own fault if they put themselves beyond the pale." Less than a million of those who voted the party ticket can be considered active Communists; the other four million did so because they were discontented and wretched and only the Communist Party had voiced their protest against their "proletarian condition." By this is meant not only their material condition but that sense of personal humiliation so widespread in the French working class.

More than in most countries, the workingman in France has the feeling of being the underdog. And recently he has felt still more degraded by modern methods of ultra-mechanization and specialization in which the human being becomes the least valuable part of a machine. In addition, his personal relations with management are almost invariably hostile: the top dog treats the under dog rough, with the excuse that the latter is at heart a rebel if not an actual Communist.

A recent special issue of the left-wing Catholic review, *Esprit*, gives, if not a clear analysis, at least a staggering amount of documentary evidence on how working-class Frenchmen live and think. The picture that emerges is perhaps too gloomy, for the editors of *Esprit* say:

It is quite true that there are in France some bright and clean workshops, where work is not harassing and

where safety is fully assured. But there is no doubt that war and inflation and the indifference of the successive governments have greatly enlarged the truly wretched sector of the French proletariat. The contrast between the luxury in which part of the population lives and the shortage of living space, clothes, and food from which a large portion of our working class is suffering is constantly growing.

The French worker, *as a citizen*, is suffering from a sense of acute frustration today.

His feeling of having been "diddled" in terms of wages cannot be separated from his fearful disappointment at the course of events after the Liberation had promised a happier future. Six years ago the French workers, like other classes, readily, perhaps too readily, identified their fate with that of the nation as a whole; they were eager to share in the common effort, in the common sacrifices, and looked forward to a great reconstruction plan and to a number of basic reforms. The memberships of the trade unions and the parties reached their maximum; nationalized industries and works committees were a novelty. But for the working class all these hopes and illusions were more quickly and ruthlessly destroyed than for other classes.

The strikes of 1947 and 1948, which were largely, and often stupidly, engineered by the Communists, opened up a new era of victimization of labor, and since then the employers, fully supported by the government, have had little difficulty in keeping the working class "in order." As *Esprit* puts it, the trade unions, weakened by divisions and a drop in membership, have since 1948 been obliged to concentrate on "retreat tactics." With all prospect of great reforms gone, they have had to devote their attention almost exclusively to wages. The three main trade-union groups have thus tended to compete in their efforts to achieve limited objectives.

An interesting point made by *Esprit* is that there is little truth in the popular view that a sharp line divides the trade unions in the "Communist" C. G. T. from

those in the "anti-Communist" Socialist and Catholic federations, the F. O. and the C. F. T. C. For one thing, the C. G. T.—as one of its leaders, M. Benoit Frachon, has claimed—probably "includes more Socialists than the F. O. and more Catholics than the C. F. T. C.," and the economic trade-unionist tradition in the C. G. T. is often stronger than its political trade unionism. This was evidenced in the Paris transport strike of last February and March, when the C. G. T., to win economic advantages, was often more moderate than the others. *Esprit* held that this strike showed, for the first time since the 1947 split, a marked tendency toward unity of action, and it believes that unity is the only hope for the working class. Otherwise—the Gaullist program leaves no illusions on this score—the C. G. T., the most powerful of the federations, will be dissolved in the name of "anti-communism," and the others will then be gobbled up without difficulty.

ON THE extent to which the French working class is Communist, *Esprit* says:

With working-class conditions what they are in France it is no use running down Russia to a French worker. The fact is that there is a "dictatorship of the proletariat" in Russia; and it is not its violence that upsets the French worker. Even if, after thirty years, many French workers are disillusioned with Russia, the tendency to look to the Soviet Union with a feeling of friendship and solidarity is an important aspect of French proletarian mentality. . . . It is a shocking fact, but still a fact, that the most active and go-ahead members of the working class are Communists.

I myself have heard French Communists make the extremely significant statement that if they were living in England they would vote Labor, but being in France how but Communist could they possibly vote? The remark is the most damning indictment of the French bourgeoisie and employer class—and of the French Socialists for that matter. It is not surprising that, in the circumstances, the C. G. T. should, as *Esprit* says, enjoy great prestige among "socially conscious" elements in the French working class, and that its dissolution would mean that the counter-revolution and the offensive against labor were in full swing. It should be noted, however, that when the C. G. T. lends itself to Communist political demonstrations in conjunction with the Communist Party, the response from the rank and file is often less than lukewarm.

The struggle of the French working class for higher wages during the last four years has not been successful on the whole. Though prices have risen constantly, some employers have treated the workers' demands with the greatest cynicism. *Esprit* cites the case of one firm which announced on the same bulletin board the wage increases and the increase in the price of canteen meals.

Another factory, after raising wages 11 per cent, was immediately authorized by the government to raise its prices 15 per cent.

IT IS, of course, extremely difficult to generalize about the French workers' standard of living. Labor has its aristocracies in France as in other countries. The linotype operators, for example, with a six-hour day, get about \$28 a week. The metal-workers, railwaymen, and miners, if not always well paid, constitute highly organized corporations with considerable professional pride. Among the *manoeuvres*, or unskilled workers, \$10 to \$12 is a common wage.

According to *Esprit*, human degradation is at its worst in the building trades, with their mobility and irregular employment. Here are few *militants* and little or no trade-union influence. A French workman, Robert Meilhac, describes the ugly conditions of work:

I have lived in other working-class milieux—among metal workers, office employees, government officials; every one of these people had some personal interest, some hobby, some sport or gadget or bit of garden, of which he spoke with affection. I have never come across anything like that among builders. They seem interested in nothing; they seldom talk of their family or even their children. They are dirty and in rags; they seldom wash and shave once a week. Their brutalization is almost complete.

With wages as low as they are, a disturbing new phenomenon is to be observed in many French trades. A worker from Ivry, near Paris, writes:

Workers have died for the forty-hour week; many are now only too anxious to do overtime. In Paris as in the provinces one often finds workers doing, and even looking for, a sixty- or seventy-two-hour week. At Bigny in the Cher is a factory where, with Italian labor competing, people work eighty hours a week.

The story told by a woman worker in a sugar refinery is as bad as any nightmarish account of industrial conditions in Victorian Britain to be found in Marx. (Ignorance of the better working conditions now prevailing in Britain and the Scandinavian countries is complete in France. Hence the tendency always to compare conditions in France with those in Russia.) The acute physical discomfort of workers in the sugar refinery is combined with mental depression, lack of interest in their fellow-workers, and a feeling of revolt against the "free men," the bosses. *Esprit* admits, though, that some effort has been made to overcome the profound aversion of workers in highly mechanized industries by giving them a "technological understanding" of the industrial process of which they form a part.

Living conditions depend not only on wages but on many accidental causes; some workers have a house and

garden; others live in slums; others have to pay a large part of their wages for a bug-infested hotel room. A teacher from Aubervilliers in the "red belt" of Paris wrote of his pupils:

These proletarian children are not confined to Aubervilliers; in Paris, too, you find purely proletarian schools. You recognize the children by their dirty patched or torn clothes, their sickly undernourished look, their coarseness, and their indifference to anything that isn't part of their own life. . . . They are all threatened by tuberculosis; 50 per cent of my pupils live in appalling conditions, with five people to a room in a state of bitter promiscuity. I am not speaking of extreme cases where one finds as many as twelve people to a room. School, to these children, is a heaven-sent escape, but after a few years they have to think of the future.

I recently saw some statistics showing that only 2 per cent of university undergraduates come from working-class families.

It should be stressed—and it is one of the major achievements of the Republic—that French family allowances are relatively generous. A couple with one child gets only \$8 a month, but one with two children gets about \$30, with three \$48, and with four \$70. *Esprit* urges more direct aid to children, such as is provided in Britain—free milk at school, free clothes, and so on.

The exploitation of female labor is often very bad in France; I know, for example, a woman of fifty-five, a highly skilled milliner in one of the most famous *haute couture* firms in Paris, who earns \$10 a week, less than the price of one "simple little hat" made by her employer. She can make two or three such hats a day, and has been with the same firm for the last twenty

years! Women answering "situation vacant" ads are often treated in an insulting way, and if they show any sign of being familiar with labor laws their chances of getting the job are greatly reduced. *Esprit* cites several such cases.

Particularly unhappy are the old people. Their old-age pension amounts to 33 cents a day, or about \$150 a year. If they have no family to support them, they either become beggars or go into institutions.

Perhaps the most important fact brought out by the *Esprit* documents is that the French working class feels deliberately isolated from the rest of the nation and is on the defensive. It was too ebullient after the Liberation, and dreamed about a New Deal; now it is struggling to preserve what little it still has in the way of rights and privileges—the family allowances and social insurance which make up to some extent for its economic defeats. One metal-worker wrote that since 1946 he had lost some \$400 through taking part in strikes and was no better off than before. Above all, perhaps, their lives are uninteresting; their work is uninspiring; much less than the British worker, have they any political or social ideal to look forward to. Sport provides some escape—the sports paper, *Equipe*, is more widely read in some working-class districts than *l'Humanité*—and so do the cinema, the radio, and prosaic love affairs. Beneath the discontent flickers a revolutionary temper, fanned by a far-off memory of heroic days and by bitterness against those who drive about in grand new cars and eat expensive meals.

The French bourgeoisie, subsidized by Washington but frightened at the same time, is proving itself as wicked and shortsighted as ever.

Round Two on the Pechan Bill

BY SCOTT KEYES

Philadelphia, September 13

WHEN Senator Albert R. Pechan, Ford City dentist and state legislative chairman for the American Legion, introduced the Legion's loyalty-oath bill in the Pennsylvania Legislature last January, he probably had no intimation that his action might cause him sleepless nights. After all, he later told reporters, "I don't know why anyone should object to an oath of loyalty. I get a thrill when I take my oath." As he was to find out, however, substantial numbers of Pennsylvanians do not share his conviction that loyalty can be

secured by compulsory oath under threat of dismissal. Perhaps even more to his surprise, the Legislature, in its longest session in recent times, reserved judgment.

Few observers would care to predict at the moment what the outcome will be. But the story of the fight that raged around the Pechan bill throughout the spring and summer is one that needs to be told.

First, a word as to the bill itself and its setting. Briefly, it is one of a group of bills said to compose a "loyalty program"—related proposals calling for registration of subversives, capital punishment for sabotage, outlawing of the Communist Party, investigation of the state's educational institutions, and the like. The battle line has been drawn on the loyalty-oath bill.

SCOTT KEYES is assistant professor of economics at Pennsylvania State College.

Under the terms of the bill as amended to July 31, new appointees and present employees of the state and its political subdivisions, and also candidates for public office, would be required to submit written "answers to such inquiries as may be material" and to sign oaths of the "I am not now and never will be" kind, subject to penalties for perjury. All appointing authorities up and down the line would be empowered to investigate their employees "upon complaint" or on their own initiative. Those investigated would be in for a rough time. They would be immediately suspended not only on proof of their disloyalty but even if "on all the evidence . . . reasonable doubt" existed concerning their loyalty. Evidence need not be limited to the rules prevailing in the courts. For example, membership in or sympathetic association with an organization on the United States Attorney General's list could be ground for dismissal. And in the hearing to which the employee would be entitled, evidence could be withheld at the discretion of the appointing authority. Colleges would be exempt, but a condition of state aid would be annual reports satisfying the Governor and the Legislature that their faculties contained no subversives.

Small wonder that John O. Honnold, Jr., associate professor of law at the University of Pennsylvania, wrote recently that "in major design and intent, it is not a loyalty-oath bill but a loyalty-*inquisition* bill, with penalties imposed on the basis of suspicion and doubt rather than proof. . . . It is a terrifying commentary on our times that such a measure could ever be given serious consideration in our Commonwealth."

FOR several weeks after the bill was introduced, few people believed it could be stopped, or even slowed down. The opposition was meager—the Progressive Party, the Teachers Union of Philadelphia (U. P. W.), the Penn State local of the Federation of Teachers (A. F. of L.), later the Quakers, the Philadelphia *Tribune* and *Afro-American*, finally Philadelphia's Citizens' Council on Democratic Rights (now a chapter of the Civil Liberties Union). Perhaps the most effective campaign against the bill was that of the Teachers Union of Philadelphia, which sought to distribute copies of the text and knowledge of its implications as widely as possible.

Pressing for action, Pechan charged that "Communists, pinks, and fellow-travelers" were ganging up to defeat his bill. The Senate responded by pushing the measure through toward the end of March with no public hearings and with only minor amendments, the vote being forty-two to seven. Press reports indicated that several Senators had confessed they were personally opposed to the bill but afraid to vote against it.

The avidity of the bill's backers, however, proved to

be their undoing. The effect of the Senate's action was to galvanize the growing opposition and to call forth a storm of protest, centering on demands for hearings in the House. Faculty and students on a dozen campuses across the state were up in arms; the Pennsylvania State Education Association, numbering some 60,000 teachers, began to question the bill; widely circulated newspapers like the Philadelphia *Inquirer* and the *Evening Bulletin*, which ultimately was to run at least six editorials against the bill, came out for hearings. In Philadelphia a thousand people attended a protest rally sponsored by local civic, labor, and religious groups. Citizens from all walks of life spoke out: former United States Senator George Wharton Pepper; former United States Supreme Court Justice Owen J. Roberts; Alfred H. Williams, president of the Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia; Walter Biddle Saul, president of the Philadelphia Board of Education; Chancellor Rufus H. Fitzgerald of Pittsburgh University; Pittsburgh's Charles F. C. Arensberg, president of the Pennsylvania Bar Association; Earl G. Harrison, former Commissioner of Immigration, and others.

Faced by this undeniable volume of public sentiment, Ivan C. Watkins, chairman of the House State Government Committee, could hardly be convinced by Pechan's claim that the demands for public hearings were fostered by Communists "who only want to put on a show and start a riot if they can." Something had to give and it was Pechan, who yielded slightly by arranging with Watkins's permission a special closed hearing for the end of April, to be attended by representatives of the leading veterans' organizations, the heads of the four largest educational institutions, and, at the request of the Quakers, Clarence Pickett, former executive secretary of the American Friends Service Committee.

A fortnight later the amended version of the bill was reported to the floor of the House for printing and a trial run. But by now the objectors were in full voice. Attacked as an even more radical and vicious assault upon basic freedoms than it had been before, the bill went back to committee, where, it was generally felt, no further action would be taken. Round one had gone to the opposition.

IN MIDSUMMER Governor John S. Fine, who had been noncommittal, suddenly threw his weight behind the bill. What considerations led to his decision is a matter of speculation. The facts are that in a strongly worded speech to the Veterans of Foreign Wars in Philadelphia he called for a "loyalty program," including the Pechan bill. This speech was followed in short order by others, to the Amvets in Harrisburg and the American Legion in Pittsburgh; at a press conference in Pittsburgh the Governor said the bill should be reported out of committee. (It should be noted that

two days later, while the Legion was still in convention, the Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette* courageously called for defeat of the bill.)

This turn of events obviously put the committee on the spot. Observers doubt that Chairman Watkins was anxious to go against the Governor's wishes, but he, more than anyone else, knew the extent of the opposition. His out was to move for public hearings.

When the hour finally arrived—August 14, at 10 a.m.—the new House caucus room in the Capitol in Harrisburg was jammed, not, as the committee soon learned, with friends of the bill, but with its opponents. In an effort to hear as many witnesses as possible, the committee limited representatives of organizations to five minutes, individuals to three. Even so, less than half the speakers requesting time for more than forty statewide and local organizations opposing the bill could be heard. Among the supporters of the bill were six speakers for veterans' organizations, one for the D. A. R., two judges (one of them, Michael Musmanno,

scheduled to become a justice of the state Supreme Court in January), and the state's Deputy Attorney General.

There the matter stands. At present the legislature is recessed. What will happen when it meets is anyone's guess. One bad omen, perhaps, is the speed with which Judge Musmanno's bill to outlaw the Communist Party shot through the House last month. Introduced on August 6, it was passed on August 22 by a vote of 145 to 8, in spite of serious questions as to its constitutionality and practicability raised by Deputy Attorney General Kunzig. Nevertheless, both the Majority and the Minority Leader in the House are against Pechan's bill; the legislature is anxious to adjourn; and, the Governor's pressure notwithstanding, it may well be that a substantial number of members would prefer not to be recorded on the bill one way or the other. They are reluctant to buck the veterans' organizations, but neither do they want to flout the opposition. After all, as even Senator Pechan should know, in Philadelphia nearly everybody reads the *Bulletin*.

Father Dunne: A Study in Faith

BY JOSEPH STOCKER

Phoenix, Arizona

IT WAS to be anticipated that someone would strike out in defense of the Roman Catholic church against the onslaught delivered by Paul Blanshard in his widely read book, "American Freedom and Catholic Power," now followed by his "Communism, Democracy, and Catholic Power," expounding the parallelism between the two great totalitarian structures. But nobody could have foreseen the quality of sublime paradox which characterized the defense. For a man who had himself suffered at the hands of the church came forward as its foremost defender in the Blanshard controversy—voluntarily and inspired by a massive faith. This man was Father George H. Dunne, a forty-five-year-old Jesuit priest attached to the parish of St. Francis Xavier in Phoenix, Arizona—an unassuming, highly articulate cleric with a passion for golf, Mozart, and social justice.

When Blanshard's first articles appeared in *The Nation*, Dunne replied with an article in the Catholic lay magazine the *Commonweal*. When Blanshard expanded his thesis into a book, Dunne fired back with seven more articles in another Catholic magazine, *America*.

JOSEPH STOCKER, a free-lance writer, is *The Nation's* correspondent in Arizona. He has made a study of social problems in the Southwest.

These articles were then distilled into a pamphlet, "Religion and American Democracy." Later Father Dunne and Blanshard confronted each other in a debate before the Harvard Law School Forum. After that Dunne carried the fight against Blanshard along a lecture circuit through the West.

In the course of his turbulent ecclesiastical career Dunne has been penalized twice by his church for his forthright championship of liberal causes. In 1945 he was dismissed from the faculty of St. Louis University because he fought for the complete integration of Negroes into university life. In 1947 he was booted off the faculty of Loyola University in Los Angeles for siding with the striking Conference of Studio Unions against the Hollywood overlords. Yet he is still carrying the banner of the church in its struggle against its detractors and doing so with unfaltering sincerity. All who know Dunne accept at face value his assurance that no order came down from on high for him to enter the lists against Blanshard. Far from being given such an order, he says, he has yet to receive a single commendation for his efforts from his superiors. Nor has his own Jesuit province invited him to speak on the subject at one of its schools or colleges.

"It's a matter of faith," he explains. "Either I believe in the things that the church stands for or I don't.

If not, there's no sense in remaining a Catholic. If I do believe in these things, they don't cease to be true because of the action of the Catholic hierarchy." Among the most important of "these things," in Dunne's view, are the principles for which he fought at St. Louis and Los Angeles—the rights of minorities and labor. Before the outbreak of the Blanshard controversy Dunne was renowned in Catholic circles chiefly for his unflagging defense of those rights. He had achieved particular note by writing a play called "Trial by Fire," a stirring preachment against the "sin of segregation."

DUNNE was born in St. Louis, the son of a hotel man and the fourth in a family of five children. His father died when he was seven and his mother took the children to Los Angeles, where she went to work as a school teacher to support them. Dunne aspired at first to be a lawyer. He was twenty-one years old and six months short of winning his degree when he changed his mind and entered the priesthood. There ensued a long period of training which included four years of study in China. After he obtained his doctorate in international relations at the University of Chicago, Dunne was assigned to St. Louis University, a Jesuit school, to teach American and Soviet government. There his first brush with the hierarchy occurred.

Negroes had already been admitted to the university, largely through the efforts of a fellow-priest, Father Claude H. Heithaus, who taught archaeology and was moderator of the university newspaper. When Dunne arrived, there were about eighty Negroes in the student body, and they had won complete acceptance from the white students, both in classrooms and in extra-curricular activities. They had even attended a university dance without incident. Suddenly, however, the picture changed. A post-Lenten dance at the Jefferson Hotel was scheduled. Prominent townspeople brought pressure upon the president of the university to ban Negroes from the dance, and he yielded. Heithaus and Dunne gave battle, the former refusing to allow any publicity about the dance in the university newspaper, the latter going out of his way to discuss the issue in his classes. The upshot was the summary ouster of both priests. Heithaus was transferred to St. Mary's. Dunne was sent first to Santa Barbara, then to Los Angeles and Loyola University.

At Santa Barbara, Dunne wrote an article entitled *The Sin of Segregation* for the *Commonweal*. It was picked up by the *Chicago Sun*, the *Des Moines Register*, and other newspapers, and more reprints of it were sold by the *Commonweal* than of any other article it had ever published. The piece was a powerful polemic against Jim Crowism in all its forms. Segregation is a sin against both justice and charity, Dunne declared, and quoted the Pope to prove the point.

Later, in Los Angeles, Dunne attended a meeting of the Catholic Interracial Council at which a former Los Angeles *Daily News* columnist, Ted Le Berthon, made a report on a tragic incident near Fontana, California. A Negro, his wife, and their two children had been burned to death in a fiery explosion which destroyed their home. The Negro, O'Day Short, had resisted attempts to force him out of the rural neighborhood in which he had settled to escape Los Angeles segregation. There was good reason to believe the fire was the work of



Father Dunne

white vigilantes, but the authorities hushed up the case.

Dunne, shocked and furious, went home and wrote two articles on the incident for the *Commonweal*. But he wasn't satisfied. He needed a medium with a stronger impact to get his message over. And so he hammered out his play, "Trial by Fire," the story, in drama form, of the Shorts. Many of the lines came straight from the records of the coroner's inquest.

"Trial by Fire" was given its first production by the Catholic Theater Guild of Los Angeles. The night before it opened, California's ace red-baiter, Senator Jack Tenney, called Dunne on the telephone to tell him he was making "a big mistake." He probably meant well, Tenney said, but he was being a "tool of the Communists." Besides, the Short case was an "accident." The play ran for a week in Los Angeles, was produced by the Blackfriars in New York, ran for a month at the Pasadena Playhouse and for two months in Chicago. Now and again it is performed by amateur groups around the country. Its audiences are often left with an overpowering sense of personal guilt. In Los Angeles the play was seen by a woman who had been circulating a restrictive covenant in her neighborhood. The next day she went out and campaigned against her own covenant.

Continuing his efforts in behalf of the under dog, Dunne spoke often in public, plugging for the FEPC and striking hard at an incipient resurgence of the Klan in Southern California. Then, when the Hollywood strike began, he examined the issues, decided the strikers were in the right, and waded into the fray. He spoke for the strikers on the radio and inveighed against the mass trial of picketers. He accused the producers of staging a lockout. He flew to Washington to seek the intervention of A. F. of L. leaders. A Congressional investigation of the dispute then in the making was

approaching it as a Communist issue, and a move was afoot to bring the Un-American Activities Committee into the picture. Dunne dissuaded the Congressmen from turning their inquiry into a witch-hunt, and the group that finally went to Hollywood was a subcommittee of the House Committee on Labor and Education. Once the investigation was under way, the priest mounted the witness stand and excoriated the studio moguls.

Shortly after his appearance before the House subcommittee, he was transferred from Los Angeles at a week's notice and sent first to Santa Cruz, then to Phoenix. He had been removed from an area of maximum opportunity—Southern California, with its sprawling millions and its racial and economic tensions—and left with only parish duties, but he had not been silenced. From Phoenix he produced another pamphlet pungently summarizing the case for the Hollywood strikers.

Dunne believes that it is he who represents "authentic Catholic thought" and not the members of the hierarchy who have buffeted him around. To his way of thinking they represent "various social pressures." He dismisses them as "ministers of mediocrity who consistently sacrifice truth and justice to expediency." He has been accused by his superiors of being "imprudent" in his crusades. "What do they mean by 'imprudence'?" he asks, and replies, "They mean anything that steps on the toes of someone who is important." His faith, however, remains unyielding. By way of analogy he says: "If I'm firmly convinced of the truth of democracy in our political order, I don't lose faith because there may be people in office like Senator McCarthy who stand for things totally undemocratic. It's the same with the church. I don't lose faith—I stay in and remain faithful to the true principles of the church. To me one of the chief missions of the church is to witness to truth and charity, regardless of whose toes are stepped on. Every time that principle is betrayed, the church is betrayed."

WHILE conceding that Blanshard is a man of "sincerity and moral idealism," Dunne contends that he is motivated by prejudice and that the general effect of his attack on the church is to foment prejudice. Dunne agrees that the church "needs constructive criticism," but he believes that Blanshard's criticism is "neither constructive nor fair." "Whatever experience he's had has convinced him that the Catholic church is evil and dangerous," says Dunne, "and he interprets everything he sees in that light."

In the pamphlet containing his formal reply to Blanshard he acknowledged some "just criticisms and truths" in Blanshard's attack but found them so "hopelessly compromised by the prejudice of the whole" as to "vitiate" the book completely. "What is difficult to

understand," he wrote, "is that otherwise intelligent and discerning people (a Norman Thomas, for example—cf. *The Nation*, May 14, 1949) are blind to a prejudice in Blanshard which they would detect immediately if it were anti-Semitic instead of anti-Catholic."

Dunne protests that Blanshard has employed a McCarthy-like technique of scatter-shooting accusations in such quantity that it would take "several volumes" to refute them. A few of the basic differences between the two antagonists might be paraphrased as follows:

Blanshard: The church is a wholly undemocratic pyramid of power, with the Pope and the hierarchy at the top and 26,000,000 American Catholics at the bottom, having no voice in the selection of those over them.

Dunne: This confuses the moral order with the political order. In the Catholic view the state is a natural institution, intended for the creation of the temporal conditions of life. The church, on the other hand, is a divine institution whose end is to teach man the dogmatic and moral truths found in divine revelation. The democratic organization of society does not mean that the church should have a democratic organization.

Blanshard: The hierarchy uses coercion to impose the concept of separate schooling.

Dunne: The average Catholic sends his children to parochial schools because he is satisfied with the caliber of their education and is convinced they have certain important values not found in the public schools. Implicit in Blanshard's thesis is the argument that unity can be achieved only by destroying diversity. This unity, however, is the unity of the slave state.

Blanshard: The priests lay down an inflexible formula for some of the most important moral problems in American life, such as marriage, divorce, and abortion.

Dunne: If a Catholic is convinced that the position of the Catholic church does not represent the teaching of Almighty God, he is perfectly free to differ from the church. At this point he ceases, quite simply, to be a Catholic. Is Blanshard asking the Catholic to abdicate the right to have opinions on moral problems?

Blanshard: The church opposes in principle the separation of church and state.

Dunne: Not true. The church accepts separation in the American sense of the word. It does not accept the notion of separation that was peculiar to Continental liberalism of the nineteenth century—a form of absolutism, with a secularized state attempting to make religion irrelevant in all areas of life. The church does not accept a separation of church and state which would deny to the church the right, through democratic processes, to bring to bear upon society its moral concepts.

Dunne finally dismisses Blanshard's whole indictment of the church in these words: "There may have been a job to do, but Blanshard didn't do it. And he made it a little harder for someone else to do."

Dunne entertains no doubt that the church will survive the challenge of Blanshard. He is equally certain that it will also survive its betrayals by such "ministers of mediocrity" as those who have disciplined him. He likes to tell of a conversation he had with another priest at Evansville, Indiana, during one of his anti-Blanshard lecture tours. The two clerics were discussing the failings of various bishops and other church dignitaries. Dunne's friend said: "After all, when you come to think of it, it's very funny—we poor human beings trying to run a divine institution. It's a wonder it didn't blow up a long time ago."

That, says Father George Dunne, is the way he feels.

SCIENCE NOTEBOOK

BY LEONARD ENGEL

SIXTEEN thousand chemists are a lot of chemists, especially when they crowd from all over the world into seven or eight hotels. Nevertheless, at the recent congress of the American Chemical Society and the International Union of Pure and Applied Chemistry in New York, the conversation turned on chemists who were not there. A number of the world's outstanding chemical researchers could not attend on account of the McCarran act.

The McCarran act is making the United States almost as tough to get into as Russia. Visitors are required to answer a long questionnaire detailing all organizations to which they have ever belonged. If any can be considered fascist or Communist, the visa application must be forwarded to the State Department in Washington for decision. Since Europe's political center of gravity is to the left of the United States, many Europeans belong or once belonged to organizations that fearful American consuls would regard with suspicion. As a result thousands of visa applications have piled up in Washington.

No one knows how many chemists from abroad who expected to attend the congress failed to receive visas or failed to receive them in time. One can be sure only of those who were official delegates of national branches of the international union or who were invited to give addresses. I know of nearly a dozen altogether who did not make it.

One was an official French delegate, Marguerite Perey, discoverer of element 87, francium. Dr. Perey had once invited Irène Joliot-Curie, daughter of Madame Curie and wife of Frédéric Joliot-Curie, to the dedication of her laboratory. That made her too hot for the Paris consulate to handle. Another was L. Ruzicka of Switzerland, dean of the world's steroid chemists. Professor Ruzicka was suspect because more than a dozen years ago he was made an honorary member of an academy of science

in an iron-curtain country. Dr. Ruzicka finally received a visa two or three days before the opening of the congress; he could have got there by jumping into a taxi and racing to the nearest airport. But he is an old man; he said the Swiss equivalent of "nuts" and stayed home. Others who failed to get visas were Dr. Francesco Giordano, head of the Italian delegation, and two of its members. Another was Dr. Michel Magat, the French physical chemist, who was to be chairman of a symposium at the congress. Still another was the English physical chemist E. A. Guggenheim; he told the London consulate he would rather stay home than submit to invasion of his privacy.

When scientists are prevented from meeting, there is usually loss on both sides. I do not suppose the loss to Europe in this case was very great. There were well over six hundred chemists from abroad at the congress, including several hundred young Europeans brought over by E. C. A. and the Ford Foundation. I hold that the McCarran act has caused us the greater loss, and need point to but one of those who could not come—Dr. Ruzicka. The Swiss chemist's field takes in sex hormones and cortisone. He holds the Nobel prize for his part in developing the first practical method of manufacturing sex hormones. He was the teacher of several of the chemists who recently devised new methods of making cortisone. Who will say that we have all the answers on hormones and have nothing to learn from Dr. Ruzicka?

One can only wonder what some of the delegates to the congress must have thought as they listened to President Truman's message, which was read by Dr. N. Howell Furman, president of the American Chemical Society. "It is a striking tribute to our democracy," Mr. Truman said, "that so great a number of scientists can assemble here free from suspicion of one another, and free from fear of outside interference." Many of those present, Mr. Truman went on to say, had seen at first hand "the perversion and destruction of free inquiry in other countries in recent years. . . . Clear and calm thinking is just as necessary on political and economic matters as it is in the chemical laboratory. Many of the ideas, social and scientific alike, which now seem axiomatic were once regarded as radical. Progress will come to an end if Americans are ever afraid to experiment boldly with new ideas." The Congress's opinion of the appropriateness of these remarks is not recorded, but in Denmark Dr. Steig Viebel, an official delegate of the International Union of Pure and Applied Chemistry, who was refused a visa although he offered to sign a pledge not to engage in any political activity in this country, was quoted as saying: "If America kept insisting on enforcing such strict exclusion laws, no more international meetings could be held in that country, and the United States would, in this respect, place itself in the same class with Russia."

BOOKS and the ARTS

Essays and Asides LOVE AND REASON

BY HELEN M. LYND

THE paradoxes which marked all the eminent Victorians appear in none more than in the Utilitarians, and among the Utilitarians in none more than in John Stuart Mill. This man, to whom Carlyle wrote after Mill had criticized his work, "No surgeon can touch sore places with a softer hand than you do," and of whom he said on Mill's death, "I never knew a finer, tenderer, more sensitive or modest soul among the sons of men," was described by Fitzjames Stephen as "cold as ice, a walking book." No criticism of Bentham has been more scathing than Mill's: that Bentham saw in man "little but what the vulgarest eye can see; recognized no diversities of character but such as he who runs may read." Affirmations of individual spontaneity in "On Liberty" and warnings against those who "by dint of not following their own nature, . . . have no nature to follow," were written by one whose own human capacities seemed to some of his associates "withered and starved." And this withering occurred while the whole adult life of this "perfect reasoning machine" of the Benthamite calculus was focused on a single love which can be compared only with that of the Brownings in Victorian romance.

What manner of person was Harriet Taylor, whom Mill first met when he was twenty-four—the wife of another man and then the mother of two children—to whom he maintained a single-minded devotion for the twenty years until her husband died and they were married and for the six years of their marriage until her death? Was she, as Jane Carlyle thought, "a peculiarly affected and empty body"? Or was there any basis for Mill's view of her as "the profoundest . . . thinker I have ever known," one who excelled himself, Carlyle, and "the highest" poets and philosophers, so that "if mankind continues to improve, their spiritual history for ages to come will be the progressive working out of her thoughts"?

The correspondence between Mill

and Harriet Taylor, brought together and admirably edited by Professor Hayek* offers possible grounds for answering such questions as these. Harriet Taylor was an intelligent woman. She did contribute valuable suggestions from which Mill gained both critical insight and enlargement of scope. More striking, however, is Harriet Taylor's personality as it appears through these letters. If it was true of Lord Acton, as Figgis says, that he "was eminently a Victorian in his confidence that he was right," this was far more true of Harriet Taylor. Her central belief about the universe was that her view of it was right. She defined satisfaction for herself as "the *mind made up*, . . . having conviction of some sort on every large subject" (italics here and elsewhere in original); and this satisfaction in her own rightness never left her, even when swift changes of conviction occurred.

She was furious with her husband for saying, in response to her request for his judgment, that he thought it would be poor taste for Mill to dedicate his "Political Economy" to her; but she later wrote to W. J. Fox that the dedication had been withheld "at my special request . . . my reason being that opinions carry more weight with the authority of his name alone." Fox had been throughout a staunch friend to Mill and Mrs. Taylor, but one offense of his led her to brand him as one whose liberalism was only "a trade" and who was marked by "tame and stupid servility."

When John Taylor, at the beginning of what proved to be his last illness, suggested to Harriet that she postpone a European trip, she wrote: "I am very sorry to find you say that *you are sorry*

*"John Stuart Mill and Harriet Taylor: Their Correspondence and Subsequent Marriage." By F. A. Hayek. The University of Chicago Press. \$4.50.

I am going to Pau. . . . I do not do it for my pleasure, but only after the *most* anxious thought. . . . I am half killed by *intense* anxiety." Her husband's request more than three months later that she return to England because of his increasing ill-health met with the response: "If I only consulted my own inclination I should come back to England immediately . . . the reason I cannot do this is that I have arranged with Mr. Mill to meet me. . . . I wish you to know that nothing but a feeling of right would prevent my returning at once."

After another six weeks she did go back to England to find her husband dying of cancer, and she nursed him assiduously for the two months until his death. During this time she denounced Mill as vigorously for any intrusion on her attention as she had previously denounced her husband: ". . . you must be ignorant profoundly of all that *friendship* or *anxiety* means when you can use such . . . narrow hearted expressions. . . . It is the puerility of thought and feeling of any utterly headless and heartless pattern of, proprietary old maid. . . . I feel it sacrilegious to enter into any account of what I feel and suffer." Her husband, she said, was more free from pain than most cancer sufferers because "no one . . . was ever so well nursed."

HARRIET TAYLOR always thought in terms of hierarchies, "high and low natures," "the noblest," "the most worthy," "the most virtuous," with herself—and Mill when he agreed with her—at the pinnacle. If she ever questioned his extravagant eulogies of her, there is no indication of it in the record. Secure in her own self-righteousness, she appraised the rest of the world from this eminence: of De Tocqueville she wrote that he was "weak in moral, narrow in intellect, timid, infinitely conceited & gossiping." In regard to letters from Sterling about which Mill had consulted her she said, "I should have thought that with our opinion we

must thoroughly despise people who have not got out of that baby morality and intellect."

Harriet Taylor, and Mill too under her influence, talked much of "passion" as a desirable human trait in which they both excelled, but condemned "sensuality" as a "lower" trait of the "common" people. Harriet declared that "all men, with the exception of a few lofty minded, are sensualists more or less—women on the contrary are quite exempt from this trait"; and Mill said of Mrs. Taylor that "he had no other feelings towards her than he would have had towards an equally able man." "Affection," says Harriet, "is . . . an instinct of the lower animals for their young." Her relation to her husband was the "sole obstacle" to her union with Mill; concern for her children is almost never mentioned. Two years before their marriage Mill wrote, quoting Harriet's attitude to her son: "[Herbert's] conduct on Xmas day & his not writing even to say that he is going to America . . . are only as you say to be explained by his being a very great fool (at present) & therefore influenced by some miserable petty vanities and irritabilities." Harriet wrote to her daughter five years after her marriage to Mill, "I would rather die than go through again your reproaches for spoiling your life."

Mill's ruthlessness toward his family after his marriage was apparently the result of his wife's feeling that they did not show enough deference toward her. To his brother who was dying of tuberculosis in India, Mill wrote: "I have long ceased to be surprised at any want of good sense or good manners from you—you appear to be too thoughtless or too ignorant to be capable of either—but such want of good feeling . . . as are shown in your letters to my wife . . . I was not prepared for."

The riddle of the absence of mention of Mill's mother and sisters in his "Autobiography" is solved. This omission has less to do with Mill's actual childhood than with the fact that the "Autobiography" was written under Harriet's influence.

John Stuart Mill was undoubtedly a person much more imaginative, sensitive, and subtle than either his father or Bentham. Why did a person as hard and insensitive as Harriet Taylor inspire in

him such devotion? Mill said of his father: "I acquired a habit of leaving my responsibility . . . moral agent to rest on my father . . . my conscience never speaking to me except by his voice" (quoted by A. W. Levi, *Psycho-analytic Review*, Vol. 32, pp. 86-101). One may hazard the hypothesis that having grown up under the iron hand of his father, Mill, in spite of all his ambivalences toward his father that Levi has pointed out, could only love and accept reassurance from an equally dogmatic, authoritarian person. The fact that this dominance came to him in the guise of love and that some of the areas in which Harriet exercised her authority—poetry, painting, music—were different from those of his father made it seem that she was opening a new world to Mill; in contrast to his father's, her dogmatism was in the alleged interest of emotion. Mill failed to perceive the common element of arbitrary coldness. Her vocabulary of holy passion even blinded him to her inhuman callousness and the callousness she induced in him. His modesty led him to accept her unquestioning judgments with "the certainty that I never should long continue of an opinion different from yours on a subject which you have fully considered." His loneliness before he met Harriet, "the absence of that feeling which . . . one fellow-traveller . . . has towards another . . . of mutually cheering one another on," made him marvel at the experience of communication with another human being.

If Mill felt any ambivalence toward this new authority, it nowhere received direct verbal expression. But certain questions persist. Why did Mill's illness increase after his marriage? Why did he talk constantly of death in a few years, although he actually survived Harriet by fifteen years? Why, after waiting for more than twenty years to marry, did they spend so much time apart after their marriage; they both suffered from disease of the lungs which would seem to demand the same climate, but Harriet's search for health kept her in southern France while Mill's led him to journeys, one of six months' duration, to Italy and Greece? Why in the extravagant eulogy on her tombstone was this super-accurate man several times inaccurate in matters of date? And why did his praise of her have constantly to ex-

ceed all rational bounds in fantastic excess?

In a dream which Mill recounts as an amusing trifle in a letter to Harriet he thought that he returned to her and found that she "took a complete dislike" to him, saying that he had "changed much for the worse"; and he goes on to speak of the actual fact that often after even a short absence Harriet is "disappointed" in him. He reports with amusement that in another dream he used the words "an innocent magdalen," "not perceiving the contradiction."

"On Liberty" states the problem of personality and culture in a way we cannot ignore in any contemporary attempt to understand the conditions of individual freedom. Mill's "Autobiography" gives the most complete record we have of an education based solely on reason. This new volume, in relation to the others, offers incomparable material on the ways in which emotion is inextricably bound with reason and some of the outcomes of this union.

ARE YOU SAYING "I CAN'T AFFORD TO RETIRE"?

**You can retire
young enough to enjoy it**

**—if you know where it costs less
to live and where you can earn an
extra income from a part-time job
or small business.**

One of the best things about *Where to Retire* is that it selects out of the hundreds of thousands of communities in the U. S. and its island territories only those places where living costs are less, the surroundings are pleasant, and you can add to your income through a part-time or seasonal job or from a small business.

With this book, you learn:

- where you can fish, hunting, boating, and swimming practically from your front door;
- where living costs, rents, and real estate are less (even where you can buy a farm for only \$2,500);
- where you can live inexpensively on an island far from the world, yet close to neighbors;
- where your hobby will bring you an income;
- where you stand the best chance of living as you like to.

Where to retire on a small income in Florida, California, Hawaii, etc.

The book covers cities, towns, and farms throughout America—from New England south to Florida, west to California, and north to the Pacific Northwest. It includes Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands. Some people spend hundreds of dollars trying to get information like this by travelling around the country. Frequently they fail—there is just too much of America to explore. Yet *Where to Retire* on a Small Income costs only \$1. "Should be one of the season's most popular books," says *Pathfinder Magazine*.

No matter what you are doing today, prepare to retire while still young enough to enjoy it. Simply tear out ad, print name, address, and mail with check, money order or \$1 bill (we guarantee its safe arrival). Money back, of course, if you're not satisfied with book. So write today! HARIAN PUBLICATIONS, 164 FIRST AVENUE, GREENLAWN, NEW YORK.

BUY U. S. SAVINGS BONDS

Virgil Thomson as Critic

MUSIC RIGHT AND LEFT. By Virgil Thomson. Henry Holt and Company. \$3.50.

CONSIDERING Virgil Thomson's latest collection of his *Herald Tribune* writing in and for itself one finds again examples of his marvelously accurate perception and formulation, such as the summation of Koussevitzky's career, or the comment on De Sabata's overplaying of ■ Morton Gould piece: "This composer's Spirituals for String Choir and Orchestra, overdressed as it is orchestrally and harmonically, has its own rhythmic life, supports no imposition of any merely theatrical animation. Itself all trickiness, the addition of jugglery from another school plain breaks it back."

One also finds again examples of his spinning of trains of thought about data made up in his head, such as the descriptions of Rubinstein's and Curzon's piano-playing, or the article "Tradition Today" which is about the conductors, dominantly exemplified for Thomson by Reiner and Monteux, who operate as the preservers of "the traditions of interpretation as these have been handed down," as against men like Stokowski and Koussevitzky who operate rather with "a highly personalized ability to hold attention"; about our own conductors of this second type who "have the excuse of having passed their youth out of contact with a major musical tradition, of not having known the classics early enough to feel at home with them"; and about one of them, Leonard Bernstein, who "knows what American music is all about, but the western European repertory he is obliged to improvise. . . . That is why, I think, he goes into such chorybantic ecstasies in front of it. He needs to mime, for himself and others, a conviction that he does not have. He does no such act before American works of his own time. He takes them naturally, reads them with authority." Thomson once made a similar

statement to me about Toscanini—that whereas Toscanini had learned the operatic traditions in the opera house, he had found himself at the age of fifty having to deal with the symphonic repertory with no knowledge of its traditions, and had solved the problem by doing a complete streamlining job on it. Actually Toscanini began to conduct the symphonic repertory soon after beginning to conduct opera, and after learning about it until then as everyone does—by hearing it performed and studying the scores, and by hearing varied performances of Beethoven, Mozart, and Schubert grouped around ever-changing norms which did not represent a line of piously handed-down tradition going back to an authentic first source, because there had been no such source. These European performances were transferred to this country, and were what our own conductors, including Bernstein, learned the classical repertory from. Bernstein, as it happens, first studied conducting with Reiner—which is not why he plays Mozart with evident warmth of feeling and distinguished taste; and only last spring a violinist mentioned he had just come from recording ■ piece by Aaron Copland in which "Lennie did his usual dance act."

And one also finds again examples of this idea-spinning, and of Thomson's method of demonstration by *pointilliste* pronouncement, which do not make coherent understandable sense in their own terms—e. g. "The Intellectual Audience."

For Thomson the book is, in addition, the occasion for a retrospective glance over the ten years of his writing in the *Herald Tribune*; reviewers, therefore, have taken it as an occasion for an estimate of this writing; and I now propose to consider how it is that the man who has written such distinguished criticism has also written such irresponsible nonsense.

Thomson once stated his belief concerning the critic's function—that it was "to defend contemporary musical com-

position, not to attack it"; and more recently, that it was to "stick his neck out." Actually the critic is confronted not by contemporary musical composition but by individual contemporary pieces of music; and his function with them is not to defend contemporary musical composition but to look at the individual object placed before him and report faithfully what he finds in it. If he finds nothing in it of significance or value he must stick his neck out (and have his throat cut) with that finding; and I might add that when he does he is not attacking contemporary musical composition.

I have used the example of contemporary music to make clear my own idea of the critic's duty: to keep his eye strictly on the object—the piece of music, the performance, the book—before him, and not let it be deflected therefrom by anything, even so admirable an aim as defending creative originality. For it is my belief that Thomson has written his distinguished criticism when he has been able to keep his eye on the object, and that when he has written nonsense it is because his eye has been deflected from the object. I would say that in some instances it has been deflected by the fact that he was putting on a performance—which is to say that his eye has been partly on the effect he was making, and by that much less on the thing he was writing about. And in some instances it has been deflected by his fondness for schematization, which has made him not only indulge in remote-from-fact schematizations of his own but fall for those of other writers—among others Max Graf's of the critic ■ "interpreter of the artist to the public" versus the critic as "spokesman of the public against the artist" (the critic in reality being neither of these). The result in that instance was Thomson's failure to see what contemptible trash most of the material in Graf's book on criticism was; and that failure led to Thomson's performance with the recent volume of Hanslick's criticism.

Here, instead of keeping his eye on Hanslick's writing, Thomson let it be deflected by Graf's section on Hanslick—which is to say that he made his article largely out of material in that section, principally Graf's contention that Hanslick, who opposed Liszt, Berlioz, Wag-

A WAR

There set out, slowly, for a Different World,
At four, on winter mornings, different legs . . .
You can't break eggs without making an omelette—
That's what they tell the eggs.

RANDALL JARRELL

ner, Bruckner, Verdi, Wolf, and Richard Strauss, did not really care for Brahms but "was clever enough to raise the banner of Brahms as the banner of counter-revolution" against the others. "Dear Mr. Pleasants," wrote Thomson in reply to the protesting editor and translator of the Hanslick volume, "I did not get all my thoughts about Hanslick out of Max Graf's excellent 'Composer and Critic,' which I quoted. I have read some others about the period." "Dear Mr. Thomson," Mr. Pleasants could have answered, "you should have got your thoughts about Hanslick's book, which you were supposedly reviewing, from the book. If you had, you would have noted that with Hanslick's praise of each new Brahms symphony there is criticism, and that both are perceptive, concerned with the things we perceive in the works—which is to say they are genuine, and provide evidence of as much genuineness in the attitude expressed in the articles as if these had been written by some one today. You might then have mentioned the accusation that the attitude was not genuine, adding that this might be established by other evidence (which you admit is not decisive) but was not supported by the articles. And if instead of copying Verdi's name from Graf you had read Hanslick's articles on the Requiem and 'Otello,' you would not have your mistaken thought about his opposition to Verdi."

But these defects and failures of Thomson which take so much space to document are those of a man who has given us some of the finest music criticism written anywhere. And—applying Tovey's observation about Schubert again—his occasional inequalities of performance cannot make that man a critic of less than the highest rank.

B. H. HAGGIN

Moscow's Role in China

CHINESE COMMUNISM AND THE RISE OF MAO. By Benjamin I. Schwartz. Harvard University Press. \$4.

THE doctrine expounded by the men ruling China under the name of Communism today bears little resemblance to the theories developed by Marx and Engels and is indeed a far cry from the formulations of early Com-

munist leaders in China. Likewise, the "Chinese Communist Party under the leadership of Mao Tse-tung has been . . . neither 'the vanguard of the proletariat' in the Marxist-Leninist sense nor a 'peasant party' in the Marxist-Leninist sense, but an élite of professional revolutionaries which has risen to power by basing itself on the dynamic of peasant discontent." These are two of the well-documented conclusions in Benjamin I. Schwartz's "Chinese Communism and the Rise of Mao," the latest study in a series sponsored by the Russian Research Center at Harvard.

Dealing almost exclusively with the theoretical aspects of Chinese Communism, Mr. Schwartz traces it from its early beginnings in the period of disillusionment at the end of the First World War until the emergence of Mao Tse-tung as undisputed leader of the party in 1932. He also emphasizes the important part the theoretical framework played in the relationship between the Chinese Communists and the Comintern headquarters in Moscow. He brings to light many new materials on Ch'en Tu-hsiu and Li Ta-chao, the early leaders of the party; analyzes very carefully the intricacies of the period of collaboration with the Kuomintang (1923-1927); and shows how Mao's predecessors were made the scapegoats for the Comintern's own mistakes in order for the Kremlin to maintain an aura of infallibility. The subtleties of shifts in "the Line" are followed with great precision.

Mr. Schwartz has obviously done a long and careful job of research. He brings to bear upon his subject a knowledge of Russian as well as Chinese history, a thorough understanding of Communist doctrine and its subtle Stalinist perversions, and an ability to deal with source materials in the original languages. The result is that his book has many important contributions to make to our knowledge of the course of Communism in China. For example, his discussion of the role of the "Twenty-eight Bolsheviks," a group of Moscow-trained Chinese whom the Comintern tried to squeeze into leadership in China, treats a development too frequently glossed over by the standard works on Chinese Communism. His analysis of the various theoretical devices used by the Comintern to conceal

the severance of Chinese Communism from a proletarian base is excellent. His painstaking study of the personalities with whom he is concerned enables him to portray the role of intra-party jealousies and rivalries and their relation to the party line with great skill.

"Chinese Communism and the Rise of Mao" will do much to dispel the myth of the "Great Social Revolution," in the name of which so many of our so-called experts have unwittingly legitimized the violent methods of the Chinese Communists. Mr. Schwartz points out that "while we are firmly convinced that the Communist movement in China has risen to power on the crest of a popular movement, this does not mean that the Communist leadership is, as it were, the mystic embodiment of the popular will, or that all its acts are the expression of the aspirations of the people. Within the Communist dispensation, in particular, there is every reason to suppose that basic historic decisions will be made by the political leaders and not by the surging masses." The book is likewise directed with great effectiveness against the orthodox Communist view that all the developments in China were accurately forecast and understood by the great Stalin.

Mr. Schwartz's book is unfortunately

BOOKS AND PERIODICALS from the U S S R
Just Arrived! VASILY AZHAYEV
FAR FROM MOSCOW
Novel in 3 Vols. — Illustrated.
In English — 1420 pp. — Set \$2.75
Latest Soviet Records, Sheet Music, Handicrafts
1951 SUBSCRIPTIONS OPEN FOR ALL
SOVIET NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS
Ask for Complete Catalogue P-51
FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.
W. 56 Street, N. Y. 19 Murray Hill 8-2000

Buy Your Books through ^{THE} Nation

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C. O. D. No C. O. D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to
Miss Le Pach

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
20 Vesey Street New York 7, N. Y.

not an easy one to read. He is so close to his subject and knows it so well that he forgets his reader is probably unacquainted with the many names and events whose significance he does not explain. Many of the theoretical distinctions which he makes are understandable only to the reader well-versed in Communist dialectics and the history of the Communist movement. There are also occasional minor points on which the work might be questioned. For example, it is surprising in view of his imposing bibliography to find that Mr. Schwartz has not utilized the works of Hsiao San, an official biographer of Mao. Hsiao's article "Comrade Mao Tse-tung's First Period of Revolutionary Activity," published in 1945—with a "Note of Correction" in 1949—gives the official list of the thirteen delegates who attended the First Party Congress in 1921. Hsiao's list differs from that given by Schwartz, and this is a matter on which an official party historian would probably be extremely careful.

It is, of course, important to study the theoretical quarrels and heresies which develop within the Communist structure. Mr. Schwartz has purposely limited himself to such a frame of reference, and some of his conclusions must be viewed with this in mind. Emphasis on "shadowy theoretical differences" allows him to pass by many significant points which could have been made. Thus, although it is desirable to point to the differences between the Chinese Communist leadership, under Ch'en Tu-hsiu, and Maring, the Comintern representative, in 1922, and show them to be so deep that "Maring . . . invoked the authority of the Comintern and the Chinese Communist Party leaders were forced to submit to party discipline," the significant point is that the discipline invoked by the Comintern was effective. Likewise, throughout the book, Mr. Schwartz fails to note the real effectiveness of the Moscow control and its persistence. The fact that Moscow did retain the leadership, that Moscow set the example and had a power of attraction, that it was able to make scapegoats of Chinese leaders for its own mistakes, that it was able to dictate the line and make changes in it at will, that it could secure confessions and recantations from such leaders as Li Li-san and Chou En-lai, that it could

expel important Communists from the party in order to maintain the façade of a monolithic structure, that it continued to train leaders in Russia for the Chinese Communist Party: these are points which would argue that Moscow did indeed have a planned strategy and a successful one, but that this strategy could be understood in the realm of political organization and political control rather than in the realm of doctrine.

In a similar manner, although we can agree with Mr. Schwartz's conclusion that "the political strategy of Mao Tse-tung was not planned in advance in Moscow, and even ran counter to tenets of orthodoxy which were still considered sacrosanct and inviolate in Moscow at the time when this strategy was first crystallized," this does not mean that Mao's techniques of organization and his acceptance of the blessing of the Kremlin were not part of an over-all strategy. The important fact is that Mao has accepted the Communist version of his success as the result of the masterful planning of Stalin. He told a meeting of Communists in Yenan in 1939, "It is a great event that mankind has Stalin. Since we have him, things can go well. . . . Had there been no Stalin, who would there be to give directions?" What is the power which can make Mao utter such words? How does it operate? Answers to such questions are not to be found in Mr. Schwartz's study.

RICHARD L. WALKER

Concerning Happiness

THE ANATOMY OF HAPPINESS.

By Martin Gumpert. McGraw-Hill Book Company. \$3.50.

THE ANATOMY OF HAPPINESS" is a misleading title for this modest and engaging book. The reader is led to expect a clear structure and an organized argument. What he finds instead is a series of essays, classified, it is true, under such headings as Profile of Unhappiness, Landscape of Happiness, and so on, but the classification is not rigid, and the essays are not so much analyses as meditations. They happen to be the reflections of a practicing physician who happens also to be wise and in the best sense a man of the world.

The author admits that the reader of a "how to" book has the right to ask

questions about "the person who pretends to know so much more about his problems than he himself does." He disarmingly tells us that "the author's only justification for writing this book seems to lie in the fact that he has had an ample share of unhappiness but has thus far survived with only a limited number of scars and injuries." He tells us in so many words that he has not solved all the problems and that he does not know all the answers. He tells more about himself. He is a practicing physician. He is, one knows from other sources, a specialist in the diseases of old age. He tells us that four years ago he had a heart attack and made a good recovery. He tells us he recently underwent quite an emotional upheaval, now over.

There is, indeed, a good deal about Dr. Gumpert in this book, chiefly on the ground that he recognizes in himself the same qualities and difficulties he finds in the patients that come to his office. He has come to believe that sick people are unhappy people and that a good physician must be among other things a diagnostician of unhappiness. Among his prescriptions must be one for happiness. Dr. Gumpert suggests one, "easily formulated but hard to fulfil." It has ten parts: "prevent physical suffering, prevent guilt, do not accept illusions, accept the reality of death, do what you like to do, keep learning, accept your limitations, be willing to pay for everything you get, be willing and able to love, avoid secrets." Most of the book is in essence an attempt to detail and document this prescription.

But what is happiness? Dr. Gumpert is not a stickler for exact definitions. Sometimes he says it is "a state of mind which is caused by the release of tensions"; again, "unhappiness is caused by the inadequate release of tensions." Sometimes he thinks it something as simple as "I am glad to be alive." Sometimes it is a harmonious functioning, again a long-term well-being and sense of well-being, plus. Dr. Gumpert knows that philosophers have argued about these matters for centuries, but he notes that human beings are still unhappy. It is now the job of the *doctor*, perhaps, to deal with happiness as a medical problem or as a socio-medical problem. Since sick people are unhappy

people, part of their ills can be traced to private matters which they can control, and private intra-skin concerns. Some of their ills are social and economic, and the physician needs to understand these, too. Psychiatry can and does help, but Dr. Gumpert is rather airily dismissive of the "private languages" of the various schools of psychiatry, and rather trusts the wise physician who must try to heal the whole man, not something separate called his body or his soul.

A good deal that Dr. Gumpert says would, on the whole, meet with the approval of psychiatrists, and much of what he says would find support in a long tradition in philosophy from Aristotle's "Ethics" to John Dewey's "Human Nature and Conduct." Dr. Gumpert's book makes very little contribution to science or philosophy. It may not help to make many people happier. It does not say much that is new. But its point of view is sensible, sometimes to the point of banality, and its tone is reassuring. He reiterates faith in the possibility of a life worth living and felt to be worth living by all, or nearly all, mankind. He examines ruminatively some of the things from clothes to leisure, from love to artistic creation, that help people to be happy, the fears and illusions that help to make them unhappy. He makes some sensible therapeutic suggestions.

But this book is really not a "how to" book at all. It is a series of essays, almost more interesting for what they show about its author than for what they tell about the world or about human nature in general. The book is an autobiography in essence of a very wise family physician, whom any patient would be lucky to have. The physician looks back on what he has observed both in his patients and in himself, and the conclusions he has come to about what he may call total or moral health. He has observed that sometimes a whole country seems diseased and incapable of happiness: post-war Germany. Sometimes he has come upon a place that he sees happily arranged for happiness: Fort Wayne, Indiana, to which he devotes a chapter. The Chamber of Commerce of that town will certainly feel happier after reading this paean of praise to that Hoosier, as Dr. Gumpert tells it, near-heaven. There is also a

chapter, a blow-by-blow account of one day in his life which, at the end of the day, when Dr. Gumpert sat down to write about it for this book, he could reasonably call happy.

Dr. Gumpert is clearly aware of all the sinister portents of our time. He has been through a good deal of its hell himself. But he comes up with faith in the future, and good reasons for such a faith. He exemplifies what modest happiness is possible for an honest and courageous man, even now. We are not invited to escape with the mystics, to despair with the existentialists. Dr. Gumpert suggests that we start with what we have and are, and go on from there with hope. He seems to have done it, and his example is possibly more tonic than his prescription.

IRWIN EDMAN

Paying for Defense

FINANCING DEFENSE. By Albert G. Hart and E. Cary Brown. Twentieth Century Fund. \$2.

THIS is the second of four reports on the defense economy which are being prepared and issued under the auspices of the Twentieth Century Fund. The only thing seriously wrong with it is that it will probably not be read by the right people—particularly, members of Congress.

In only 161 pages, including the brief but sensible recommendations of a committee of four distinguished economists who have reviewed the study, the book presents a clear and simple analysis which covers all the politically possible proposals for financing the defense program, and a few others which have been seriously advanced even though they have little chance of adoption.

Some readers may feel that the authors have given too much weight to political possibilities as against ideal solutions. However, since the discussion is limited almost entirely to the budgetary problems of the next two or three years, there would not have been much point in considering proposals which could not conceivably be accepted by Congress. The gap between what is likely to happen and even a reasonably satisfactory fiscal policy is wide enough, without stretching it to include theoretical ideals.

The conclusions cannot be easily summarized, since they consist chiefly of

comments on the merits and demerits of many different forms of taxation. On balance, Messrs. Hart and Brown are inclined to recommend that an increase in personal income taxes should be the principal source of the larger revenues which will be needed to balance the federal budget and combat inflation. Specifically, they recommend enactment now of a bill which would raise income taxes gradually over the next two years, to keep pace with the expected rise in military expenditures. They favor drastic economies in non-military spending, but do not expect that any very substantial amounts can be saved in that way.

The prognostication is rather pessimistic: they believe that the present flattening of the inflationary spiral is strictly temporary, and evidently do not have much hope that taxes will actually be raised enough to keep the national budget in balance and prevent still higher prices. With only slight reservations, they accept the orthodox view that prices must go up if money available for spending exceeds the volume of goods for sale at current prices. It could be that consumer resistance might be strong enough to prevent this for a time, even when people have a lot of money in their pockets. And there is just a chance that the nation may be able to expand production fast enough to meet military demands and still supply an abundance of consumer goods.

It would certainly be safer to follow the author's recommendations than to depend on any such tenuous hopes. As they say, it is much easier to reduce taxes quickly if that should prove desirable than to bring prices down after they have gone up.

CHARLES E. NOYES

Fall Book Number

• Reviews of the more important books of the season will be featured by *THE NATION* in its regular Fall Book Number to appear on Oct. 13.

■ Publishers wishing to utilize the special advantages offered by this feature issue for advertising of better books are urged to make space reservations as soon as possible.

■ For information on space reservations, copy deadline and rates, phone BARclay 7-1066, or write to

The NATION

Advertising Department

20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

Books in Brief

THE PAVILION. By Stark Young. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.50. Stark Young's book "of people and times remembered, of stories and places" carries him from his boyhood in Como, Mississippi, through his college years at the state university and a year of graduate work at Columbia University. Early in his book he complains of having too little of "that culture which is a heightening of our sense of the antiphonal radiance existing in all things among themselves." Yet this gentle and brooding chronicle was written out of exactly this sense of things. No recognizable child or adolescent emerges from these pages; family, anecdotes, and places are all seen in an enduring twilight, yet suffused with an "antiphonal radiance" that gives the book an air of melancholy dignity. Mr. Young has a habit which will infuriate some readers and please others of implying, regularly, that most of the virtues to which he was bred are of the past; this ruined but gracious society of his youth "knew or must have

taken for granted—I never remember hearing the matter spoken of—that such things as love, loyalty, generosity, kindness, honesty had more meaning than abstractions like progress or reform or liberalism, so often mentioned nowadays." The prose is less substantial than it is meant to be. Sentences which at a first reading are pregnant with wisdom sometimes turn out on a second to be merely cloudy. The separate identity of objects, persons, and feelings often defies words or escapes them. If the general tone is suitably elegiac, it also makes of Mr. Young's evocations a series of forlorn shadows.

PHOTOBIOGRAPHY. By Cecil Beaton. Doubleday. \$6. Although it is excessively discreet and far less amusing than Peggy Guggenheim's "Out of this Century," Cecil Beaton's "Photobiography" is, pictures and text, intensely concerned with the same international cafe society and has the same documentary value as that autobiographical oddity. Mr. Beaton is still, probably, the most successful photographer of the contemporary fashionable world. However, his anecdotes and pictures after 1939 become dull and pretentious. The members of the House of Windsor, whom he now delights to portray, have, with the exception of the Duchess of Kent, neither chic nor glamour; it is only when these qualities are present in subject or situation that Mr. Beaton's work is brilliant. Anna Mae Wong, Princess Paley, Edith Sitwell, these were his proper sitters. Their portraits and those of many other women, taken amid the Victorian and Edwardian props subsequently appropriated and vulgarized by his imitators and reflecting all of what now seems the delightful giddiness of the thirties, have charm. They are never profound; they are never really pretentious. They recapture individual style—not character—and a whole rarefied and vanishing society as well.

WORTHY DR. FULLER. By William Addison. Macmillan. \$3. Thomas Fuller is remembered today chiefly for his posthumous "Worthies of England," which is a sort of gossipy precursor of the Dictionary of National Biography. In his own time he was both a well-known preacher and the popular author of various works which, like his

"Church History of Britain," manage to combine scholarship with anecdotes, amusing *obiter dicta*, and much "wit" in the style of the age. Mr. Addison's promise to "remove him from the nineteenth century of his biographers and restore him to his own seventeenth century" might seem to threaten a mere journalistic rehash, but fortunately Mr. Addison is so thoroughly soaked in the history, literature, and spirit of Fuller's day as to achieve an account which would have pleased his subject. Like Fuller he delights in "worthies," and like him thinks no good anecdote irrelevant. It was highly appropriate that Fuller should have been chosen to preach the funeral sermon over that keeper of a Cambridge livery stable whose odd method of doing business gave rise to the expression "Hobson's choice" and whose death tempted even Milton into one of his few jocosities. Fuller was a kindly, sensible, moderate man who suffered just enough during the Commonwealth to vindicate his honor, and even his casual statements, like the following from an account of Richard III, have their charm: "He was somewhat rumpled in his mother's womb (which caused his crooked back): otherwise handsome enough for a soldier." In "An Alphabet of Fulleries" Mr. Addison includes: "Some men's souls are not strong enough but that a weighty secret will work a hole through them," and "Gunpowder is the emblem of political revenge; for it biteth first, and barketh afterwards, the bullet being at the mark before the report is heard; so that it maketh a noise, not by way of warning, but triumph."

CONTRIBUTORS

HELEN M. LYND, author of "England in the Eighteen-Eighties: Toward a Social Basis for Freedom," is on the staff of Sarah Lawrence College.

RICHARD L. WALKER is assistant professor of history at Yale University.

IRWIN EDMAN, professor of philosophy at Columbia University, is the author of "Arts and the Man," "Philosopher's Holiday," and other books.

CHARLES E. NOYES is the author of "Economic Freedom."

TIRED of scratched, shopworn, "seconds", from unreliable N. Y. LP mail order outfits? Then try a sample order from us at these rock bottom prices. Any 1 LP's (choice of 25,000) \$13.98. You must state second and third choices from independent LP labels to insure completion of order. (Credit issued if part of order unfilled.) We also have 78 imports and rarities. Please send your want lists.

SALISBURY RECORD SALES

Box 172 Falls Village Connecticut

25% Less than List on LP Records

Send 15¢ for LP catalog to:

DISCOUNT RECORD CLUB

DEPT. N-32

Box 533, Grand Central Station, New York 17, N. Y.

Add 15¢ per record postage and handling charges
(50¢ minimum) SAME-DAY SHIPMENT

PULITZER PRIZE and CRITICS' AWARD
RICHARD RODGERS & OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN II
 present in association with
LELAND HAYWARD & JOSHUA LOGAN

ROGER RICO
MARTHA WRIGHT
 IN
South Pacific

Music by **RICHARD RODGERS**
 Lyrics by **OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN II**
 Book by
OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN II & JOSHUA LOGAN
 Adapted from **JAMES A. MCHENRY'S Pulitzer Prize Winning "TALES OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC"**
 Directed by **JOSHUA LOGAN**
 Scenery & Lighting by **Jo Mielziner**
 with **MYRON MCCORMICK - DIOSA COSTELLO**
MAJESTIC THEATRE, 44th St. W. of B'way
 Evenings 8:25. Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:25

Letters to the Editors

A Moslem's Views on India

Dear Sirs: I wish to reply to some of the arguments advanced by M. I. Ansari in his letter appearing in your issue of September 8, 1951, under the head Minority Rights in India.

There is an Indian proverb, "If you are drowned, the world is drowned." Mr. Ansari unconsciously exemplifies the converse of this saying. He thinks that since he is a member of Parliament, prosperous, and fairly satisfied with his lot, the entire Moslem population of India is satisfied with its lot.

He says of the Moslems that "their rights are protected by the constitution." Ever since partition hardly a single Moslem festival has passed without Moslems being killed or wounded. Only a few days ago a number of Moslems were beaten and their shops looted because one shopkeeper was suspected of selling beef. Every day thousands of Moslems cross from India into Pakistan without permits in an attempt to escape from "secular" India and the "guaranties" provided by the Indian constitution.

India's so-called secular character was well illustrated a few months ago when the government restored the Somnath Temple (Hindu) and installed the Sivalingam at the cost of millions of dollars of public funds. The ceremony was presided over by the President of the republic. To liken India to the United States as a secular country is an insult to the latter.

It is a preposterous lie to suggest that Pakistan intends or contemplates a *jehad* or holy war against India. Pakistan wants nothing more than to be left alone and allowed to work for the progress and prosperity of its people. If the same desire for friendship and neighborliness animated India as animates Pakistan, all our disputes would be resolved.

What more courageous proposal could there be than that settlement of all outstanding disputes should be sought through negotiation, failing that through mediation, and failing that through arbitration. This has been suggested time and again by the Pakistan Prime Minister. But India recoils from any suggestion of arbitration. Why? Because if all disputes were settled, gone would be the hope of undoing partition, a hope still cherished by Indian leaders.

Pakistan desires peace, but not at the cost of eternal verities. It will not accept Indian pretensions in Kashmir. India occupies that land by force, and forcible suppression of a people is a crime against the principles of self-determination and the Charter of the United Nations. Pakistan will continue to press for an impartial plebiscite in Kashmir and will not be deterred from its course by any efforts to cloud the issue.

Mr. Ansari's letter is the best illustration of what would have happened to the hundred million Moslems in British India if there had been no partition and no Pakistan. Then the only Moslem voice the outside world would have heard from India would have come from souls like Mr. Ansari. Because there is Pakistan, there are individuals like me to give the other side of the picture.

Washington

M. HAMID

Texan Takes a Trip

Dear Sirs: As a Texan making his first trip by car from his state to New York I made note of some things I considered highly significant:

1. Found a dry parish in Louisiana.
2. Crossed eleven state boundary lines; paid no customs, nobody searched my luggage, wasn't pestered by immigration officials. Thought it would be nice if the whole world operated that way.
3. Found in Virginia parking space alongside of a highway on top of a mountain where Negroes are permitted to stop their cars and view beautiful scenery. Whites stop at different place; Negroes not permitted there. Glad whole world doesn't operate that way.

Austin, Tex.

HART STILWELL

New Grist for an Old Mill

Dear Sirs: Congratulations on the fine article by Robert S. Lynd, Our "Racket" Society, which appeared in your August 25 issue. Mr. Lynd tells us what we are, how we got that way, and why we stay that way, and offers a realistic conclusion concerning our future role (if any) in the revolution of our time. Publishing this article will probably supply new grist to such scribblers as the author of *Sermons of Self-Destruction*, which appeared in a recent issue of the *Saturday Review of Literature*, and add

a redder coat to the "subversive" sign pinned on your periodical by the corporate planners of the American Century, but to me it goes far to redeem the liberal tone of your magazine.

WILLIAM C. RANDOLPH

St. Petersburg, Fla.

Are Grades Foolish?

Dear Sirs: In an article entitled *Why They Cheat*, which appeared in your August 18 issue, Hart Stilwell deplors the prevalence of cheating in our schools. He relates an anecdote about high-school students who cheated in all their classes except those of a blind teacher and comes to the conclusion that the way to stop cheating is to trust the student. This is a rather revolutionary idea. No one would suggest that bankers could promote honesty by doing business on faith. Yet bankers guard a far less important national resource than teachers. Mr. Stilwell does not say why he objects to cheating. He can't object for my reason, that cheating is stealing grades, since he believes that "the grade system is mostly foolishness."

Mr. Stilwell's article is confusing, it seems to me, mainly because he discusses the grade and exam system independently of the purpose of education in general. In my particular ivory tower we've had the custom for the last two thousand years of stating the premises which underlie our arguments as lucidly and completely as possible because we are afraid that wrong conclusions might be deduced from vague assumptions. Dragging myself out of my ivory tower and adjusting myself to Modern Group Living, I suppose I would have to go along with everyone else and admit that William James and John Dewey have freed the American mind from the trammels of deductive logic; that those who bury others in a mass of undigested details (called objective reporting) and *argu-menta ad homine* (called psychological methods) are above criticism by a lowly mathematics professor. But there would still be a doubt in my mind that cheating can be eliminated by an "educational system in which all the teachers are blind." If you take advantage of innocent children in this way, you will have to accept responsibility for protecting them from the real tests of knowledge and competence during the rest of their lives. When they meet such tests they will cheat outrageously.

Society, not to speak of civilization, depends on people who possess accurate knowledge and know how to use it. It is up to the schools to supply this knowledge. Moral leaders may weep over the grade and exam system, but I have never heard one of them describe any other way—economic, social, sexual—to test and grade people as fairer or state what ethical standards he considers nobler than the professor's ideal of honest knowledge and scientific competence.

GEORGE WHAPLES

Bloomington, Indiana

The Red Mantilla

Dear Sirs: American sales representatives and technicians are swarming over Spain these days in the wake of the late Admiral Sherman's visit. On a recent trip there, an American engineer, just out of M.I.T., told me: "The mines in this country are hell-holes. No ventilation at all. Wonder how the poor devils stand it. But we're going to change all that just as soon as the dollars begin to shower down."

The miners in Spain are well paid by Spanish standards—45 to 50 pesetas a day, whereas the average white-collar worker gets only 600 pesetas a month. (The peseta is worth less than 3 cents.) A towel costs 125 pesetas, an ordinary workingman's suit costs 700 pesetas, the poorest quality shirt 61 pesetas, a pair of shoes 160 pesetas and up. Many people wear slippers all the time.

In the area surrounding Madrid the ruins of the civil war still haven't been cleared away. The ground is plowed with a stick or, if the family is well off, with a primitive wooden plow.

I asked a Spaniard about the bread, which has no taste at all. "Ah, the bread," he said laughing, "the flour is probably mixed with manure. Good flour can only be got on the black market. You can get good bread if you pay for it."

Here you can get anything if you can pay for it."

Everyone is involved in the black market, in one way or another, either as seller or buyer. Many people have to take two jobs to make ends meet. For instance, there was a waiter at the restaurant where I used to have lunch. He was a policeman, but worked in the cafe during the three-hour siesta.

Newspapers and magazines plaster the newsstands all over the town, but few people read them. They have little confidence in what they read and the price is too high for most of them to pay.

At a bull fight I picked up a conversation with a Spanish student about Admiral Sherman's visit. He laughed, "We Spaniards are Toreros, and Americans think we will respond like bulls when they wave the red mantilla before us." Madrid

J. L. TELLER

Portlanders' Tacit Consent

Dear Sirs: Richard Neuberger's article, *Oregon Goes to the Dogs*, which appeared in your August 25 issue, places the blame for the conditions in "staid and pious" Portland on an unholy coalition between gamblers and politicians. Things in Portland are as they are largely because the people allow them to be that way by their own indifference, lassitude, shortsightedness, and self-absolution. Mr. Neuberger feels that a majority of Oregonians abhor the conditions within the state. But just abhorring something without taking positive action isn't enough. Standing silently on the sidelines can be equated with assent, and that's what people are doing everywhere, as Mr. Kefauver's committee has brought out.

Red Bank, N. J. JACOB D. HAMMER

Old Virtues and Scandals

Dear Sirs: I would like to comment on the recent speech of Herbert Hoover in which he charged President Roosevelt with selling "the freedom of half a billion people down the river."

Mr. Hoover is justly indignant about "favoritism in government loans and contracts" and "the five percenters, mink coats, deep freezers, and free hotel bills." Yet this same Mr. Hoover sat in the Cabinet of President Harding and never uttered a word of protest against the scandals of that corrupt Administration. The handling of government oil lands in the Elk Hills and Teapot Dome reservations, for which his fellow Cabinet member, Albert Fall, went to jail, have never been

mentioned by our self-righteous ex-President. Neither has he ever condemned the bootleg graft in which another high official was implicated during the era of the "Noble Experiment."

Ex-President Hoover adds no luster to his Administration by endeavoring to cast shame upon his successors.

Portland, Ore. GEORGE H. HORNE

N. A. A. C. P.'s Role at Trenton

Dear Sirs: The article by Charles R. Allen, Jr., entitled *Six Minus Four: Trenton's Way Out*, in the July 21 issue of *The Nation*, gives the false impression that the role of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in the retrial of the Six was merely incidental. This is a form of misrepresentation by omission. The N. A. A. C. P. entered the case on the request of two of the defendants, John McKenzie and Horace Wilson, and retained a battery of competent lawyers headed by Raymond Pace Alexander of Philadelphia and including J. Mercer Burrell of Newark and Clifford Moore of Trenton. Moreover, the N. A. A. C. P., through its New Jersey State Conference of branches, through the "Committee of 100," and through its branches throughout the country, collected funds for the defense and helped publicize the case.

The N. A. A. C. P. lawyers were present every day of the fifteen-week trial, participated in the examination of witnesses, conducted research to unearth new evidence, and otherwise contributed effectively to the acquittal of the four. One would gather from reading Mr. Allen's article that only the Princeton committee did a real job in the trial and that the only lawyers who took an active part in the defense were Arthur Garfield Hays and George Pelletieri. In addition to the N. A. A. C. P. lawyers, Frank Katzenbach, a court-appointed attorney, successfully defended one of the defendants.

HENRY LEE MOON,

Director, Public Relations,

New York

N. A. A. C. P.

Author's Correction

Dear Sirs: I'm sorry that in typing the report on the Ridgecrest convention for your issue of September 8 I made a stupid error and wrote "H. R. 2094, the Hill-Burton act," for "an amendment to the Hill-Burton act." The original bill of course was passed in 1946.

WILLSON WHITMAN

Southern Pines, N. C.

INSTRUCTORS!

Take advantage of
The Nation's
Special Class-Room Rate
40¢ Monthly per Student

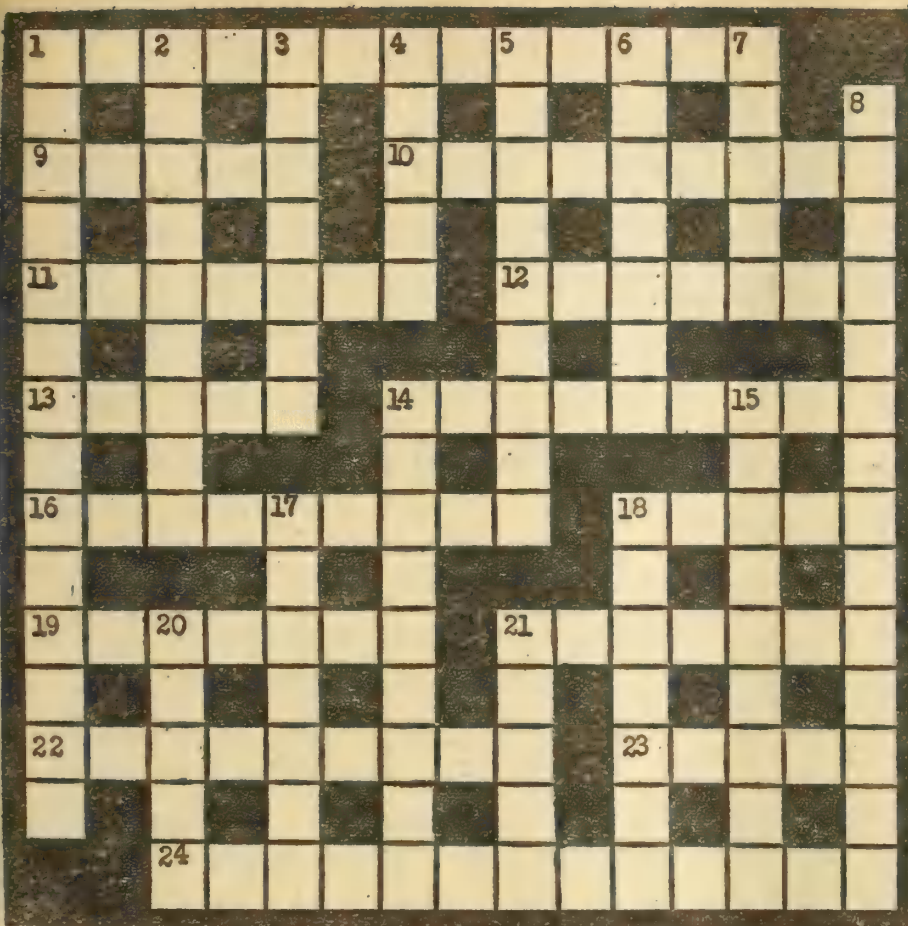
for order of 10 or more copies
to be sent to one address—
desk copy supplied free

Address your order to

The NATION
TWENTY VESEY STREET
NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

Crossword Puzzle No. 431

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 Where those who reputedly can't are taught calm horn solos. (6, 7)
- 9 Sweet or green, it wouldn't take root (5)
- 10 Response against sham? (9)
- 11 The way to raise the value, hence an example of small change. (7)
- 12 See 18 down.
- 13 Remained, by the sound of it, proper. (5)
- 14 What kind of work gets done at the blasted place? (9)
- 16 No beast, it appears, is so stubborn. (9)
- 18 Stage discomfit, it sounds like. (5)
- 19 A lake of alfalfa. (7)
- 21 Prophecy. (7)
- 22 You might find the adoring sort around at one stage. (9)
- 23 West Point cadets find themselves under it. (5)
- 24 Towering rage? (2, 4, 7)

DOWN

- 1 Duty levied on first-class carriage? (8, 6)
- 2 Robert Young and Baltimore? (9)
- 3 Mason and maid might be. (7)
- 4 A step in the rain. (5)

- 5 Does the red-cap carry the beer for a southern meal? (3, 6)
- 6 Schemes that look no good, often don't on performance. (2, 5)
- 7 See 8.
- 8 and 7. Near the tuba neck? (2, 3, 5, 4, 5)
- 14 Making an eighth note to the British? (9)
- 15 Not so lively in a team in scrimmage. (9)
- 17 Close to how it pays to excel the other boarders? (2, 5)
- 18 and 12 across. Planters, for example, must be happy, it implies! (7, 2, 5)
- 20 You might find it a reverse to a small firm. (5)
- 21 Some recreation rooms are wasted away! (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 430

ACROSS:—1 APPLE PANDOWDY; 10 HAREM; 11 ILLEGIBLE; 12 PROMOTION; 13 NORSE; 14 SNAP JUDGMENT; 19 HORS DE COMBAT; 22 RAILS; 24 MARCELLED; 25 SPINNERET; 26 APRIL; 27 HEADS AND TAILS.

DOWN:—2 PERSON; 3 LAMPOONED; 4 PHILIPPIC; 5 NYLON; 6 ORGAN; 7 DEBARKED; 8 SHAPE; 9 DEFECTS; 15 UNMERITED; 16 GUATEMALA; 18 ARTIFICE; 20 PLURAL; 21 ADULT; 23 SYNOD; 24 and 17 MARIA THERESA.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

RESORTS

Colorful! Gay! Exciting!
THAT'S INDIAN SUMMER AT THE GLENMERE!
the Glenmere
famed horseback riding!
Chester, N. Y. In the beautiful Ramapos
Phones: Chester 2151 — N. Y.: Rector 2-5047

50 MILES TO FOREST HOUSE

Near enough for easy travel, far enough for an unforgettable vacation. Forest House achieves new levels of gay relaxation in inspiring surroundings, Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality. Two grand lakes, All sports.

FOREST HOUSE

Lake Mahopac, N. Y. • Tel. MAhopac 8-3449

50 MI. FROM NEW YORK



MAMANASCO Lake Lodge

RIDGEFIELD, CONN.
Phone 6-7000

A beautiful country estate converted into a delightful retreat for vacations and weekends. All outdoor activities. Mile-long lake. Tennis. Golf nearby. Informal, congenial atmosphere. Television, recordings. Excellent cuisine and accommodations. Moderate rates.

FOR RENT

MIDTOWN, large, modern, beautifully furnished room, adjoining bath, in modern apartment, 2 blocks subway. TRafalgar 7-8224 after 6 P.M.

PUBLISHING SERVICE

AUTHORS! Sales Department available for your short stories, articles, books and plays. Free booklet, write today! Mead Agency, 419 Fourth Avenue, N. Y. 16 (OR 9-1150).

WE print, publish and distribute your non-fiction or fiction manuscript in pamphlet or book form. Send for free folder. WILLIAM-FREDERICK PRESS, 313 West 35th St., New York 1, N. Y.

PERSONALS

exit loneliness

Somewhere there is someone you would like to know. Somewhere there is someone who would like to know you. We can help you find a richer, happier life through discreet, dignified "social introductions." Write for booklet, phone MAY RICHARDSON Dent. TN, 111 West 72 Street New York City EN 2-2033



Advertising Rates

CLASSIFIED

74¢ a line (6 words)
Three-line minimum

CLASSIFIED DISPLAY

\$7.42 per inch (minimum)
Remittance must accompany all orders

The NATION

Twenty Vesey Street
New York 7, New York
BARclay 7-1066

MONEY-SAVING MAGAZINE COMBINATIONS

For Your Convenience

THE *Nation* with

☐ Harper's Magazine..\$9.50

You Save \$2.50

THE *Nation* with

☐ Consumer Reports.\$10.75

You Save \$1.25

These club combinations are for one year and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses. Remittance must accompany all combination orders.

THE *Nation* by itself:

☐ One Year \$7 ☐ Two Years \$12

☐ Three Years \$17

SERVICEMEN'S RATE \$5 A YEAR

Canadian and Foreign Postage \$1 a year extra

The NATION

20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

- ☐ I want to subscribe to *The Nation* for _____ years.
☐ Remittance enclosed. ☐ Bill me.
- ☐ I enclose my remittance for the following *Nation* combinations as listed below.

NAME _____

STREET _____

CITY _____ ZONE _____ STATE _____

9/22/51

SPECIAL NOTICE TO NATION READERS:

To Subscribers:

We are asking subscribers who wish to change their address to give us at least three weeks' notice, indicating the old as well as the new address.

If you will renew your subscription on receipt of the first notice of expiration, your cooperation will be much appreciated. It will help us simplify our record-keeping, saving us time and expense, and shield you from further renewal letters. At the same time you will avoid interruption in receiving *The Nation*.

To Newsstand Readers:

Since *The Nation* is distributed on key newsstands only, you may have difficulty in obtaining your copy. Therefore, the only certain way of getting *The Nation* regularly is to enter a subscription. By doing so you will not only be sure of receiving your copy promptly every week but save considerable money.

Tory Victory in Britain?—*Keith Hutchison*

THE *Nation*

BURLINGAME
PUBLIC LIBRARY
BURLINGAME, CALIF.

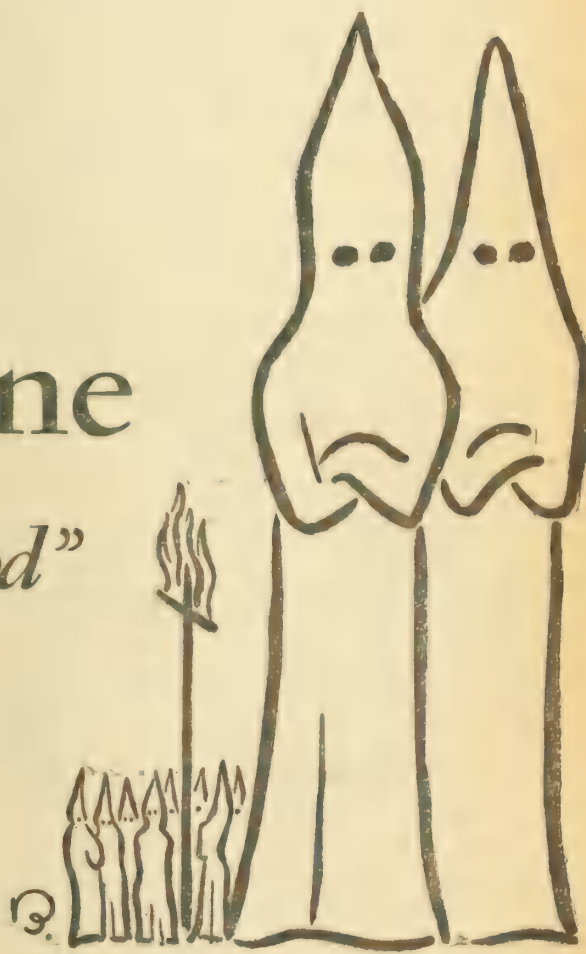
September 29, 1951

The Klan
Un-Klandestine

"Fantasies Dark as Blood"

BY JOHN POWELL

*



The World Newsprint Famine

BY ANDREW ROTH

RADIO SURRENDERS TO McCARTHYISM

An editorial printed in the *Capital Times of Madison, Wisconsin*, on September 11, said in part:

THE *Capital Times* recently carried an editorial charging that the news services, the Associated Press, and the United Press have been slanting and manipulating news reports in favor of Senator McCarthy of Wisconsin in order to fit the bias of the big and conservative newspaper publishers who control and dominate these news services. . . . Today the *Capital Times* makes the same charge against the radio networks. . . .

An experience which the editor of the *Capital Times* has just gone through is pertinent.

About two weeks ago the editor of the *Capital Times* was asked if he would become one of "four of the country's distinguished editors" in a discussion of present political trends . . . for a Sunday night NBC program which is called "Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow." The editor agreed to take part in the program, and a tape recording setting forth his views was sent to the NBC in Washington.

Imagine our surprise when we were told on Sunday that Senator McCarthy would be given time on the program to reply to the editor's talk. . . . Obviously, had the editor known that McCarthy was to be given time on the program, he would have tape-recorded an entirely different talk. He would have taken the occasion to ask the Senator some pointed questions that McCarthy has been deftly ducking the last two years. McCarthy made no reference at all in his reply to the points made in the editor's speech but used his time to rehash the same old line about the *Capital Times* that he has used to place the label of "Communist leanings" on all newspapers that have had the temerity to expose his record. . . .

But even more astonishing than the manner in which NBC permitted Senator McCarthy to barge in on the proceedings was the way that Washington representatives of the NBC gutted the editor's speech. . . . Please note that all reference to McCarthy's public record in Wisconsin was eliminated. . . .

This incident, we believe, significant-

ly supplements others in showing how the radio network, too, dare not permit a word of criticism of McCarthy on its broadcasts without running to McCarthy to give him the immediate opportunity to blackguard all critics and opponents with his guilt-by-association technique. . . .

Only recently the President took occasion to speak out against those in this country who are using character assassination and slander to create distrust and fear among the people of the country in violation of the spirit of free inquiry and freedom for the spoken and printed word. The President did not mention McCarthy by name. But McCarthy demanded time on the networks to reply to the President, and the demand was quickly granted. . . .

Months ago Senator McCarthy, from his usual foxhole of immunity on the Senate floor, attacked Drew Pearson and urged newspaper publishers and the radio networks and sponsors to boycott Pearson. This was one of the worst assaults on freedom for the printed and the spoken word that has taken place in years. And yet . . . both newspapers and networks were cowed and silent and preferred to discuss the threat to freedom of speech and inquiry represented by the happenings to a great newspaper, *La Prensa*, down in Argentina. . . .

The speech which Mr. Evjue sent by tape recording to the National Broadcasting Company appears below. The paragraphs in italics were deleted from the speech as broadcast.

A COMPARISON of present discernible trends with what was happening a year ago gives the best clue to what the impact of McCarthyism will be on the 1952 campaign. The most significant thing about Senator McCarthy's campaign today is that he is being maneuvered from an offensive to a defensive position.

A year ago when I was in Washington the McCarthy offensive had reached its peak. It appeared to me that he had chased everybody into the cyclone cellar.

Senators sat frozen in their seats as he hurled his charges of 205, or 57, or 81 card-carrying Communists in the State Department. They seemed stunned. Before the evidence to disprove one charge could be gathered he hurled even more spectacular charges. The newspapers were

silent, seemingly afraid to criticize—or just bewildered by the senatorial scatter-gun shots he fired from his sanctuary of immunity on the Senate floor. He had only to make a demand to make a radio network available to him.

There are now signs that the wave of his offensive has been broken against the good sense of the American people. The President of the United States has taken the lead in striking back at the fear and distrust McCarthy's campaign has engendered. Members of the Senate are accepting the challenge of the methods he has used. The Monroney committee has unanimously condemned his part in the Maryland campaign against Senator Tydings. Senator Benton of Connecticut has asked the Senate to give consideration to an expulsion resolution.

We are beginning to see news stories for the first time carrying the words "McCarthy explained" or "McCarthy defended." He is being pushed into a defensive role. It is a role that he cannot successfully support. If he is on the defensive his own record will come before the public—a record he has successfully hidden behind his campaign against communism. That record is one which has been condemned in Wisconsin by the state Supreme Court, by the State Board of Bar Commissioners, and by the income-tax authorities, who have been quarreling with him over his failure to report income and pay taxes. It is a record which includes the inadequately explained payment to him of \$10,000 from the Lustron Corporation. There's that \$5,500 crap game down in Columbus. It is a record that even his party leaders in this state agreed before he started his Communist campaign would assure his defeat in '52.

The nation has waited for more than a year for Senator McCarthy to prove his charges. Five hundred fifty-seven days have elapsed since he first made his charges at Wheeling, W. Va., that he held in his hand the names of 205 card-carrying Communists in the State Department who were known to Secretary Acheson. In those 557 days Senator McCarthy has failed to produce proof against a single person. In his determination to keep the offensive he has made even more reckless and irresponsible charges, including the charge that General Marshall is part of a conspiracy to sell this nation out to the Communists.

There are unmistakable signs in Wisconsin that McCarthyism is running its course. He has been condemned by several young Republican organizations in this state, groups from which he once commanded strong support. Secretary of State Zimmerman, one of the wisest and most potent vote-getters in Republican ranks in Wisconsin, has come out publicly against him. There are other signs that McCarthyism has run its course here in Wisconsin.

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 173

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • SEPTEMBER 29, 1951

NUMBER 13

The Shape of Things

THE DEGREE TO WHICH THE MILITARY NOW outweigh the political and economic aspects of defense was pointed up by the unanimous recommendation of the North Atlantic Council at Ottawa that Greece and Turkey be taken into the "Atlantic community." The expanded defense area to be covered by the treaty guaranty will include, it is understood, the entire Mediterranean. Whether the designation "North Atlantic" will also be expanded has not been revealed, but the present label is more than merely misleading; it makes ridiculous the whole idea of regional agreements. Coupled with the American deal with Franco Spain and the imminent rearming of Germany, the admission of Greece and Turkey to the Atlantic Pact will effectually end the concept of a democratic union in defense of the "free world." What we are constructing instead, with breathtaking speed, is an old-fashioned military alliance equipped with "fantastic" new-fashioned weapons. That our Western allies, small and large, are alarmed by this development was clearly demonstrated at Ottawa. They would have preferred to move more cautiously, maintaining as far as possible their economic and political equilibrium. They dread the challenge to the Kremlin implicit in the forces now summoned against it. They understand the political value of the appeal to freedom which they now see tossed away, a forfeit to military expediency. The smaller countries also fear they may be taking on obligations beyond their interests and power. But at Ottawa they acquiesced in the American-made plan, emerging with one modest safeguard, the Committee of Twelve proposed by France, which will consider the over-all needs of the nations in the pact and try to achieve some sort of balance between military demands and economic capacities. Ottawa ended in agreement and anxiety.

✱

EVENTS IN WASHINGTON HAVE NOT HELPED to assuage the worries of our allies. Neither their military strength nor their enthusiasm is likely to be advanced by the insistence of Congress on slashing economic aid in favor of purely military assistance to N. A. T. O. countries. President Truman asked for

\$2,500,000,000 in economic aid; the House cut this to \$1,600,000,000, and the Senate butchered it down to \$880,000,000. The Administration vainly pointed out that by helping Western Europe to expand its production through more economic aid, we would bring military "end items"—guns and tank destroyers—into being more cheaply than by making the "end items" ourselves and shipping them overseas. The European Committee for Economic Development warned last summer that the "real sinews of power" of the West are "political and economic stability, social cohesiveness, equity in the distribution of income," and declared that the "costliest error" of the West would be to act "as though rearmament and security were synonymous." Perhaps the first job of the new Committee of Twelve will be to convince the American Congress that neither rearmament nor security will result if Europe's standard of living is allowed to collapse.

✱

THE STRIKE OF SOME 750 WORKERS ON THE pineapple plantations of Lanai in Hawaii, which began on February 1, has finally been settled. The workers have won an industry-wide agreement with seniority rights, union security, and a wage increase of 15 cents an hour for the Lanai workers and of 7 cents for the other plantations. The Hawaiian Pineapple Company owns the island of Lanai, which is entirely given over to the production of pineapples. Before the workers were organized in 1945, trespass laws kept union organizers from setting foot on the island, and workers who were fired had to leave in twenty-four hours. With a tough anti-union policy the company has combined a touching hearts-and-flowers public-relations program; for example, 500 Lanai workers who were permanently laid off were given a "going away" party by the company, complete with hula girls and carnation leis! The Hawaiian Pineapple Company is one of Castle and Cooke, Ltd.'s most lucrative enterprises. (Castle and Cooke, Ltd., is one of the Big Five companies—the others are Alexander and Baldwin, American Factors, C. Brewer and Company, and Theodore Davies and Company which have long held a tight grip on the economy of Hawaii.) The company reported a net profit of \$4,635,989 for 1949—an increase of 59 per cent over 1948—

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things	249
The Case of the Chinese Officers	251

ARTICLES

Tory Victory in Britain? <i>by Keith Hutchison</i>	252
Why Papagos? <i>by Constantine Poulos</i>	253
The Klan Un-Klandestine <i>by John Powell</i>	254
The World Newsprint Famine <i>by Andrew Roth</i>	256
The Fifth Amendment: Freedom's Bastion <i>by Leonard B. Boudin</i>	258
Indonesia: The Youngest Republic <i>by Dorothy Woodman</i>	261

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Faulkner: An Experiment in Drama <i>by Irving Howe</i>	263
Fanfare Misplaced <i>by Warren B. Walsh</i>	264
Attitudes Toward Sex <i>by Lionel Ovesey</i>	265
Taubman on Toscanini <i>by B. H. Haggin</i>	266
Films <i>by Manny Farber</i>	267

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 268

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 432

by Frank W. Lewis opposite 268

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Associate Editor: Carey McWilliams

Foreign Editor

J. Alvarez del Vayo

Literary Editor

Margaret Marshall

Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch

Music: B. H. Haggin

Assistant Editor: Charles R. Allen, Jr.

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside

Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting

Staff Contributors

Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: Mary Simon

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1951, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas. Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$7; Two years \$12; Three years \$17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: *The Nation* is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

and a net profit of \$5,353,583 for 1950. In the five years since the end of the war it has invested more than \$11,000,000 in new equipment out of reserves and accumulations, and has shown net profits after taxes of more than \$33,000,000. The strike just settled was the longest in the island's history of marathon strikes.

★

IMPORTANT ISSUES ARE INVOLVED IN THE refusal of the West Virginia State Board of Education to accept the recommendation of President George H. Hand of Fairmont State College that the teaching contract of Dr. Luella R. Mundel, head of the Art Department, be renewed. At a meeting of the board in May, objection to the renewal of Dr. Mundel's contract was made on the basis of a secret denunciation, unaccompanied by any evidence or proof, which the board had received from a subordinate in the same department. Previously, Dr. Mundel had recommended that this instructor's contract should be renewed. The president of the college, after taking seven weeks to investigate the charges, supported Dr. Mundel and advised against renewal of the instructor's contract on the ground that he had been guilty of a breach of professional ethics. The board, however, rejected both recommendations; refused to grant Dr. Mundel a hearing or furnish her with a statement of the charges; renewed the contract of her accuser; and then released a statement to the press that Dr. Mundel was being let out "for the good of the college." At least one member of the faculty, Dr. Spaulding Rogers, has resigned in protest.

★

IN REFRESHING CONTRAST TO THIS ACTION, Dr. Colgate W. Darden, president of the University of Virginia, has relieved Dr. Homer G. Richey of his assignment as assistant professor in the Woodrow Wilson School of Foreign Affairs on the recommendation of nine members of the Council of Deans. A faculty committee and the Board of Visitors had already rejected for lack of evidence charges of left-wing bias which Dr. Richey had made against three colleagues. President Darden, in a letter to Dr. Richey, criticized "the manner in which you have attempted to arouse the passions of people—already deeply troubled and apprehensive over communism—against your colleagues, the school of which you are a part, and the university under whose control it functions."

★

THE GRAND JURY INVESTIGATING THE Cicero, Illinois, race riot (see Cicero Nightmare by Homer A. Jack in *The Nation* of July 28) has returned indictments against six men, including the chief of police. The astonishing thing about the indictments,

however, is the identity of the other defendants: the former owner who had rented the apartment to the Negro tenant; the attorney for this owner; the attorney for the Negro tenant; the real-estate agent who negotiated the transaction; and a man accused by the Cicero police of inciting the riots by handing out "Communist Party leaflets." One must assume that sufficient evidence was presented to the grand jury to warrant its action. But the indictment of the former owner of the apartment house will surely make other apartment-house owners cautious about renting to Negroes under similar circumstances, and that of the real-estate agent will not encourage other agents to show rental units in "white" neighborhoods to Negroes. Indeed, the more one thinks about these indictments the "curiouser and curiouser" they become.

The Case of the Chinese Officers

ON AUGUST 21 the Chinese Nationalist government ordered the recall of two ranking air force officers stationed in Washington, Lieutenant General P. T. Mow and Colonel V. S. Hsiang, for having failed, it was said, to account for \$19,440,000. More than a month has passed, but the two officers have not yet received any follow-up communication from Taipei. A statement issued by the Chinese embassy on September 13 implied that the Chinese government regretted the haste and violence with which the charges were made and the publicity they had received.

In the meantime the officers have made some interesting revelations to Al Friendly of the *Washington Post* and Anthony Leviero of the *New York Times* concerning graft in the Nationalist regime. They referred, for example, to an order for aviation gasoline placed with the Chung Foo Company, whose agent in this country is South China Enterprise, Inc., which turns out to be a grocery store in San Francisco's Chinatown occupying premises of about fifteen by twenty-two feet, with live assets of only a few hundred dollars. They also objected to the operations of the Central Trust in China, which is said to be controlled by the "C. C. clique," meaning the brothers Cheng Li-fu and Cheng Kuo-fu, relatives of the Generalissimo. With respect to an order for aviation fuel placed by Central Trust with a New York brokerage firm, General Marshall is reported to have remarked that it "smelled."

Of even greater interest, however, are the transactions of the Commerce International Corporation, a supply organization for the Chinese Nationalists which functions through a world-wide network of operating subsidiaries. Last year the British Board of Trade de-

nied export licenses to the London subsidiary of C. I. C. when it tried to sell surplus British war material to Communist China! On another occasion this subsidiary sought to supply 78,000 tons of German steel to Mao Tse-tung and nearly succeeded. When C. I. C. tried to sell the Nationalist government 108 Bren-gun carriers which it had picked up in Britain, State Department officials themselves tipped off the Chinese embassy to the fact that the Chinese "stood to take a licking" on the purchase. Then there is the item, picked up by Drew Pearson, of an order for 5,300,000 gallons of aviation gasoline placed with United Petroleum Company of Los Angeles, a company not even in existence when the order was placed.

Apparently the Nationalists began to fear, in the summer of 1949, that the United States might eventually recognize Communist China, in which case Nationalist funds on deposit in American banks would be frozen. Overnight mysterious bank accounts, usually in the names of individuals, were opened in the major cities of three continents. It was at this time, and as part of this strategy, that C. I. C. became the pet of the "Chou dynasty," which runs the Nationalist government as successor to the "Soong dynasty." To cement the relationship, C. I. C. has established a group of some thirty American military experts to advise the Generalissimo. The group includes a retired four-star admiral—Charles M. ("Savvy") Cooke, Jr., former Chief of Staff to Fleet Admiral Ernest J. King—three retired Marine Corps generals, and a host of lesser officials, non-coms, and civilians.

The revelations of the Chinese officers clearly support the demand of Senator Wayne Morse for an investigation of the activities of Chinese Nationalists in this country, including, of course, the intrigues of the China lobby. A source close to the White House has suggested that such an investigation would reveal "how the Chinese around Chiang, who lost an empire in China, built a new political empire in this country." Although there is little visible enthusiasm for Senator Morse's proposal, some of the friends of the China lobby have begun to hedge. Senator William Knowland, for example, feels that the FBI should by all means "satisfy itself completely" that the Chinese Nationalists are free of corruption. Why the FBI? Isn't the Senator one of the most devoted and vocal exponents of "the informing power" of Congressional inquiries? The FBI is not conducting the investigation into the affairs of the Institute of Pacific Relations.

Thanks to some effective newspaper work and the cooperation of the two Chinese officers, the handsome ornamental doors which open on the many-roomed mansion which is the China lobby have been wedged slightly ajar; now is the time to open wide these doors and take a look inside.

Tory Victory in Britain?

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

THE betting on the results of Britain's forthcoming general election has opened with odds of six to four in favor of a Tory majority. That is probably a realistic appraisal, for the Labor government's recent "form" has not been that of a winner. It has, of course, been dogged by bad luck. The promised harvest from the seeds of economic expansion and social reform sown between 1945 and 1950 has partially withered in the fierce heat of the post-Korean international crisis. But Labor has shown no great ability or inspiration in the face of difficulties, and it looks like a government of mentally and physically weary men which an equally weary electorate may seek to replace, hoping that a change in political direction will bring better times.

Yet as recently as early July, when I discussed the situation at Labor headquarters in London, party officials expressed considerable optimism. The Gallup polls had been indicating some recovery in the government's popularity, and at that time there were hopes that the Korean armistice negotiations, which had just started, would prove fruitful and that a way out of the impasse in Iran would be discovered. Had these hopes been fulfilled, the government's prestige would undoubtedly have risen. As it is, Mr. Attlee and his colleagues have no success in the international field with which to offset the deterioration in the domestic economic situation. Growing shortages of coal and power foreshadow another grim winter; a rapidly mounting trade deficit suggests a new balance-of-payments crisis unless drastic steps are taken to reduce imports, with all that implies for the British standard of living. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the public-opinion polls should have shown a decline in the government's popularity since July.

The latest Gallup return gives the Tories 49 per cent, Labor 39 per cent, the Liberals 10.5 per cent, and minor parties 1.5 per cent. Moreover, the Liberals are planning to put up candidates in less than half the constituencies that they contested in the last election, and the Tories can probably count on enough Liberal votes to give them a plurality of the electorate. Indeed, Tory chances look so good at this moment that party leaders are already warning against over-confidence.

The greatest danger of the Tories, however, is that they will be tempted to coast along on a program of "turn the rascals out" instead of putting forward positive policies of their own. They are committed to maintaining the social services, and they have indorsed

the rearmament program, which is manifestly a cause of economic strain. Yet they also hold out hopes of lower prices and taxes and fewer controls. Some of these promises appear incompatible, and it remains to be seen whether the Tories can tie them up together in a way that proves convincing to the voters.

Another Tory handicap is the continued leadership of Mr. Churchill, whose dominance of his party has discouraged the emergence of new blood and new ideas. Moreover, while the British people retain a huge respect for his past achievements, many of them are doubtful about his qualifications as a peace-time leader. Although, to do him justice, he has discouraged the "gunboat" group in his own party during the Persian crisis, there are still fears that, once in power, Mr. Churchill might turn to foreign adventures. That is why Labor spokesmen, while supporting rearmament as a means of deterring aggression, stress the dangers of "Tory imperialism" and "blustering threats of force."

The Labor Party's chief problem in the campaign may be to overcome apathy in its own ranks. There can be little doubt that among the rank and file of the party there is much sympathy with the contention of the Bevan group that the government has adopted an over-ambitious rearmament program and thereby endangered the social reforms which have been its greatest achievement. In view of the fact that the annual party conference which opens at Scarborough on October 1 will now be overshadowed by the election campaign, it is probable that the much-advertised trial of strength between the party executive and the Bevanites will be called off. The latter have sought to establish themselves, not as a "rebel" movement, but as a "loyal opposition," and they will certainly try to avoid rocking the boat at this critical moment. Already Mr. Bevan has issued a call to his followers to close ranks behind Prime Minister Attlee and concentrate on the paramount task of defeating the Tories.

Recent events, including the world-wide rise in commodity prices which is endangering Britain's solvency, suggest that the British economic and social structure is being strained to a greater extent than the Cabinet expected when it raised its defense-plan sights early this year. To that extent the Bevanite criticisms have been justified by events, so that some revision in the tempo of the program, if not in its total, may become necessary. However, the government, which through Mr. Gaitskell at Ottawa has just reaffirmed its intention to complete the arms program in full and on schedule, can hardly be expected to admit such a necessity at this time. The party platform adopted at Scarborough is likely, therefore, to slide over the rearmament controversy by concentrating on the means by which the burdens of defense may be more equitably distributed. The most recent policy statement of the party's National

KEITH HUTCHISON, financial editor of *The Nation*, has just returned from a three months' visit to England.

Executive, "Our First Duty—Peace," stressed the point that "the greatest sacrifice should be asked from those who have large unearned incomes and who enjoy a high standard of living without making any contribution to the nation's effort." This at least is a thesis in which the left wing can concur enthusiastically.

Why Papagos?

BY CONSTANTINE POULOS

WHILE the North Atlantic Treaty countries meeting at Ottawa discussed the admittance of Greece to membership, the Greek situation stumbled along in what has now become a state of chronic debility. The normal post-election confusion and intrigue will soon merge into the normal instability. Eventually there will be new elections, the pattern will be repeated, and the United States will continue to maintain in Greece the largest Marshall Aid mission in the world.

In midsummer, when Field Marshal Alexander Papagos magnanimously responded to "the call of the people," à la De Gaulle, and formed the Greek Rally movement, the State Department hopefully jumped on his bandwagon. Here was a figure, untainted politically, who promised a mailed fist, and a *right* one at that. If anyone could straighten out the Greek puzzle without offending either Senator McCarthy or the Greek ship-owners, it was the over-publicized Papagos. Obviously inspired stories came out of Washington in support of the Marshal's candidacy. The Scripps-Howard papers carried two articles within three days. The first, by Parker La Moore, reported that Papagos had "called on the people to join *him* in a program for the country's peaceful reconstruction." Government in Greece, La Moore wrote, "seems to have lost all power of initiative. The administrative machinery is bogged down under a top-heavy, unwieldy bureaucracy. Petty factionalism resulting in a multiplicity of political parties has produced a legislative stalemate. With little incentive to work and produce, the country has surrendered to frustration until it is little more than an American-supported WPA project." Many a newspaperman was smeared as a Communist for making the same observations a few billion dollars ago.

One of the most interesting aspects of the September 9 elections was this exposure of the truth about conditions in Greece by the group most responsible for them—the reactionary, royalist right. The right-wing Greek newspapers which flocked to the support of Marshal Papagos sounded like leftist publications, with their denunciations of the post-war governments and their wailing over the plight of the worker and peasant.

Not many people were fooled by this high-handed

attempt of the right to cloak its bankruptcy by dropping the jaded leaders of the past and getting behind a new, untried political personality. Consequently, although the Marshal served as a rallying-point for the declining forces of the royalist right wing, he did not win the sweeping victory his backers had predicted. He received the votes of those Greeks who in the previous elections (March, 1950) had voted for the royalist Populist Party of Constantin Tsaldaris, the Democratic Socialist Party of George Papandreou, the personal party of Kannelopoulos, the Metaxas residue party of Maniatakis-Kotzias-Tourcovasilis, and the New Party of Markezinis.

The parties of Tsaldaris and Papandreou, were practically wiped out by defections to Papagos. The other parties had already joined the Marshal's Greek Rally movement. The combined vote of these five parties in the 1950 elections was more than 45 per cent of the total. In the elections of three weeks ago Marshal Papagos received less than 35 per cent of the total vote.

To continue the comparison with the 1950 elections, General Nicholas Plastiras and his left-of-center Progressive Union increased its proportion of the popular vote from 16 per cent to nearly 24. The Liberal Party of Premier Sophocles Venizelos gained roughly 2 per cent over its 1950 showing, to reach 19 per cent. The Union of Democratic Leftists, composed of Communists, fellow-travelers, and other left groups, received 11 per cent, passing its 1950 total by 1 per cent. The republican vote, therefore, showed a gain of 11 per cent as against the 10 per cent decline in the royalist vote.

This is not how the New York *Times* read the results. Only two days after the elections (on September 11) and long before the final tally had been reported, the *Times* editorially installed Marshal Papagos in the premiership and noted that he had "been brought to power on a wave of popular revulsion." Setting aside the propriety of the premature investiture, anyone who has been reading the *Times's* dispatches from Athens or its editorials on Greece for the past three years must have been hard put to understand this "popular revulsion." For years now the readers of the American press have been assured that the Greek situation was well in hand. The Communist guerrillas had been defeated; the Greek people were happy though poor; and the country was moving rapidly toward peaceful recovery.

The good gray *Times* was merely echoing Washington's wishful thinking. Papagos, "the man on the white horse," seemed to offer an easy, respectable, safe way out of a perennial dilemma. The *Times* and the State Department preferred to close their eyes to the obvious staging of the Papagos campaign by Greece's big-money crowd. And they have failed to notice, because they don't approve, that the Greek people are once again hopefully taking a different route, one which may, in the long run, offer some chance of peace and stability.

The Klan Un-Klandestine

BY JOHN POWELL

Wilmington, N. C., September 20

VIEWING the cross burning and the robed and rallied Klansmen in a Columbus County, North Carolina, cornfield one hot Saturday night recently, you were surprised again at the persistence in the Southern soul of those dark and bitter places the performance was designed to exploit.

The rally, the first to be held thereabouts in some years, represented a cautious recruiting foray into a section where the tobacco was in and pockets were as full as they get. Most of the rank and file of the robe-wearers were from Horry County, which is just across the South Carolina line and bound to Columbus by many ties of blood. But pre-rally rumblings from some North Carolina officials, a recent stringent anti-masking law in South Carolina, and the fact that the wave of feeling that swelled the Klan after the war was subsiding, even in its home areas, put them pretty much on the defensive and brought some changes in tack.

Many of the Klansmen appeared without masks, although some of them wore spectacles with big rubber noses attached. Reporters and photographers, previously the object of special Klan animosity, were all but given engraved invitations. Membership application blanks passed through the crowd repeated at least three times, "Do not apply if you want your brother-in-law or neighbor whipped." Thomas L. Hamilton, a citizen of Leesville, South Carolina, Grand Dragon of the Association of Carolina Klans and one of the principal speakers of the evening, warned from the platform: "If you see something you don't like, don't mob up. Tell it to your law-enforcement officers. That's the way the Klan wants it." After the meeting Hamilton, bearing out a general belief that the rally had been planned to disarm by sweetness and openness, said to the reporters: "Don't be too hard on us now, and come back to see us. It wasn't at all what you thought it would be like, was it?"

But assuming that it was merely a cynical money-making raid, the means employed to put it across, and still more how they succeeded, were astounding. Ostensibly to evade an 1869 North Carolina law ("passed by carpetbaggers and scalawags," said Hamilton) prohibiting the wearing of masks in public places, the rally was staged on a dusty field halfway between the towns of Whiteville and Tabor City. There was a pre-game

festivity in the lines of cars, the flares in the middle of the road, the strains of the Washington Post March over the public-address system. But, once on the field, you saw the robed and hooded figures waiting and the lighted platform backed by a big red-and-white sign showing a white-hooded rider on a white-aproned horse and the words: "Yesterday, today, and forever." It was strange commerce or strange sport.

There were the ninety or so Klansmen, the rank and file in white robes and hoods, a half-dozen honor guardsmen in black robes with white sashes, long white capes with red linings, and white hoods, Hamilton in green, and Bill Hendrix, the other speaker and, according to the program, "gubernatorial candidate and Grand Dragon of Florida," in bright blue. There was the burning of the tow-soaked cross, the men marching awkwardly in figure eights and horseshoes, some bearing lighted fuses stuck on the ends of branches. There were the prayers: "America can get right if everybody gets on their knees agonizing before Jesus Christ." There was the crowd, some 5,000 persons standing in the hot night along the strand of barbed wire strung before the platform, veering from the restless neutrality of any crowd to clapping and shouting agreement as the speeches got going. But most of all there were the speeches.

Hendrix, a square-faced, stocky man, was making a political speech, and he backtracked several times to cover himself ("there are 90 per cent good men in the Jay Cees"; "there are some KKK men in the C. I. O."). But he produced an awesome range of dislikes concerning which he apparently felt that no tact was necessary. He disliked newspapers ("they said they'd try to keep us from speaking, but they can't under Article I of the Constitution of the United States"); the Chapel Hill, North Carolina, Junior Chamber of Commerce ("when they show pictures of Jay Cees meeting with nigras, then it's clear they don't believe in segregation"); the University of North Carolina ("the hot spot of communism and socialism all over the country"); liberals ("they want the white vote and the nigra vote too"); people who think the KKK is subversive ("the next man who says that, I'm going to sue him for libel. When it comes to the time that white men are put on the subversive list, then it's going too far"); people who think Klansmen are criminals ("when have you ever seen a Klansman convicted? We don't put up with it"); the C. I. O. ("leaders of the C. I. O. come to the South for a definite reason: to mix white and nigra"); Sidney Hillman ("trained in Russia"); Eleanor Roosevelt

JOHN POWELL is a reporter and short-story writer living in Wilmington, North Carolina. His work has appeared in the New Yorker and other magazines.

("she came down here and said how bad we treat nigras"); predominantly Negro areas ("voted 98 per cent for Graham and Pepper"); Communists ("they want to throw our white women before their nigma storm troopers"); certain ministers ("they won't mention Jesus Christ for fear of hurting some Jew's feelings"); people who think Jesus was a Jew ("show me that in the Bible and I'll eat it"); people who think the Jews are God's chosen people ("that's not in it either"); bureaucrats ("if I get to be governor, the bureaucrats will get out or I'll throw them out"); Bernard Baruch ("dangerous"); Felix Frankfurter, Anna Rosenberg, "Max" Lilienthal ("Jews"); and Jews, Jews, Jews ("all but one of the Communists that have been arrested are Jews. It's like that in every country. . . . All the trouble with the nigma comes from Jews. . . . The press is controlled by Jews with masks of respectability sitting in their offices drinking liquor. That's where you get those dirty editorials. But the Klan will fight for freedom of the press").

Against this overpowering sweep of hatreds Hendrix had a slender list of likes. He had a good word to say for J. Edgar Hoover ("he says from 12,000 to 15,000 Protestant ministers are fellow-travelers"); the Guide to Subversive Organizations ("the Klan has never been on that list"); "Weep No More, My Lady," a pamphlet opposing Mrs. Roosevelt's columns on the South ("he really told her, You ought to read it"); "Washington Confidential" ("see what goes on up there"); Article I of the United States Constitution ("get it and read it. It guarantees freedom of speech"); and the Klan.

Hendrix ended his speech with a plea for long-distance help in his campaign for the Florida governorship: "If you know anybody in Florida write 'em and tell 'em to vote for a white man."

HAMILTON was serious and priestly, had a sweet smile, and behaved like an eager master of ceremonies. The audience roused with him. "Amen," they said. They laughed and clapped. "Not that," they shouted. "Uh-uh. No." In spite of the unlikely company into which he brought it, he pursued the religious motif hard through his speech. It was like a thread kept constantly running with which he reached out for all sorts of objects, however mismatched they appeared, and gathered himself quite a motley quilt of opinions. He seemed to true himself up to his hearers as he went on, so that toward the end he was saying exactly what they wanted him to say.

"It's all right to have a speakin' like this," he assured the crowd. "No man can stop the Klan from meeting when it's ready." He referred to a number of requests for Klaverns from North Carolina towns, assuring them that "we're going to band white Protestant Gentiles together here," then caught that back into his religious

theme by saying that he was a Baptist and that he was "proud that the Baptists have not joined the National Council of Churches," which, he said, is trying to say that "Jesus was a bastard child." Then he skimmed out again into sexual perverts in Washington ("we don't need that kind of people") and the Administration. "Who is to blame for our rotten government?" he asked sadly and reasonably. "Nobody but you and I, nobody but the taxpayers. Are you sitting home listening to the radio? Are you hanging around the filling station drinking Coca-Cola?

Take down your Bible and read it," he chastened them.

He switched then to the race question.

"Do you want some burr-headed nigma to come up on your porch and ask for the hand of your daughter in marriage?" The crowd clapped and shouted.

"Not that," they said. "Uh-uh." "But the nigma has put his foot in the door in this country," he warned — especially

at the University of North Carolina, which Negroes now attend with whites. "If I had a daughter in that place, I would never let her darken its doors again."

He said South Carolina had passed a sales tax to give Negroes equal school facilities, and "now they don't want that, they want to attend the same schools as white children. No," he cried, "nigras will never enter a white school there as long as the Klan exists. And I don't care what the Supreme Court does about it, blood will flow in the streets of that state before that happens."

Then in the sad pulpit tone, with a rising inflection at the end of each phrase to leave it hanging mildly in the hot night, he said, "I have been in the Klan for twenty-six years, and if I live I'll be in it for twenty-six more. When my time comes to pass away I'll be ready to meet my maker," adding, inconsequentially, "for I am ready to face any man. When I cross the great divide it don't make any difference what happens to my body because God has promised me a new body, holy and incorruptible." But he was out again by degrees, thanking the lady who had brought the flowers for the platform and sideswiping magazine advertisements he had read in which Negro women seek white husbands and the reverse. This was mongrelization, he said, "which God never intended." He waited for the approving shouts to



die, then added inexplicably, "What God hath joined together let no man put asunder." Next, in a fell swoop, he solemnly dropped his voice and gave them his direst vision. "I believe the Second Coming is near at hand. Get right with God," he almost whispered. "The Ku Klux Klan stands for truth, right, and justice, those three things. We want men who have no lust of office, with ready wills and hands, high honor, ready to face any demagogue and any lie."

But Hamilton aimed to leave them laughing. "What's the S stand for in Harry S. Truman?" he suddenly asked. "Don't say it out loud." "Hey, hey," the crowd shouted. He told a long joke about Truman. Truman had a Negro college student to lunch at the White House, took him to a movie, a night club. At each place Truman would ask, "Do they treat you like this down South?" Finally the youth answered, "No, sir, we got a better class of white people down there."

He warned against ministers who preach "mongrelization." "If your preacher is telling you that, then he needs a special thermostat in hell to burn him with." It was his most successful phrase-making attempt of the night, and it ended his speech.

As he came down off the platform afterward, the

crowd gathered around, overawed and awkward, and several sliced out their hands shyly and shook Hamilton's with a sort of gratitude. One plump brunette with glasses grasped his hand fervently and said, "I came seventy-five miles to hear this, and it was better than what I had expected." Hamilton thanked her with warm dignity. Then a thin farmer, bowing and shy, reached for his hand, "I wanta shake that paw, too," he said.

Hamilton anxiously returned to the platform for some last directions to his flock. "Drive carefully going home so nobody'll be hurt. If you want a Coca-Cola you'll find the man out there under the tree. If you get stuck we've got a tractor to pull you out."

The cars parked in the field formed themselves into lines and slowly edged into the road, leaving the cross still burning thinly, and headed out into the twentieth century. You wondered how many of them had been edified and excited by the fantasies of the night, with those prejudices dark as blood, darkened with blood, mixed up with the circusy show and the praying. You had forgotten how the currents sweep by and do not alter the people in the cabins off by the little creeks, in the houses far up the red-clay roads into the woods and up on the raw hillsides.

The World Newsprint Famine

BY ANDREW ROTH

London, September 18

WHEN foreign correspondents meet in London nowadays the conversation of all but the Scandinavians and North Americans is likely to turn on the price of newsprint. Almost all West European, Middle Eastern, and Asian papers have pressed their London representatives into service to hunt up possible sources of this increasingly rare and valuable commodity, which is now officially classified as "an essential raw material." Inadequate recognition of the world's newsprint shortage on the part of the United States has produced considerable resentment among newspapermen abroad.

Unless you frequent the pubs around Fleet Street you no longer hear much about British reactions to the newsprint famine. Britain has had to be satisfied with six- or eight-page papers for so many years that it has adjusted itself to their thinness just as it has to the meager meat ration. Only occasionally now does a British reporter voice the frustration he feels when he

has worked up a good news story for which no space can be found or which is dehydrated to a couple of "pars" by a fiendish sub-editor.

Last May, however, there was loud protest when the penny newspaper disappeared—a penny and a half had to be charged after the largest of a long series of increases in the price of newsprint had brought it to six times what it was in 1938. Another yell was heard this summer when reduced newsprint rations made it necessary for eight-page dailies to cut down occasionally to six pages and for twelve-page Sunday papers to become ten-pagers. The publishers claimed that the government should not have reduced its contract with Canadian mills on the chance of reducing dollar expenditures. Indignation is particularly strong in an organization like the *Daily Mirror-Sunday Pictorial* group, which owns forests and mills in Canada but cannot obtain adequate supplies because of the rationing system.

Although their existence is at stake, few newspapers have treated fully the problem of newsprint. It is a ticklish subject, since it illustrates perfectly the absolute economic dominance of the United States and American insensitivity to the resentment thus aroused in the rest

ANDREW ROTH, a staff contributor, after a number of years in the Middle and Far East is living and writing in London.

of the non-Communist world. According to all specialists, the current newsprint crisis is limited to the Western nations. The U. S. S. R.'s fairly small consumption of 360,000 tons—half that of Britain—is 50 per cent above the pre-war figure, but apparently production has kept up with needs. Russian papers usually consider four pages enough. In most satellite countries also newsprint production is reported to have kept up with demand. China, having no forests, has had to import what it uses.

American control of newsprint is shown by the amazing fact that six out of every ten tons produced in the world is fed into the giant presses of United States newspapers. With 6 per cent of the world's population, the United States gets 60 per cent of the world's supply of newsprint. To put it differently, Americans consume eighty pounds of newsprint per capita, Britons thirty pounds, and Indians less than half a pound.

THE rich get richer and the poor get poorer" applies to post-war conditions in newsprint as in many other fields. The United States has increased its consumption from 3,900,000 tons in 1946 to 5,900,000 tons in 1951, the increase being almost one and a half times the increase in world production. As the dominant purchaser, able to take great amounts and offer long-term contracts, it was able to hold down the price increase to about 6 per cent between the spring of 1950 and the spring of 1951. In the same period the cost to Egyptian papers skyrocketed more than 70 per cent!

The decline of Western Europe's newsprint consumption from 2,600,000 tons before the war to 2,000,000 at present—or from 31 per cent of world production to 20 per cent—is a clear symptom of its weakened ability to pay. It is no secret that President Auriol visited Canada last spring not only to revive the traditional ties between French Canada and France but also to plead for an extra allotment of paper. The crisis in France has forced the leading Paris newspaper, *Le Monde*, to limit itself to eight half-size pages, making it one-third the size of the Paris-printed "International Air Edition" of the *New York Times*, which averages twelve full-size pages! The increase in newsprint prices was largely responsible for the death of *l'Aube*, organ of the M. R. P. The independence of other papers has been undermined.

In Belgium 149 publications have gone out of business in two years, mainly as a result of economic difficulties. In West Germany the government has had to appropriate a million dollars for newsprint to keep German papers from going under. Throughout Western Europe papers without strong commercial or party support face extinction. Particularly vulnerable are the financially weak moderate-left journals. In France, for example, many newsmen insist that *Franc-Tireur* exists

only by virtue of the friendship of the United States embassy.

The content of newspapers everywhere has been cheapened. *Reynolds News*, the organ of the Cooperative Party in Britain, in an effort to expand its 700,000 circulation has jettisoned much of its political news, replacing it with sexy photographs, serials, and other forms of sensationalism. The few papers which resist this tendency do so at considerable sacrifice.

Almost all papers have increased their prices. This has produced a situation which was graphically described by Orla Rode, president of Copenhagen's Newspaper Publishers' Association. "The common man," he said, "the worker or employee, is gradually ceasing to be able to afford to read a daily paper. Newspapers in Denmark are in the process of becoming a privilege of the well-to-do class; this represents a great danger to a democratic country."

If the comparatively stable press of Western Europe has suffered so badly, it is not surprising to find the casualties even greater in South Asia, Africa, and Latin America, where average incomes are so much lower than in Europe. In these underdeveloped, largely illiterate areas few newspapers have the economic resources to enter into long-term contracts with Canadian or Scandinavian newsprint suppliers, even if their countries could afford the hard currency. With 67 per cent of the world's population, Asia, Africa, and Latin America have to be content with barely 10 per cent of the world's newsprint. And not only that: they must pay, on an average, more than twice what the wealthy United States pays.

"Inequalities in newsprint consumption are far greater than for any other commodity of like importance," comments the UNESCO-sponsored study "The Problem of Newsprint." Newspapers in the "backward" countries have had to scramble for newsprint despite almost microscopic demands. The whole of the Middle East consumes only 25,000 tons—less than the amount used by Ireland. India, Pakistan, and Ceylon, together, with almost a fifth of the world's population, consume about 73,000 tons—less than Holland. Southeast Asia consumes 14,000 tons—about as much as Portugal. This small newsprint consumption is not due primarily to limited literacy. India has about as many literate people as Great Britain, but it uses only one-twelfth as much newsprint—its average income, also, is one-twelfth that of Britain.

At the Paris meeting of UNESCO in July the Belgian and French delegates presented a resolution demanding greater production and more equitable distribution. Khushwant Singh of India emphasized the special problems of Asia's "have-nots." The United States and Norway, representing the "haves," argued that it was a matter for the International Raw Materials Conference.

Since then this group has made emergency allocations of 25,000 tons, which with Canada's cooperation have alleviated the worst difficulties in France and India.

WOOD pulp for newsprint comes almost entirely from fir trees. About 150,000,000 trees must be felled every year to feed the pulp mills. And since a fir tree takes upward of forty years to grow, more than six billion trees must be a-growing. It is an index of the problem that the 200-page Sunday edition of the New York *Times* alone requires the cutting of 85 acres of Canadian woodland.

Canada produces 54 per cent of the world's newsprint and accounts for 81 per cent of the amount exported. The United States produces 10 per cent, which satisfies only a sixth of its own needs. Britain produces 6.4 per cent and consumes 7.2 per cent. Besides Canada, only the Scandinavian countries have an exportable surplus.

Increased newsprint production requires either an increase in accessible and suitable woodlands or the discovery of some alternative raw material. Experiments are being carried out with elephant grass and, more intensively, with bagasse, a sugar-cane waste. Tests at the United States Forest Products Laboratory in August showed that bagasse can produce stronger and whiter newsprint than wood pulp at about the same price. The next substantial increase in newsprint production will probably come from the building of mills close to the source of bagasse. But a newsprint mill represents a tremendous investment and cannot be built in a day. The Canadian industry, the biggest in the world, prefers, therefore, to depend on its own vast forests.

Currency restrictions are another hobble on production. Britain today does not mill its full capacity, and has in fact converted many of its newsprint mills to other purposes, because it cannot afford the hard currency to import sufficient pulp, despite Marshall aid.

At the International Federation of Newspaper Publishers held here last May, the editors of newsprint-hungry European and Asian papers were surprised to hear Charles F. McCahill, president of the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, say that the United States is "still very hard up for newsprint." Owing to the tremendous expansion of the American economy United States papers could profitably consume another 2 per cent of world production. The foreign editors were not inclined to be sympathetic since they felt the unrestricted demands of American presses were largely responsible for their own difficulties. Davidas Gandhi, son of the great Gandhi and editor of the *Hindustan Times*, has estimated that the newsprint problems of the rest of the world would be solved if United States publishers volunteered to cut their consumption by 5 per cent, or 300,000 tons. A speaker at the Paris meeting of the Federation of the Technical Periodical Press in June said more sharply that it was "a mockery for people to proclaim themselves champions of freedom of opinion whilst at the same time suppressing the material means of expression."

American editors with a belief in unfettered "free enterprise" may not think this fair comment. But it helps explain why so many handouts by United States information services find their way into the wastebaskets of foreign newspapers.

The Fifth Amendment: Freedom's Bastion

BY LEONARD B. BOUDIN

THE Fifth Amendment—affording protection against compulsory self-incrimination—is today under direct attack from both Administration and anti-Administration forces. Earlier this year Senator McCarran and Attorney General McGrath began to study the problem of how to obtain possibly self-incriminating testimony from persons believed to be Communists. Mr. McGrath has since proposed legislation which would give the Attorney General power to grant witnesses before grand juries, courts and Congressional committees immunity from prosecution. If witnesses are granted immunity, he argues, they can be compelled to

testify. His proposal, supported by the Kefauver committee, is embodied in a bill, limited to grand-jury and judicial proceedings, introduced by Senator O'Connor of Maryland and still in committee. Presumably this bill has the support of the President.

For his part, Senator McCarran—no friend of the Administration—has introduced S. 1570, which received the approval of the Senate Judiciary Committee on August 27. This bill would give Congressional committees the power to grant immunity to witnesses by a vote of "two-thirds of the members of the full committee, including one member of the minority party having the largest representation on such committee." Senator McCarran points out, rather facetiously, that "the proposed new statute has no special application to Communists

LEONARD B. BOUDIN is a member of the New York Bar who has long been interested in civil-liberties issues.

but would eliminate this problem, as well as their claims of privilege, by granting immunity as broad as the constitutional privilege itself." Before the Fifth Amendment is emasculated under the guise of "fighting communism," however, it might be well to consider the legal and political realities with which it deals.

Legal protection of political freedom under our system depends principally upon two provisions of the Bill of Rights: the First Amendment, protecting freedom of speech, association, and belief; and the Fifth, protecting against self-incrimination. The two rights are related, since the danger of self-incrimination increases as the scope of the First Amendment shrinks.

DURING the past three years serious inroads have been made on what civil-liberties lawyers call "First Amendment freedoms." First came the Supreme Court's refusal to review the Barsky and Hollywood Ten cases on June 14, 1948, and April 10, 1950. These decisions ended a person's right, under the First Amendment, to keep silent concerning his political views. Then came the decision in *American Communications Association v. Douds*, on May 8, 1950, in which the court upheld, for the first time, the government's imposition of economic sanctions for political views. There an evenly divided court declared constitutional the Taft-Hartley "non-Communist" affidavits, whose execution and filing were made a condition to the use of the National Labor Board's processes by labor unions. Finally, on June 4, 1951, the Supreme Court, in deciding the Dennis case, upheld criminal penalties for proscribed associations and beliefs.

The Truman Administration, however, has been unwilling to recognize that once certain political acts are made illegal, those engaging in them become entitled to protection against self-incrimination. Thus, despite the original indictment of the Communist leaders in July, 1948, for violation of the Smith act, federal grand juries in Denver and Los Angeles proceeded to examine various witnesses concerning their knowledge of the organization and activities of the Communist Party. When these witnesses tried to invoke the Fifth Amendment, the prosecution countered with the ironic contention that the Communist Party was a lawful organization—citing the Schneiderman decision—and it was upheld by two federal judges. Sentences ranging as high as a year in jail were then imposed. Two Circuit Courts commented scathingly upon the prosecution's attempt to lull the witnesses into a sense of security. Ultimately the Supreme Court, on December 11, 1950, in the Blau case, ruled that the right to protection against self-incrimination had been properly invoked.

The government's second flanking attack on the Fifth Amendment bastion took the form of prosecuting for contempt a number of witnesses who had claimed the

protection of the Fifth Amendment when the House Committee on Un-American Activities inquired about their knowledge of the Communist Party, its members, officers, and affairs. Virtually all these witnesses were acquitted on the ground that they had correctly invoked the Amendment. Despite great pressure, the courts had refused to surrender the bastion.

The McGrath and McCarran proposals seek to undercut the reluctance of the courts to rob the Fifth Amendment of its meaning. The basic objection to both bills is that they do not give witnesses full protection. The plain truth is that complete immunity cannot be given to those charged with political crimes. A person charged with political heresy, and particularly one compelled to confess it, is subject to myriad penalties. Under Executive Order No. 9835 setting up the federal loyalty program, as well as under the McCarran act, such a person cannot be employed in government or in "defense facilities." Public Law No. 523 (Eightieth Congress) permits the Coast Guard to withhold licenses on political grounds from radio operators in the privately owned merchant marine. The screening program conducted by the Coast Guard bars political heretics from employment in the longshore and shipping industries. Furthermore, the person compelled to reveal proscribed political views now forfeits the right to obtain a passport, to bid for government contracts, or to apply for a license to run a broadcasting station, and suffers other disabilities as well.

Today the federal loyalty and security programs, not to mention the denunciations of Congressional committees, have such a direct relation to a person's ability to earn a livelihood that it seems hardly necessary to note the effect of such policies on opportunities in private employment. It is clear, however, that the federal government's example tends to be followed not only by state and local governments but by private employers in many fields. In normal times possible loss of a job might not be valid ground for invoking the protection of the Fifth Amendment, although this is suggested by early English cases. But as we approach the point where a person's ability to gain a livelihood is wholly dependent upon his political views, a different conclusion must be drawn.

THE grant of immunity in the McCarran and McGrath proposals is specious for the additional reason that Congressional committees cannot give witnesses immunity against state prosecution. The witness who testifies before a Congressional committee or grand jury as to his membership in a "subversive" organization may very well be subject to prosecution under state sedition, criminal-syndicalism, or registration statutes. In recent years the Supreme Court has held that witnesses must testify when assured of immunity by a federal statute

despite the danger of punishment under state laws. This ruling, however, is a departure from the early constitutional doctrine of both Marshall and Holmes. It is based upon the unlikelihood, in cases of ordinary commercial crime, of prosecution by one sovereign power after testimony before the other. But who will seriously suggest today that radicals who escape federal prosecution will be overlooked by the states?

In fact, recent decisions in state courts, particularly those of Michigan and New York, have held it to be a "travesty on verity" to say that a person is not exposed to self-incrimination under these circumstances. Particularly in cases involving political crimes and "subversion" have state and federal un-American activities committees and law-enforcement agencies shown a marked degree of cooperation. Not long ago a Massachusetts grand jury indicted Professor Dirk J. Struik of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology on charges of conspiracy to overthrow the state and federal governments. This action came less than two months after Dr. Struik had declined to tell the House Committee on Un-American Activities whether he had ever been a member of the Communist Party. A significant line of decisions holds that when one authority cooperates with another in securing illegal evidence, it can be put to use by neither. This principle may well support a return to our earlier constitutional law in testing grants of immunity in political cases. But the sanctions available and in use are unlimited in number and variety. New York's loyalty bill, for example, gives state and local governments the right to ban suspected "subversives" from security jobs. Witch-hunts have been conducted in any number of municipal departments; teaching systems have been closely scrutinized. And what shall we say about the Jean Fields case in California, where a court order deprived a mother of custody of her children because of her political views? Is the mother in such cases protected by an immunity statute, or is the denial of custody not to be regarded as punishment?

By a strange freak of chance, the Internal Security Act of September, 1950—the McCarran act—may prove the constitutional obstacle to the proposals of Senator McCarran and Mr. McGrath. That law requires the registration of officers and members of certain "Communist organizations." It makes it unlawful for them to be employed by the federal government, to apply for or use a passport, or to fail to register with the Attorney General if the organization has not disclosed their names. Material mailed or broadcast by such outfits must plainly indicate that the source is a "Communist organization." In addition, the President, by declaring the existence of an "internal security emergency," can put in a concentration camp anyone "as to whom there is reasonable ground to believe that such person probably will engage in, or probably will conspire with others

to engage in, acts of espionage or of sabotage." The coverage of the act is extremely elastic, not only because communism is broadly defined but because the definition is coupled with a statement that "the agents of communism have devised clever and ruthless espionage and sabotage tactics."

WITH all this in mind, can we believe it is the intention of Senator McCarran or Mr. McGrath to grant a witness compelled to admit that he is a Communist immunity from the punitive provisions of the McCarran act? If he received this immunity, he would be entitled to a passport, to clearance for government employment, and to freedom from registration or possible detention in a concentration camp. Senator McCarran is not that generous. It can be assumed, of course, that neither Congressional committees nor local United States attorneys would conceal their discoveries from the Internal Security Division of the Department of Justice or any other branch of government. Hence a witness asked to confess his political views simply cannot afford to act as if the McCarran act were non-existent.

It should also be recognized that proposals to emasculate the Fifth Amendment, if enacted, would disastrously encourage political informers. Whatever may be the justification for using informers in a narcotics or other routine criminal case, there is none for using them in so-called political crimes or heresy. The history of informers from the days of Titus Oates to the present testifies to the disrepute attaching to any system of law which depends on this kind of evidence. It has also been found, not once but many times, that the informer frequently becomes an *agent provocateur* who engages in illegal conduct for the purpose of incriminating those whom he is paid to spy on. The proposed legislation would breed that kind of creature.

The Administration cannot have it both ways. It has obtained judicial approval for the most drastic curtailment of civil liberty in American history. It cannot, therefore, now compel Americans to don the insignia marking them for destruction. The Fifth Amendment is a measure of protection: the greater the impairment of other rights and privileges, the wider its scope and the more pervasive its effect. It stands as the last bastion of freedom when so many others seem to be falling. Those who seek to destroy it while giving it lip service have their answer in the prescient words of Justice Rutledge in a 1942 opinion:

With world events running as they have been, there is special reason at this time for not relaxing the old personal freedoms won, as this one was, through centuries of struggle. Men now in concentration camps could speak to the value of such a privilege if it were or had been theirs. There is in it the wisdom of centuries if not that of decades.

Indonesia: The Youngest Republic

BY DOROTHY WOODMAN

London, September

WHEN Indonesians hoisted their red and white flag in Djakarta last month, they were celebrating their sixth birthday. Nominally their sixth; but in fact they have not been masters in their own house continuously during the last six years except in part of North Sumatra. They did not, as they hoped, end Dutch rule in 1945 when they ended Japanese occupation. Twice—in July, 1947, and in December, 1948—the Dutch tried by military means to regain their control, and it was not until December 31, 1949, that sovereignty was “unconditionally and irrevocably” transferred to the independent Indonesian state. The Round Table agreement at that time was a compromise. To the Indonesians it meant that they were economically, financially, and militarily still part of the Dutch system, with West Irian (the Indonesian name for New Guinea) a strategic Trojan horse within their own boundaries. To the Dutch it meant the withdrawal from an empire they could no longer hold.

When we realize that the Indonesians have in fact had less than two years of self-rule it is easy to understand why their political life is so amorphous, their administration so patchy, and their part in world affairs still so small in comparison with their population, their resources, and the vast extent of their territory. These youthful defects hit the visitor to Djakarta in the eye; there are too many officials, too many cars, and too many Dutch. Yet this is almost the only face which Indonesia shows to the world; foreigners usually stay in Djakarta in Dutch hotels, enjoy the amenities of the *Harmone* (a Dutch club), spend a week-end in the luxury hotels (Dutch) in Bandoeng or in the airline hotels in Bali. They hear the constant propaganda aimed at denigrating Indonesia. Moreover, the ineffective, often amateurish publicity put out by Indonesian officials plays into the hands of those Dutchmen—by no means all the Dutch in the islands—who still dream of the good old days when charming servants were cheap, plentiful, and obedient, food was abundant, and a constant stream of guilders flowed back into the home country.

It is from such Dutch sources that one hears all the exaggerated stories of murder, robbery, and violence in Indonesia. I proved the absurd untruth of the charge that outrages were common against anyone with a white skin in a recent trip, unaccompanied, to Sumatra, Java,

Bali, Borneo, and Celebes. I found nothing but extreme friendliness, to which was added the happy excitement of men, women, and students suddenly offered an unexpected opportunity to try out their knowledge of English, often self taught. Lawlessness there has been of course; it has in fact been centered largely in those areas where Dutch troops were stationed in accordance with the terms of the 1949 Round Table Conference agreement. With the departure of the last Dutch troops two months ago, one of the government's most difficult problems is also disappearing.

I came to the conclusion after many talks with Indonesians and Dutch, official and unofficial, in most of the areas involved that lawlessness must be divided into four types. First, and most important, were the rebellions led by Westerling in South Celebes and West Java and by Soumokil in Makassar and Amboina. Many deserters from the Dutch army who cooperated with Westerling in West Java are still at large, well-armed and a focus for discontented or gangster elements. Army units under Dutch command which assisted Soumokil are also still at large. Secondly there are the activities of fanatical Moslem groups in West Java. They raid villages and loot and sometimes murder, and the government has too long postponed an organized campaign against them. Thirdly, mainly in East Java and East Borneo, various belligerent groups have a political background and motive: in East Java, where many thousands were arrested in a combined army and police campaign, they are the aftermath of the Communists' rebellion in 1948; in East Borneo they want to end the Dutch oil monopoly.

Mixed with these groups as well as operating separately in roving bands there are often gangster types—young men who have never settled down to a normal life after their guerrilla warfare against the Japanese and, later, against the Dutch military “actions” of 1947 and 1948, as well as the criminal type which operates in every country. Dutch agents find them very useful; recent arrests in East Java revealed three Dutch intelligence agents directing bandit gangs. If the government carries out its intended campaign in West Java, it will probably find others who are willing to be used to stir up trouble in the republic. In any case, it must be said that Dutch propaganda, both in Indonesia and in Holland, has done a great disservice to both countries and to their relations with each other by exaggerating this problem of lawlessness and disorder.

The uncrystallized quality of Indonesian political

DOROTHY WOODMAN is an English journalist who has recently visited Indonesia under the auspices of the New Statesman and Nation.

life creates another type of problem. I happened to be in and out of Djakarta during the five weeks when Cabinet *formateurs* tried to persuade this and that group of politicians to make a Cabinet. What, I often asked, are the differences between parties? The Masjumi is the largest and the most widely organized, but its appeal is fundamentally religious and it has no clearly defined social program, although there are able, progressive men on the left who are near to the Socialists in outlook. The P. N. I. (National Party of Indonesia) has the advantage of including President Soekarno among its leaders, but it lives on the capital of its past nationalist struggle and has no real program for the future. Then come half a dozen small parties which have little *raison d'être* except their hope to obtain a seat in the government.

The Communist Party exercises more influence in the trade unions than in the political life of the country. The Socialist Party, led by Sjahrir, has a delegation in Parliament, though it chose not to be represented in the government. It has in its ranks some of the most capable young men and women in the country, many in the civil service, and if its leaders face responsibilities as energetically as they calculate tactics, they may yet prove a decisive influence in Indonesian politics. Unless and until there is a general election, politics will remain a matter of personal maneuver rather than of party program. Meanwhile the uncertainties of a government which is not fully responsible to the people are often reflected in uncertainties in administration. The result is that a great deal of first-class ability in Djakarta is concentrated on the production of blueprints which require continuity of personnel and direction for their fulfilment.

OUTSIDE Djakarta, personal politics, indeed politics altogether, seem to matter much less in the lives of the people. Indonesian society is naturally democratic. Nowhere except in Hinduistic Bali do restrictions of caste divide people into unnatural categories; the power of the Sultans in most areas—but not perhaps in South Celebes—has been either challenged or broken following the defeat of their Dutch sponsors; the land, partly as the result of an enlightened Dutch land policy, belongs to the peasants and farmers. In traveling from the north of Sumatra, through Java, Bali, and Borneo to the north of Celebes—a distance roughly equal to that between the Lakes of Killarney and the Caspian Sea—I had many opportunities of seeing this democracy functioning through the headmen of the villages, the *bhupati* of the districts, and the governors of the provinces. I found great ability, imagination, and devoted service to the republic. I was struck too by the passion for education which I met everywhere, the conviction that this was the clue to progress, the challenge of independence.

This demand for education, among adults as well as among children, creates all kinds of problems; in Central Sumatra 11,000 children were ready to go to the middle school this summer, but teachers and accommodation exist for only 2,000. In the far distant reaches of the Kapuas River in Central Borneo, the Dyaks are similarly alive to the need for education; last year they built ninety-one new schools, and one of their leaders told me of efforts they are making to develop a common language for the forty-nine tribes. The Toradjas in Central Celebes recite the same story; from a central educational fund raised among them, they have sent 500 students down to the nearest middle school in Makassar. In a few years, many of them told me, they will go back to start middle schools in their own villages, and they look forward to a university in Makassar.

Usually these schools, often very simple and very scantily equipped, are run by the local authorities. But in the Bogar area of West Java I came across schools set up by the ex-guerrilla teachers themselves. In Bukki Tinggi (Central Sumatra) the Women's Organization was running an excellent domestic-science school, and in Banjermassin (South Borneo) and Menado (North Celebes) the women had started primary schools.

Parallel with this urge for education goes the desire to build up Indonesian industries. Here even greater difficulties are met than those in the field of education. There is first of all the large proportion of industry in the hands of the Chinese. Then there is the shortage of technicians in every field. Time will solve this problem; in the meantime foreign technicians can be of great assistance, especially Dutchmen who have knowledge of the country, provided of course that they have good-will. I met Dutch people whose loyalty to the republic was unquestioned: in North Sumatra in charge of light industries, in Pontinac and Bandjermassin and elsewhere advising on financial problems, on the draining of swamps, on training in business methods. Communications are a third problem; the Dutch always paid a disproportionate attention to Java, and the Indonesians tend to do the same. Not only are communications practically non-existent in most of Borneo, Celebes, South Sumatra, and the Moluccas, but inter-island transport is still a Dutch monopoly. This limits inter-island trade and slows down the essential transference of population from Java, where five-eighths of the people live, to the enormous empty spaces of the other islands.

That economic conditions are as good as they are today is to a great extent the result of natural riches, a wonderfully fertile soil, and the abnormally high prices which world conditions produce for rubber, copra, and oil. Not without reason Indonesians would brush aside their present difficulties and say to me: "Just give us five years."

BOOKS and the ARTS

Faulkner: An Experiment in Drama

REQUIEM FOR A NUN. By William Faulkner. Random House. \$3.

ALMOST alone among the older American writers William Faulkner continues to show creative restlessness, experimenting with new forms and widening the bounds of his subject matter. Though his latest book is uneven, partly magnificent and partly an ambitious failure, it is an admirable example of his continued exertion, his refusal to rest on laurels, his undiminished curiosity about problems of craft. Since the praise of Faulkner is now so fulsome and indiscriminate, I had better say, however, that there is nothing here equal to his best work: nothing like the tragic lyricism of "The Sound and the Fury" or the scenic power of "Light in August."

A three-act play with narrative intervals setting the background for each act, "Requiem for a Nun" is a sequel to one of Faulkner's weakest novels, "Sanctuary." In "Sanctuary," you will recall, the feather-brained bitch, Temple Drake, after an accident with her drunken escort, Gowan Stevens, found herself captive of a satanic mobster, Popeye. And liked it. In the Memphis brothel to which Popeye took her she developed a passion for Red, a young tough whom the impotent Popeye provided as his sexual substitute.

Now, in "Requiem," Temple and Stevens are respectably married, parents of two children, but still tortured by a need to show each other gratitude and forgiveness. Wearied by this regimen of cautious goodness, Temple decides to run off with Red's younger brother, who has appeared in Yoknapatawpha to blackmail her with the lascivious letters she had written during her Memphis excursion.

To this plan there is only one obstacle: a Negro woman named Nancy, a reformed dope addict and ex-prostitute whom Temple employs as a nursemaid and confidante for an exchange of memories about youthful sin. Nancy, in

the name of the children, begs Temple not to run off, and when she is rebuffed, strangles Temple's baby to forestall the greater tragedy of both children being left homeless. Condemned to die, Nancy shows no fear: she is in God's hands.

If this play is produced, it is likely to suffer from the same weaknesses it reveals in print: Faulkner hardly troubles to dramatize his story, the bulk of it is told by Temple—after many tedious hesitations—to auditors on the stage. This is the familiar Faulkner strategy of spiraling back from a troubled narrator to a troubling action, but in a play it won't do unless the action is shown.

The strength of the play rests in its characterization of the whites. In previous books Faulkner has expressed a striking distaste for the doings of young women, partly as an accommodation to folk humor and partly from an obscure governing bias; but Temple, one of the foulest of his females, is treated with surprising sympathy and a fine sense of how even slight aging can modify character. Gowan, who had learned to drink like a gentleman in his Southern college, is also well done: far more resonant a character than in "Sanctuary." But Nancy is a problem.

All Faulkner's recent books reveal an intense concern with the Negroes, an inability to rest in whatever his latest opinion of them may be, a need to keep pressing at the limits of his mind. This, and not his much-quoted philosophical sermons, seems to me the sign of his strength as novelist and moralist. Unfortunately, in "Requiem" he is so obsessed with the Negro as a force or a presence that he does not establish a Negro as a person. Lacking the rich particularity of a Dilsey or a Lucas Beauchamp, Nancy never comes to life; featureless and bloodless, she is merely a moral wraith, a Voice. Her murder of the white child is hard to take in terms of ordinary human motivation, and therefore hard to take in terms of Faulkner's intended symbolism. More troublesome still is the weight Faulkner

seems to be imposing, from the most admirable of motives, on the Negroes—nothing less than the salvation of the whites. In a way opposite to his advocacy of "states' rights" in "Intruder in the Dust," he may here be a little unfair to the Negroes: isn't he asking too much of them? What they want and need is equality, not the job of saving the whites—that the whites will have to do for themselves.

Before her death Nancy engages in a religious dialogue with Temple and Uncle Gavin Stevens, the one Faulkner character who is consistently boring. Nancy proclaims, "Believe." Temple asks, "Believe what?" Replies the Negro woman, "Believe." No doubt, this will excite those critics who adore simple faith (in others), but to me it seems mere sentimental piety. Temple's question is very much to the point, and Nancy's answer—well, it is no worse than most of the answers one gets these days. In general, it really does Faulkner no service to glide over his recent fondness for pontificating, or to treat all of his work as if it were gilded gospel, beyond evaluation and requiring only hushed exegesis.

The narrative interludes are another matter: here is the major Faulkner, the imaginative chronicler of a region and a people. One interlude, called "The Courthouse," is written in a winding breathless style which serves beautifully for a humorous recall of the Yoknapatawpha past. This section is partly a paean to the vanished American wilderness, for Faulkner the source and scene of mobility, freedom, and innocence; partly a witty anecdote of how the loss of a lock, the vanity of a mail rider, and the shrewdness of an early settler led to the building of Yoknapatawpha's first courthouse.

Still better is "The Jail," a loping forty-nine-page sentence of rich but clear prose: rhetoric splendid and controlled. Both rhapsody and elegy of the Yoknapatawpha past, "The Jail" is also a review of Faulkner's own legend, touching on most of his past books and ending with a recognition that the

South, now absorbed into "one nation," barely exists any more as a separate region, the "old deathless Lost Cause" having become "a faded (though still select) social club." Faulkner will probably write more books about Yoknapatawpha, but "The Jail" seems likely to serve as a valedictory to his world; time has caught up with him or he with time; and for those who have immersed themselves in this world, even if with the consciousness that they are not of it, his impassioned farewell will seem a gesture infinitely sad.

IRVING HOWE

Fanfare Misplaced

JOURNEY FOR OUR TIME. The Journals of the Marquis de Custine. Edited and Translated by Phyllis Penn Kohler. Introduction by General Walter Bedell Smith. Pellegrini and Cudahy. \$4.

NOW and again there falls upon a hapless reviewer the responsibility of speaking out against a book which has caught the fancy of influential persons. Mrs. Kohler's edition of De Custine's notorious Journals is a case in point. Mrs. Kohler is modest about the book, but others have been less restrained. Her publishers advertise it as "a prophetic book . . . a revealing picture of Russia—past, present . . . [*sic*], and future." Ex-Ambassador Smith, in his Introduction, calls it ". . . the best work so far produced about the Soviet Union," and George Kennan speaks of it as ". . . the best existing work on the Soviet Union." Arthur Koestler is quoted as referring to the "rediscovery" of De Custine's book as "an outstanding event both in the world of letters and of politics."

With all due respect to these distinguished advocates of "Journey for Our Time," they are talking nonsense. Though De Custine prophesied many events, including the reestablishment of the power of the Roman Catholic church, his Journals were not prophetic. Neither were they about the Soviet Union. His book was written eighty-five years before there was a Soviet Union. Mrs. Kohler's edition is not a "rediscovery" for the very simple reason that De Custine's book was never lost. Nor was it, as Mrs. Kohler calls it, "a long-closed book to the English-speaking

public." As Mrs. Kohler notes elsewhere, there were several English translations of the Journals, including one published in the United States in 1854. One or more of these editions have been continuously available in many public and private libraries ever since. Incidentally, Mrs. Kohler refers to the 1854 edition as "an abridged translation." It was. It was also twice the length of Mrs. Kohler's translation.

My objections to the fanfares for "Journey for Our Time" are basic. History, whether Russian or other, is a story of both continuity and change. To omit either is to distort the story, and the Kohler edition completely omits the element of change. It is true that many of De Custine's comments have a timely sound in our ears. This is partly because certain characteristics are common to all despotism. A contemporary description of despotism in ancient Sparta could, with careful editing, be made to sound just as timely. It is also true that certain norm and value patterns of old Russia have persisted in recognizable form in the new Russia. This is the element of continuity, and a very important element it is. But it is utterly fantastic to pretend that Russia and the Russians have stood still from 1839 to the present. It is also a dangerously misleading doctrine, and it would still be dangerous in this case even if De Custine's original work had been a wholly accurate and complete description of the Russia he saw.

This raises a second main objection. De Custine was an acute observer and a brilliant reporter, but if he saw the whole picture of Russia he did not report it. The Russia of Nicholas I was despotic and repressive and most of the other things that De Custine called it. But there was also another side to that Russia. Russian historians used to refer to this period as "the reign of contrasts," by which they meant that advance existed side by side with tyrannic repression. One has only to look at the history of Russian culture to see a part of what these historians had in mind. Even the autocratic Nicholas was responsible for an enlightened codification of the law. Black as Russia was in many ways, it was not so unrelievedly black as De Custine sought to make it.

Finally, there is a third objection—

this one to the incomplete identification of De Custine. Ex-Ambassador Smith describes him as a French aristocrat who, filled with hatred for revolutions, republics, and parliaments, went to Russia to gather arguments in support of monarchism. But De Custine's Russian experience soured him on monarchism and turned him into an advocate of constitutions. Smith calls him a fellow-traveler in reverse, "the first . . . to make public confession of his disillusionment." This is good as far as it goes, but it does not indicate that De Custine took with him to Russia other convictions which he did not change and which impaired his qualifications for impartial observation and reporting. The following passage, quoted from the 1854 edition, will illustrate this point.

But patience! the times are ripening; soon, every question will be clearly defined, and truth, defended by its legitimate champions, will regain its empire over the minds of nations. Perhaps the struggle which is preparing will serve to convince Protestants of an essential truth, which I have already more than once dwelt upon, but on which I insist . . . : it is that the only really free priest that exists is the Catholic priest. . . . The church of Rome has alone saved the purity of faith by defending . . . the independence of sacerdotal power against the usurpations of temporal sovereignties. Where is the church which has not allowed itself to be lowered by the different governments of the earth to the rank of a pious police? There is but one, one only—the Catholic church. . . . The Graeco-Russian clergy have never been, and never will be anything more than a militia dressed in uniform.—"Russia." *Translated from the French of the Marquis de Custine. New York, 1854. p. 491.*

De Custine had every right to hold and to express such views and to employ such criteria in forming his judgments. But the reader has the right to know about it so that he may form his judgment in turn.

"Journey for Our Time" is useful in that it makes a part of De Custine's writings more readily available to students of Russian history. It also has value as a startling illustration of continuity in history. But as a study of the Soviet Union it is more likely to obscure than to illuminate.

WARREN B. WALSH

Attitudes Toward Sex

THE FOLKLORE OF SEX. By Albert Ellis. Charles Boni. \$5.

THERE are many avenues open to the social scientist who seeks to chart the common anxieties that underlie a society. An easily accessible route, yet one that can be highly revealing, makes use of folklore as its source material. The focus here is on the collective fantasies of a group of people reacting to similar social pressures. The fantasies themselves are never primary in their origins. They are always peripheral manifestations of unsatisfied-need tensions. They represent magical attempts to resolve the discomfort created by the hidden fears and the hidden wishes the members of the group have in common. Their presence provides an excellent clue to the primary roots of emotional conflict. This is the route chosen by Albert Ellis, psychologist, in "The Folklore of Sex," a study of contradictions between the real and the apparent in American sexual attitudes.

Dr. Ellis analyzes the American attitudes toward sex as they are expressed in the popular mass media: newspapers, magazines, radio and television shows, movies, stage productions, popular songs, and popular novels and non-fiction books. He took for his sampling, as far as practical, all the American mass media produced or published on a single day, January 1, 1950. All references to sex were extracted and then broken down into various categories, such as adultery, petting, birth control, masturbation, and a host of others. Each of these, in turn, was analyzed from several directions, but primarily in terms of acceptance or rejection. The voluminous data are frequently redundant, and it must be stated that toward the end the book wears thin. However, as a counterbalance, the author is a facile writer with an engaging sense of humor and a knack for spoofing the very material he is dissecting.

The study demonstrates over and over again in relation to every aspect of sexual behavior that the average American citizen is torn between two opposing forces: his professed attitudes, which conform to social convention, and his actual attitudes, which propel him in the opposite direction. This is the basic conflict that is clearly reflected in the

mass media. Each of them, almost without exception, overtly lines up on the side of the existent conventional morality. Yet, at the same time, each not only is replete with sexual material designed to stimulate the sexual sensibilities of its audience but also covertly looks with admiration upon those who are the most successful in circumventing the taboos. This apparent paradox can have only one psychological explanation. The professed anti-sexual attitudes cannot be in harmony with the actual needs of the people who hold them. It is these two sets of contradictory attitudes, as they are expressed in the mass media, that form what Dr. Ellis has chosen to call the folklore of sex. It must not be forgotten, however, that these attitudes are merely the social projections of an identical conflict that is raging within the individual. The end result is the multitude of sexual neuroses and marital problems which plague the American scene.

The wealth of sexual themes in mass media, coupled with a contradictory set of sexual standards, is a phenomenon that is peculiarly American. Many societies have restrictive sexual institutions, but few if any show such confusion about their operation. It is safe to conclude that the intensity of the struggle between the sexual need and the social taboo is currently at a much greater pitch in America than in most other cultures. The reasons for this must interest us. The usual explanations, and the ones offered by Dr. Ellis, are two in number. One is biological, the other economic. The former holds that any impediment to the sexual drive will of necessity create vicarious outlets. The latter ties sex to the profit motive and cites its value as a profit-stimulating device. These are two good reasons, and each no doubt is true, but certainly neither can be defined as peculiarly American. The answer, it seems to me, is more complex and lies in the relationship between our sexual institutions and the total culture.

Ours is a fiercely competitive culture of superlative but often contradictory ideals. The emphasis invariably falls on success, and there is little room for compromise without loss of face. It makes no difference that two ideals may be divergent; the high value of success forces the individual to move with equal fervor in both directions. A classical ex-

ample is American business, where high ethics and sharp practices are simultaneously applauded. Here it is possible to make the required rationalizations, but there is no place for such idealization of opposites in working out an acceptable code of sexual behavior. A biological drive is immutable. One simply cannot be both a celibate and a rake, a madonna and a hellion in bed. Most cultures are content with either one or the other, or at least provide permissible channels for digression, but the American is called upon to perform an impossible feat. The attempt is fraught with conflict; its repercussions saturate our mass media.

This is a particularly valuable book for the unsophisticated reader because it uses source material so blatantly commonplace that no one will have trouble recognizing it. The author quite deftly makes our attitudes toward sex look ludicrous—which of course they are—and only the most blind will miss the point. But none of us need feel immune, for we are all tarred by the same culture. I'm afraid even the most sophisticated reader will find himself laughing

FREE "MARRIED LOVE" by Dr. Marie C. Stopes

Write for your copy of this world-famous book dealing with the intimate contacts of marriage and containing the complete and unexpurgated text of the original \$3.00 edition. Sent free to adults only as part of an educational campaign, but please enclose 10¢ to cover cost of postage.

THE EUGENICS PUBLISHING CO.
Dept. D, 370 West 35th Street, New York 1, N. Y.

BOOKS AND PERIODICALS from the **U S S R**
FOR AN ALL-EMBRACING PORTRAYAL OF SOVIET LIFE AND ACHIEVEMENTS
SOVIET UNION
(formerly "U.S.S.R. in Construction")
Published in English, Russian, Chinese, French, German and Spanish
SUBSCRIPTION RATES — Year \$2.50
Single Issues: 25¢
FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.
33 W. 40 Street, N. Y. 19 Murray Hill 8-

Fall Book Number

■ Reviews of the more important books of the season will be featured by **THE NATION** in its regular Fall Book Number to appear on Oct. 13.

■ Publishers wishing to utilize the special advantages offered by this feature issue for advertising of better books are urged to make space reservations as soon as possible.

• For information on space reservations, copy deadline and rates, phone BARclay 7-1066, or write to

The NATION
Advertising Department
20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

at the many examples of sexual humor culled from the data by Dr. Ellis. All of which goes to prove, as Dr. Ellis so aptly puts it: "The average American is an individual whose attitudes toward sex are woefully addled, straddled, and twaddled."

LIONEL OVESEY

Taubman on Toscanini

THE MAESTRO. THE LIFE OF ARTURO TOSCANINI. By Howard Taubman. Simon and Schuster. \$5.

DON'T SLEEP!" Toscanini roared during a rehearsal of—as it happened—an inconsequential piece by one of the minor Italian opera composers. "Put your blood! I put my blood!" And if a Toscanini is to be written about, it should be only by someone who likewise—in whatever he does—"puts his blood."

Mr. Taubman's way of operating, in the years I have observed it, has in-

volved no such expenditure. It is well exemplified by the passage in his review of a Stokowski book in which he described what Stokowski had to say about the physical basis of music: "When he gets around to the physical side of music Mr. Stokowski writes more illuminatingly than most musicians. For his is a bold far-ranging, searching mind. Not content merely to study and conduct symphonies, he has gone to the roots of his art. He has made himself an expert on the science of sound. More than any major conductor in this country he knows the science of acoustics and the possibilities of the new fields being opened by scientists. . . . Many other writers have set down their views. But Mr. Stokowski covers the field with a fresh, broad point of view. Etc." This, to my ear, is the writing of someone who hasn't read what he is pretending to describe—the writing, then, of a journalist, in the usual and worst sense of the term: one who doesn't need to read a book to produce the words about it which fill the space assigned to it and which as such constitute, for a newspaper, "coverage" of the subject. And a man who has made a career of producing lifeless words that betray the absence of genuine experience behind them is incapable of understanding something like the intensity of Toscanini's involvement in his work, or of describing it in words that have the ring of authenticity; certainly he doesn't achieve this authenticity by employing artificially colored language to write "how thoroughly his blood stream and very nerve ends are soaked in the stuff [music]" or how "the notes have long since left the page and come alive for him, and yet he returns again and again to the printed page to see whether the flesh and bones are in the right places and whether the blood courses warmly enough."

A Taubman writing about Toscanini the man, then, sets one's teeth on edge; nor have I ever detected in Mr. Taubman's critical writing the slightest evidence of genuine musical perception that would have made him easier to read on Toscanini the musician; and the journalist without musical understanding proves to be an inaccurate reporter of some of the stories he says he has been collecting for twenty years. Thus: "He confided that he had made a re-

cording of Mozart's *Divertimento* for strings and two horns for the benefit of his colleagues, the conductors. . . . In the slow movement, he had always felt something lacking and decided that what was needed was a cadenza for the first violin. After he had made this addition, Toscanini found a letter from Mozart to his wife which confirmed his hunch." Toscanini did perform the *Divertimento* to show certain conductors how to play it. But even if I didn't know what he said about the cadenza in the slow movement I would know it couldn't possibly have been what Mr. Taubman reports: the journalist collector of stories dropped this one through the wrong slot. There have been many instances of Toscanini reaching a conclusion about something in a score which had troubled him (the conclusion, for example, that Mozart must have intended the *Larghetto* movement of the Concerto K.595 to be played *alla breve*) and having it confirmed later by documentary evidence. But in the case of the *Divertimento* the entire point was the fact that the score itself calls for a cadenza in the usual way—the music coming to a halt on the six-four chord followed by a rest for the interpolated cadenza, and then a trill for its conclusion—which any musician should understand. And Toscanini, listening to Koussevitzky's Tanglewood performance, had been horrified at this point to hear the orchestra pause on the six-four chord, break off for the rest, and then simply play the trill and go on. "This man is no musician!" was Toscanini's verdict. "He is *ignorante!*"

There remains the purely factual biographical material; and this I expected would be the valuable material of the book. For the publishers' statement that Mr. Taubman had had "the close friendship and cooperation of several of the Maestro's immediate family," Mr. Taubman's own statement that he had "talked to his friends, colleagues, and family," the fact that he had talked with Toscanini himself during the 1950 transcontinental tour—all these led me to believe that although this was not an authorized biography it presented accurate biographical material obtained from these dependable sources. But encountering details which I knew to be incorrect (e.g. the rehearsal of a Brahms symphony with the New York

PULITZER PRIZE and CRITICS' AWARD
 RICHARD RODGERS & OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd
 present in association with
 ELEANOR HAYWARD & JOSHUA LOGAN

ROGER RICO
MARTHA WRIGHT
 IN
South Pacific

by RICHARD RODGERS
 Lyrics by OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd
 Book by
 HAMMERSTEIN 2nd & JOSHUA LOGAN
 Adapted from JAMES A. MICHENER'S Pulitzer
 Prize Winning "TALES OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC"
 Directed by JOSHUA LOGAN
 Scenery & Lighting by Jo Mielziner
 with MICHAEL McCORMICK & DIANA COSTELLO
 MAJESTIC THEA., 44th St. W. of B'way
 Evenings 8:25. Matinees Wed. & Sat., 2:25

Buy Your Books through THE *Nation*

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C. O. D. No C. O. D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to
Miss Le Puch

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
 70 Vesey Street New York 7, N. Y.

Philharmonic in 1942, on p. 265), and others which seemed questionable, I inquired, and learned that except for the remarks of Toscanini and anecdotes about him that Mr. Taubman had picked up on the tour, the book was mostly a journalist's rewriting of the material in older books and articles, including their inaccuracies. I say "a journalist's rewriting" because such rewrite-jobs are standard practice in the production of articles in newspaper offices; and I will add that the paper's only requirement concerning the statements in such an article is that the writer be able to show they appeared somewhere in print, because that seems to have been the only requirement Mr. Taubman imposed on himself. Which is to say that it was enough for this journalist on the run to read somewhere about Toscanini's having been distressed to discover "that his father had gone to his father-in-law to seek a loan" (p. 70), and did not seem to him necessary to check the story with the Toscanini family, who would have informed him that Carla de Martini's father had been dead a number of years when she married Toscanini. And so with other details.

B. H. HAGGIN

Films

MANNY
FARBER

THOUGH "People Will Talk" is basically only a Dr. Kildare story about "good" medicine and "bad," it has been precociously adult-erated into the toniest film of the year. It tells the tale of a miraculous gynecologist (Cary Grant) who embodies all the fortunate attributes of the well-analyzed, well-to-do, liberal know-it-all, and may very likely speak symbolically in defense of well-analyzed Hollywood millionaire-liberals like Joseph L. Mankiewicz, who wrote and directed the movie for Darryl F. Zanuck. We meet this Hippodemocratic whiz-bang at a stormy moment in his career, when he is being attacked by a jealous pip-squeak professor of anatomy (Hume Cronyn) who, driven by resentment, accuses the great Dr. Praetorious of resorting to unorthodox methods of therapy—methods which are never clearly defined to any greater extent than that they include a chummy,

considerate attitude toward patients. Working on the broad-minded doctor from another quarter at this particular instant is the pregnant but unmarried Miss Higgins (Jeanne Crain), a fainting, crying, fearful, charming drifter. After missing herself at zero range with a pearl-handled one-shooter, she seduces Dr. P. into an elegant marriage.

The spectator learns a lot of highfalutin nothings about these troubled characters, and even less about the practice of medicine, eccentric or otherwise, since never more than for the briefest moment does the camera quit the lips of the protagonists in order to examine the real business of doctoring. There are, however, a good many daring cracks about such things as illegitimacy, impotence, infantile toilet habits; as a result, the naive and impressionable may be led to believe that this daredevil, Mankiewicz, is raking the medical profession—and certain other American institutions—over the coals. Well, I have no doubt that such was the intention, for "People," like so many other films in the past six years, contains that disguised, free-wheeling leftist attack on American manners and morals that Senators are always looking for but wouldn't recognize if it bit them.

The good doctor is presented by Mankiewicz as a new faith healer surrounded by all those small-minded, cantankerous, inefficient little cogs who make our boring capitalist system run. An eminently successful man who does nothing according to Hoyle, he moves pompously and talkatively through the world, finding something wrong with everything and everyone and showing us, with tired but unflagging urbanity, the way of the truth and the light. He

scolds a heartless nurse ("Don't ever let me hear you say that about a patient again!"), looks down his nose at over-conscientious note-takers in anatomy class, makes epigrams about our obsession for packaged foods, twitches all over when he visits a prosperous farmer who has a fondness for television and chicken every Sunday. (Mankiewicz has outdone Wilder and Stevens at creating nasty caricatures of minor "representative Americans.") Meanwhile, he takes in Miss Higgins, her misfit poet father (Sidney Blackmer), and a slow-witted giant of a murderer (Finlay Currie), who in gratitude becomes the hero's constant companion and valet. These adoptees, unequal to the demands of our vicious competitive society, find a cosy paradise with Praetorious, his Brahms records, and his Lionel electric trains—so help me. Out of this holocaust of black-white contrasts, overstatements, and simple blind misstatements comes the message—stylistically bootlegged from Wilde, Shaw, F. D. R., anybody—that until we begin living in some mysteriously friendly, understanding, noble relationship with one another, we're pretty far up the creek.

A MOVIE made with considerable more insight and cinematic know-how about its subject matter—though no less biased—is "Saturday's Hero"; putting the blast on college football with all the subtlety and flexibility of Fordham's Seven Blocks of Granite, it sees greedy sadists everywhere except among the gentle, brotherly workers in coal mines and dyeworks. The Millard Lampell story shows a scrapping scatback (John Derek) from the New Jersey



13 East 67 Street
New York 21
REgent 7-7400

the ASIA INSTITUTE

School for Asiatic Studies at the
Graduate level now registering
degree and non-degree students.

OVER 50 LANGUAGES "INTENSIVE OR
NORMAL RATE", ANTHROPOLOGY,
ART, CURRENT EVENTS, ECONOMICS,
HISTORY, LITERATURE, RELIGION,
PHILOSOPHY.

proletariat being pursued, landed, and then manhandled by an obsessive coach, a big-wheel alumnus (Blackmer again), and one particular All-American end whose apology to the injured Derek goes like this: "I'm sorry, Novak, I really needed the dough, the \$150 they offered me if I could put you out of the game." Lampell has constructed his script in brief, active scenes which jolt past the eye like telephone poles seen from a Pullman window. For instance, about five minutes of his script parlays the following shots: Derek's "I love you" to Donna Reed over milk shakes, picture of speeding train, newspaper shot of alumni banquet in Norfolk, spread on Novak in national magazine, speeding train, letter from home ("Poppa not feeling so hot"), close-up of forever troubled Novak, speeding train, distant view of football practice in Jackson Stadium. The more extended scenes are also pretty unimportant. They spit out shots of Donna Reed, a hollow actress with jittery, camera-shy eyes, and of Derek faking most of his acting by a facial expression fraught with intensity because the script-writer apparently forgot to write any dialogue for him.

But this gridiron exposé is probably the toughest sports film since "The Set-up." Someone in the crew was hep to certain football types: the rangy, shy, and almost moronically incurious end;

the lanky frosh coach, full of pepper, who is himself a perennial freshman; and the ex-paratrooper fullback who has about ten years in toughness and worldliness on his mates. Having done a good job of casting the team around Novak, the director quietly keeps you aware of each player in the scrimmaging without establishing a special little scene of comedy or glory to make him memorable. The football action approximates the appalling speed and business-machine efficiency of the modern game, while an electrically precise camera man (Lee Garmes) manages to make Derek into a fairly credible pigskin ace. Garmes button-hooks his camera at a swift speed from the forward-passing Derek to a point just behind the receiver, an often-repeated tactic that immeasurably speeds up the play and allows some unlisted Otto Graham to throw the bullet pass for Derek. The movie is spotted with things as nostalgically barren in design as the freshman rooms and as nearly right in poignance as the distant view of a blanketed halfback hobbling forlornly down the sidelines to the dressing room. But all in all the film thrusts so much message and quick fame at its audience that you can almost hear the high-school spectators drooling about all those dollars that are within tackling distance of their ham-sized hands.

Letters to the Editors

Treated Like Dogs

Dear Sirs: I am an Indian student and recently have come to study in the United States. On the morning of July 3 I arrived at Idlewild Airport. My passport and visa were examined by the health officer and then by the immigration officer. I was kept waiting for eight hours, and then told I was to be sent to Ellis Island, but that I would be allowed to go after a few minutes.

For an hour at Ellis Island I was ushered from one office to another. Finally I was put in a huge hall. It was only then that I became suspicious and tried to get information from the officials but was rebuffed. After talking to others in the hall I found out that I was being detained.

Life at Ellis Island was monotonous and frustrating. The guards were insulting and treated us like dogs. The food was horrible, and the toilets were filthy. The quarters were overcrowded. The days dragged on. There were people of all colors, all religions, and all races at Ellis Island. But all their faces had the same look of misery.

On the eighth day I appeared before the Special Board of Inquiry. Nothing was found wrong with my papers. I overheard one of the inspectors say, "This guy was brought here for no reason at all. This was a blunder of the immigration officials at Idlewild." I was immediately released.

Strangely enough, when I was leaving the island I was looking at the Statue of Liberty. I was considering at that moment whether there was such a thing as liberty in America.

HASHIM M. HASSIM

Cambridge, Mass.

CONTRIBUTORS

IRVING HOWE, co-author with B. J. Widwick of "The U. A. W. and Walter Reuther," has recently published "Sherwood Anderson," a critical biography.

WARREN B. WALSH is chairman of the Board of Russian Studies at Syracuse University.

LIONEL OVESEY, a practicing physician in New York City, is co-author with Abram L. Kardiner of "The Mark of Oppression, a Psychological Study of the American Negro."

FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE

The NATION

MONEY-SAVING MAGAZINE COMBINATIONS

☐ with Harper's Magazine . . . \$9.50 You Save \$2.50

The NATION

☐ with Consumer Reports . . . \$10.75 You Save \$1.25

These club combinations are for one year, and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses. Remittance must accompany all combination orders.

THE NATION by itself:

☐ 1 Year \$7 ☐ 2 Years \$12 ☐ 3 Years \$17

SERVICEMEN'S RATE \$5 A YEAR

Canadian and Foreign Postage \$1 a year extra.

THE NATION, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

☐ I want to subscribe to *The Nation* for _____ years.

☐ Remittance enclosed. ☐ Bill me.

☐ I enclose my remittance for the following *Nation* combinations as listed below.

NAME _____

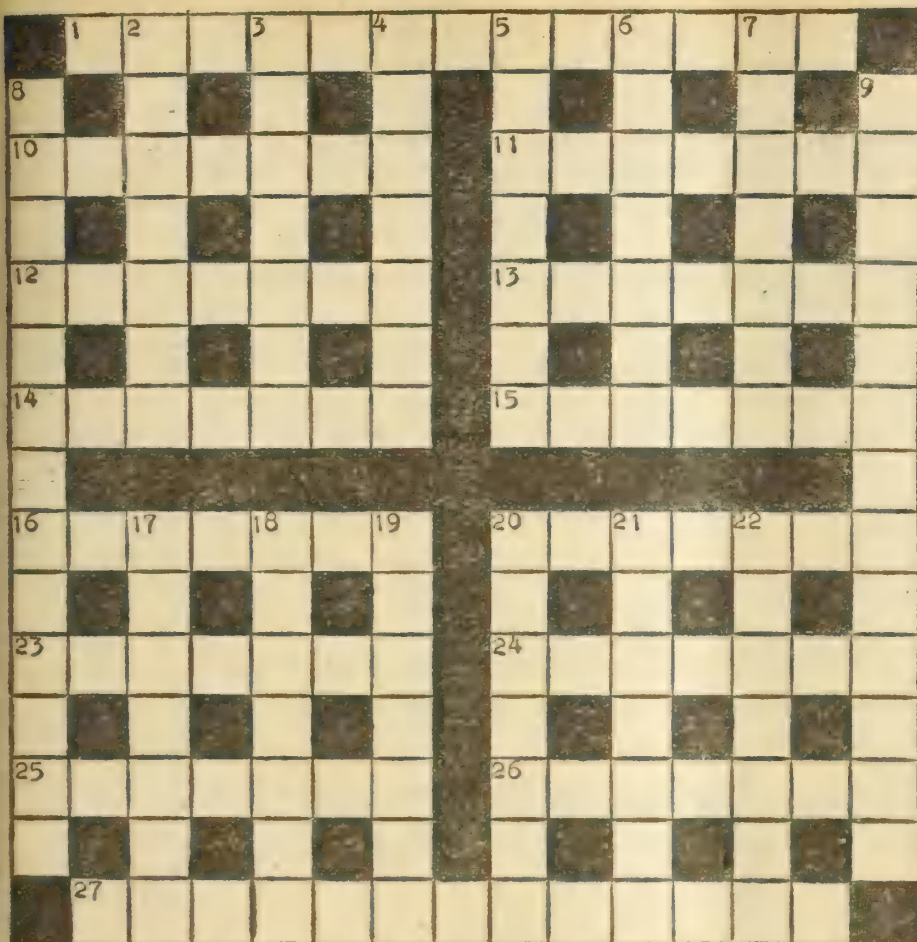
STREET _____

CITY _____ ZONE _____ STATE _____

9/29/61

Crossword Puzzle No. 432

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 Putting everything outside of where accounts are settled? (8, 5)
- 10 Assails with pop-guns? (7)
- 11 Change of attire; a singer doesn't take long for it. (7)
- 12 Such female spirits were likely to get dampened! (7)
- 13 Vulcanite. (7)
- 14 The Christmas Carol accuses them of being secret, self-contained, and solitary. (7)
- 15 What a pivot tooth might be expected to do. (7)
- 16 Appearing in the seamen's altogether? (2, 5)
- 20 Evidently at least one member is out of order. (7)
- 23 A little ring around the capital. (7)
- 24 Would one of these typify the "Spirit of Ancient Rome"? (7)
- 25 Out-of-state way to get cleared. (7)
- 26 Confound New York city! (7)
- 27 A verse is not as likely to be emphatic! (13)

DOWN

- 2 There are a lot of funny stories about one of the second triumvirate. (7)
- 3 Sounds like gas at the battle place. (7)
- 4 Dwells on 27. (7)

- 5 The first or second, for example, aren't the kind that smooth the way for others. (7)
- 6 Venezuelan flower? (7)
- 7 Brooding might be just a pose to the artist. (7)
- 8 A poisoned drum! So that's the way it works! (5, 8)
- 9 Erin go bragh, for example? (3, 10)
- 17 Threatens other than aviatrixes, obviously! (7)
- 18 Ravel can't seem to get started with it; on edge, evidently. (7)
- 19 One or the other of 6 goes for naught. (7)
- 20 Parts of the club are cut the same as Gaillard. (7)
- 21 Where a Mohammedan finds his leader out of uniform. (2, 5)
- 22 Confuse the first words of both clue and answer to 9, and you'll find it to be appropriate. (7)

.....

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 431

ACROSS:—1 NORMAL SCHOOLS; 10 BRIER; 11 ANTIPHONY; 12 ENHANCE; 13 STALL; 14 QUARRYING; 16 OBSTINATE; 18 PHASE; 19 LUCERNE; 21 PREDICT; 22 GRADATION; 23 SHAKO; 24 IN HIGH DUDGEON.

DOWN:—1 NORLESSE OBLIGE; 2 RAILHEADS; 3 APRONED; 4 SPATE; 5 HOT TAMALE; 6 ON PAPER; 8 and 7 BY THE GREAT HORN SPOON; 14 QUAVERING; 15 INANIMATE; 17 IN REACH; 18 and 12 PLEASED AS PUNCH; 20 COATI; 21 PINED.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

RESORTS

50 MILES TO FOREST HOUSE

Near enough for easy travel, far enough for an unforgettable vacation. Forest House achieves new levels of gay relaxation in inspiring surroundings. Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality. Two grand lakes. All sports.

FOREST HOUSE

Lake Mahopac, N. Y. • Tel. MAhopac 8-3449

WINDY HILL

ON ORANGE LAKE

A pleasantly informal vacation in friendly atmosphere. Books, Records, Ping-pong, a two-mile lake for boating, fishing, swimming. Food of excellent quality in generous quantity. Rate: \$45 weekly, \$7.50 daily.

65 Miles From N. Y. C.

JANE C. ARENZ, R. D. No. 1, Walden, N. Y.

Phone: Newburgh 115 W 2

Colorful! Gay! Exciting!
THAT'S INDIAN SUMMER AT THE GLENMERE!
famed horseback riding!
the Glenmere
Chester, N. Y. in the beautiful Ramapos
Phones: Chester 2151 — N. Y.: REctor 2-5047

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING analysis. Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel. WA 4-1575. Cooperating with doctors, psychologists, schools, firms, industries. Lessons by appointment, evenings. Marital, educational, vocational, psychological problems. Fee, \$5.00.

PUBLISHING SERVICE

AUTHORS! Sales Department available for your short stories, articles, books and plays. Free booklet, write today! Mead Agency, 419 Fourth Avenue, N. Y. 16 (OR 9-1150).

WE print, publish and distribute your non-fiction or fiction manuscript in pamphlet or book form. Send for free folder. WILLIAM-FREDERICK PRESS, 313 West 35th St., New York 1, N. Y.

PERSONALS

exit loneliness

Somewhere there is someone you would like to know. Somewhere there is someone who would like to know you. We can help you find a richer, happier life through discreet, dignified "social introductions." Write for booklet, or phone MAY RICHARDSON Dept. TN, 114 West 72 Street New York City EN 2-2033



AFTER 4½ YEARS as crack newspaper reporter, book reviewer, married 26-year-old college grad seeks challenging, stimulating editorial, research job in East. Box 242, c/o The Nation.

Advertising Rates

CLASSIFIED

74¢ a line (6 words)

Three-line minimum

CLASSIFIED DISPLAY

\$7.42 per inch (minimum)

Remittance must accompany all orders

The NATION

Twenty Vesey Street

New York 7, New York

BArday 7-1066

Are There Any Young Liberals In Your College?

LISTEN TO THESE VOICES FROM THE CLASSROOM:

Here is a young man in a Middle Western college. He is the new type of student. War was his prep school. He is married and knows responsibility. He does not take the world lightly. But he does not find his seriousness reflected in current magazines. He has written in a daily theme:

"I came upon *The Nation*. This is what it meant to me. It is not for violence, but strictly for freedom. It gets at wrongdoing through truth. It doesn't say anything without telling me why it says it."

Now hear a voice from the South:

"As a sophomore at Knoxville College, while beginning my major in sociology, I saw my first copy of *The Nation*. It served as an intellectual anchor, and I have missed few issues since."

A young Kentuckian speaks:

"During my sophomore year at the University of Kentucky I never derived as much benefit from any other single publication containing similar material as I did from *The Nation*. It has been a teacher in thought, fact, and opinion."

And from New England:

"During my Harvard days I appreciated *The Nation* as a well-written magazine that kept me in touch with men and events of the non-college world."

In each of these cases an assignment ripened into a discovery. A thoughtful instructor recommended *The Nation*. And in the minds of these young people, growing up in the Era of McCarthyism, *The Nation* fanned some stirring of independence, strengthened some rebellion against the narrow and the partial, satisfied some need for fairness and light and understanding.

Instructors! Are there any young liberals in your college? Potentially there are many, and they need your encouragement. By using *The Nation* in your classes, you can help them to find their way—"not for violence, but strictly for freedom."

Use This Convenient Order Form

THE NATION

20 Vesey Street • New York 7, N. Y.

Please send me _____ copies of *The Nation* for _____ months at the classroom rate of 40¢ monthly per student. (Desk copy supplied free.)

☐ Bill me.

☐ I enclose my remittance.

Name _____

City _____ Zone _____ State _____


College or University _____

9/29/51

Special classroom rates are only 40¢
monthly per student for orders of 10 or
more copies to be sent to one address.
A desk copy is supplied free. We sug-
gest you fill out and mail the convenient
order form.

Joe Stubs His Toe—*An Editorial*

THE *Nation*



October 6, 1951

From Franco's Border

The Paradox of American Intervention

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

*

How to Buy a College

General Moseley's Instalment Plan

BY H. E. BOWEN

*

Morse to McCormick - - - - Willard Shelton
Press Gag for India? - - - - - Jean Lyon
The Oatis Trial - - - - - James Lawrence Fly
Mr. X's "American Diplomacy" - H. Stuart Hughes

ECONOMICAL MAGAZINE COMBINATIONS

For Your Convenience

THE *Nation* with

☐ Harper's Magazine \$9.50
You save \$2.50

THE *Nation* with

☐ Consumer Reports \$10.75
You save \$1.25

These club combinations are for one year, and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses. Remittance must accompany all combination orders.

THE *Nation* by itself:

☐ One Year \$7 ☐ Two Years \$12
☐ Three Years \$17

SERVICEMEN'S RATE \$5 A YEAR
Canadian and Foreign Postage \$1 a year extra

The NATION
20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

- ☐ I want to subscribe to *The Nation* for _____ years.
☐ Remittance enclosed. ☐ Bill me.
- ☐ I enclose my remittance for the following *Nation* combinations as listed below.

NAME _____

STREET _____

CITY _____

ZONE _____

STATE _____

10/6/51

NEXT WEEK IN "THE NATION"

FALL BOOK ISSUE



THOREAU AND SHAW: A DIALOGUE
By Joseph Wood Krutch

THE ART OF HENRY GREEN
By Harold Lazarus

NOTES BY THE WAY
By Margaret Marshall

THE FORRESTAL DIARIES
Reviewed by Willard Shelton

THE MEMOIRS OF
ERNST VON WEIZSÄCKER
Reviewed by H. Stuart Hughes

THE HOLY SINNER
by Thomas Mann
Reviewed by Leslie F

SOVIET ATTITUDE
TOWARD AUTHOR
by Margaret Mead
Reviewed by Barrington M

SAMUEL BUTLER'S NOT
Reviewed by Ernest J

WHITE COLLAR
by C. Wright Mills
Reviewed by Irving H

HOUSE OF LIARS
by Elsa Morante
Reviewed by Frances Keene



Verse Chronicle by Rolfe Humphries
Music by B. H. Haggin
Art by Manny Farber

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 173

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • OCTOBER 6, 1951

NUMBER 14

The Shape of Things

IT IS AN UNCOMFORTABLE FACT, BUT A FACT just the same, that the unification of Germany, on whatever terms, would be a deadly blow to the military plans of the Atlantic coalition. Under the circumstances, one can only regard Premier Grotewohl's latest offer of free all-German elections as a first-class monkey wrench tossed into the rather creaking machinery that is supposed to be fabricating an agreement to integrate an armed and sovereign West German state in the Atlantic community. Not only was the offer calculated to divide German opinion, which, no matter what its feelings toward Russia or the West, overwhelmingly supports the idea of union; it also promised to undermine the reluctant unanimity of the Western European states on the terms and tempo of German rearmament. That agreement, achieved in the recent discussions in Washington after long effort on the part of the United States, still faces the test of public opinion and parliamentary action in each country, and the unity offer is certain to be seized upon as an argument against it. The East German proposal was, to be sure, crisply and promptly rejected by Chancellor Adenauer. But the rejection did not stick. All the major parties, including the Socialists, the Free Democrats, and the Chancellor's Christian Democrats, opposed the government's action, with the result that Dr. Adenauer was forced to reverse his stand and submit to the Bundestag a reply to Premier Grotewohl offering detailed terms for unification. A further exchange is in the cards, but even if no agreement can be reached by the two German regimes, the maneuver will accomplish what was doubtless its primary aim: to create delay by distracting public attention from the issue of Bonn's future place in the Western defense system.

★

FLORIDA'S BOARD OF CONTROL, WHICH IS IN charge of higher education in the state, has obdurately spurned a suggestion from Negro leaders that college doors be opened to all students without waiting for an impending order from the United States Supreme Court. Although clear-cut federal-court decisions have forced the admission of some Negro students to "white" colleges in Oklahoma, Texas, Arkansas, Kentucky, Virginia, and North Carolina, Florida's Board of Control

has not only refused to recognize these precedents but voted to discontinue the allocation of tuition funds to Florida Negroes who wish to pursue in out-of-state institutions studies not available to members of their race in Florida. This latter step appears to have been taken in retaliation for the refusal of Florida Negroes to accept makeshift and unaccredited law, pharmacy, and engineering schools which have been hurriedly established at the Negro state college at Tallahassee. Even earlier the Florida Supreme Court defied a decision of the United States Supreme Court upsetting the state court's approval of a Miami regulation barring Negroes from the municipal golf course for six days of each week. Evidently Florida is taking its stand with such states as Georgia and South Carolina, where white-supremacy advocates have threatened to abolish public education altogether rather than see it democratized.

★

THE WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS, FOLLOWING an investigation conducted in Germany, has released a list of ex-Nazis who have been appointed to high posts in the new Foreign Office of the West German Republic. Although most appointments to the Foreign Office have been made in secret, and full lists are not available to the public, the Congress has verified the following appointments: William Melchers, appointed vice-chief of the Department of Personnel, was formerly Ministerial Counselor in the Nazi Foreign Office and, as head of the Near Eastern Division from 1939 to 1945, his responsibilities included liaison with the ex-Grand Mufti (who directed anti-Zionist terrorist activities including the fierce riots of 1936-1939); Dr. Kurt Keinburg, assigned to work on economic problems, also held the rank of Ministerial Counselor under the Nazis and took an active part in the persecution of the Jews of Yugoslavia and the Balkan countries. Dr. Hans Schwarzmann, appointed to the Department of Personnel, was liaison between von Ribbentrop and Otto Abetz, Nazi Ambassador in France; Werner von Barga, now in the Foreign Office's legal department, was formerly its representative to the Military High Command for Occupied Belgium; Hasso von Etzdorf, assigned to the legal department, was liaison man between the Nazi Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs von Weizsäcker and the German General Staff; Herbert von Strempel, appointed as permanent deputy to the new German

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things	269
Joe Stubs His Toe	271
India as Independent <i>by Freda Kirchwey</i>	272

ARTICLES

From Franco's Border <i>by J. Alvarez del Vayo</i>	273
Senator Morse to Colonel McCormick <i>by Willard Shelton</i>	275
How to Buy a College <i>by H. E. Bowen</i>	277
Press Gag for India? <i>by Jean Lyon</i>	279
The Oatis Trial <i>by James Lawrence Fly</i>	280

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

America's Foreign Policy: The Voice of Maturity <i>by H. Stuart Hughes</i>	282
A New Kind of Hero <i>by Harvey Swados</i>	283
A Man of Genius <i>by Keith Hutchison</i>	284
The Letters of Cicero <i>by Rolfe Humphries</i>	285
Books in Brief	286
Drama <i>by Joseph Wood Krutch</i>	286
Records <i>by B. H. Haggin</i>	287

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 288

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 433 *by Frank W. Lewis* opposite 288

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Associate Editor: Carey McWilliams

Foreign Editor
J. Alvarez del Vayo

Literary Editor
Margaret Marshall

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin

Assistant Editor: Charles R. Allen, Jr.

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside

Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting

Staff Contributors

Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: Mary Simon

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1951, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas. *Subscription Prices:* Domestic—One year \$7; Two years \$12; Three years \$17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: *The Nation* is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

Minister to Brazil, was first secretary of the Nazi Embassy in Washington from 1938 until 1941. The Congress also reports that it has learned that the new Foreign Office will appoint ex-Nazis to the five highest posts in the political Department, to three of the five top positions in the Bureau of Protocol, and to the five highest offices in the "Peace Bureau." What do our policy makers in Washington think of these new recruits in the service of European democracy?

★

THREE YEARS AGO LIBERTY BROADCASTING Company was launched in Texas, with a minimum of fanfare, by Gordon McLendon. At first Liberty offered principally major-league baseball broadcasts to rural and small-town stations, but it soon expanded from a six- to a sixteen-hour-a-day network. By the end of 1950 it had become second in size among the five major networks, with 431 stations in forty-three states, Hawaii, Alaska, and Japan. Among the news commentators on the Liberty network were Raymond Gram Swing, William Shirer—with Joseph Harsh as his alternate—and John Vandercook. Mr. McLendon not only demonstrated excellent judgment in his selection of these men but gave them his complete backing and support. On August 3, H. R. Cullen, Texas oil man, purchased an interest in the network. Now John T. Flynn, active participant in the America First committee and author of "The Road Ahead," has been placed in charge of news broadcasts and commentaries. Mr. Swing, in the meantime, had left to join the Voice of America program, but Mr. Shirer promptly resigned, leaving his alternate and John Vandercook, both of whom have contracts, as liberalism's precarious survivors in a set-up which once held promise of providing a haven for commentators of proved integrity and independence. In light of these developments, it must be assumed that WCFL, a 50,000-watt Chicago station, owned and operated by the A. F. of L., was unaware of the changes before signing a contract recently with Liberty Broadcasting Company.

★

LONG DISTRESSED BY THE INTERNATIONAL situation, the Vatican has now a new worry, stemming from the attitude of Catholic workers in France and Italy in the recent strikes. In Italy the Catholics went along with the Communists and Socialists in the strike of government employees that paralyzed railroad travel for twenty-four hours. The object of the strike, as is almost always the case these days, was an increase in pay; wages of civil-service workers range from 25,000 lire (\$60) to 120,000 lire (\$120) a month. With a prospective deficit of 450 billion lire in the next financial year, as the result, mainly, of rearmament, the able Finance Minister, Giuseppe Pella, opposes the workers' demands for a 12 to 13 per cent raise, arguing

that to yield means inflation, and collapse of the rearmament program. The Vatican would like to separate the Catholic from the Communist unions in the coming labor struggle, but it feels uncomfortable in opposing the workers' demands when Pius XII has been acclaimed as "the social-minded Pope." Its situation is made more difficult by the action of the French Catholic unions in inviting the Communist and Socialist unions to join them in examining "the possibility of establishing a common program that will enable us to realize our social objectives." This time the Catholic workers are not being "dragged along" by the Communists; they have taken the initiative for unity.

★

AN INCONSPICUOUS PARAGRAPH FOUND IN a routine story points up the current American trend in ideological fashions. The *Houston Post* recently carried a story describing the eagerness with which 130 natives of more than a dozen countries were admitted to full American citizenship on the recommendation of Examiner Q. W. Bynum of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. The examiner told the federal district judge that eighteen of the applicants admitted membership in such organizations as the Hitler Youth Movement, but, he pointed out, this did not bar them from American citizenship under the 1950 internal-security law. "None," he said, "had ever been a Communist or a member of a Communist-front organization, only Nazi and Fascist"; thus, there was no evidence of a lack of loyalty. In this instance, at least, it can only be hoped that Texas is, indeed, the "Lone Star" state.

Joe Stubbs His Toe

THE Senate Rules subcommittee has finally voted to hear Senator William Benton state his case for the expulsion of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy. The case, of course, largely arises out of the damaging findings of the same subcommittee on the role that McCarthy played in the disgraceful Maryland senatorial campaign of 1950. But McCarthy is not yet on trial. The subcommittee will simply listen to whatever evidence Senator Benton cares to submit. According to the chairman, Senator Gillette, the subcommittee has embarked upon "an uncharted sea," since there is apparently no record of an expulsion proceeding originating under precisely these circumstances. Presumably the subcommittee could report to the full Rules Committee that grounds for expulsion exist, or, if it respects the procedural preferences of Senator Gillette, it would submit an affirmative recommendation to the Senate Judiciary Committee, whose chairman is Senator Pat McCarran. To refer the matter to a committee chaired by McCarran would be like asking McCarthy to recommend his own expulsion.

While it is still unlikely that a resolution calling for McCarthy's expulsion can be brought to the floor of the Senate, it is quite clear that Joe has been placed on the defensive and that he has committed several tactical errors. He did not add to his popularity in the Senate by seeking to disqualify two Republican members of the subcommittee because one had written and the other signed the famous "Declaration of Conscience." Senator Margaret Chase Smith promptly demanded and later received a vote of confidence from the full committee. But a still more serious mistake was McCarthy's clumsy attempt to smear Senator Thomas C. Hennings of Missouri who is also a member of the subcommittee. Against Senator Hennings, McCarthy made two accusations: that Hennings's law partner, John Raeburn Green, has consented to serve as counsel for John Gates, Communist editor of the *Daily Worker*; and that the firm of which Hennings and Green are members represents the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, which expressed agreement with the dissenting opinions of Justices Black and Douglas in the Dennis case and, worse, has even dared to criticize McCarthy. In refusing to disqualify himself Senator Hennings accused McCarthy of resorting to "distortion and deceit" in an effort to divert attention from Senator Benton's resolution and of "inventing smears and lies" against members of the Senate. In attacking these Senators, McCarthy has offended and perhaps permanently alienated a group of colleagues on whose support he might otherwise have relied. Nor has he improved matters much by sudden effusions of friendship for "Margaret" and "Tom."

While Senator Benton was pressing his charges against McCarthy, Senator Herbert H. Lehman added a special luster to his distinguished career by reading into the Senate record, over strenuous objection, three timely, courageous, and forthright articles by Joseph Alsop which the *New York Herald Tribune* published, with amusingly timid editorial reservations, on September 10, 12, and 14. These articles directly challenged the accuracy of testimony given by the imaginative Louis Budenz, whose memory seems to improve under Senatorial prompting. Specifically, Mr. Alsop, with first-hand knowledge of the facts, charged that the Senate Internal Security subcommittee had "led" Budenz into "remembering" that he knew John Carter Vincent as a Communist although a year previously he had refused to identify Mr. Vincent as a Communist. Publication, at this juncture, of Henry Wallace's letter to the President, and of the accompanying documents neatly completed the case against Budenz and confronted the Senate with a sharply defined issue. This issue, as Mr. Alsop states it, is simply this: Do the liberties of the citizen still have any meaning, or are interested politicians to be allowed "to run their own star-chamber proceedings at will, and to round up any victims they please, on any kind of evi-

dence, however phony." Senator McCarran, who may be able to block the attempt to oust McCarthy, shouted his answer: "All the Alsops from here to perdition can't keep my subcommittee from going forward. When you get close to hogs, they start to squeal."

A great deal has been said in the Senate in recent months about morals, ethics, and integrity. Senators have castigated party leaders and public officials for improper conduct. The Kefauver committee has focused the nation's scorn on local law-enforcement officials who have yielded to political pressure and "looked the other way." Senators have orated, moaned, preached, and even wept in public over the sad state of American political morality. But the good faith of the Senate is itself now directly at stake. If it fails to take cognizance of the charges made against Budenz, and by clear implication against the staff and members of the McCarran subcommittee, or if it permits the resolution for McCarthy's ouster to be bottled up in a committee chaired by McCarran, then it will have forfeited the privilege it currently enjoys of addressing homilies on both public and private morality to all and sundry.

India as Independent

BY FRED KIRCHWEY

LIKE other national leaders, Jawaharlal Nehru has his faults. On Kashmir he seems to us unduly rigid, even though technically and legally his stand can without question be defended. The proposed press law, discussed by Jean Lyon on page 279 of this issue, illustrates the same arbitrary streak in the Indian Prime Minister's public character. But here, too, reckless misuse of press freedom, by political and communal elements alike, to incite bloody riots and terrorist acts provides an excuse which has been too easily ignored by foreign critics. In fact, the growing tendency, especially in the United States, is to scold Nehru and make much of all possible mistakes or errors of judgment in order to establish a base from which to attack his position on foreign affairs.

Nehru's disagreement with American policy on Korea and China, and more lately on the Japanese treaty, has brought upon him a barrage of criticism which seems deliberately aimed at undermining his position as leader of the free nations of Asia. Even such responsible organs as the *New York Times* and *Herald Tribune* have joined the more rabid nationalist press in treating Nehru's differences of opinion as evidence of a pro-Soviet "neutralism." Conformity with the Washington line is made the test of his devotion to democracy—Western style. Nehru has chosen independence. He is committed to a policy designed to secure India against domination by either Moscow or the West, to promote its interests, and to maintain peace among the Asian

states. He steadfastly reiterates his devotion to democracy—a thing he should not, on his record, be required to do—and trusts to the common sense and decency of the West not to exact a political price for continued good relations and economic help.

Whether or not this trust is justified we do not know. It is good to have a man like Gardner Cowles, the editor of *Look*, urge the State Department to "rethink" its policy toward Asia, pointing out that India, with 360,000,000 people, is the last important stronghold of democracy in Asia." It is good, too, that the confirmation of Chester Bowles's appointment as ambassador to New Delhi insures increased understanding in Washington of India's problems and point of view. But other influences are at work too, not only in Congress and the government but among outside groups that call themselves liberal. These groups seem to regard independence or a concentration on national interests in an ally as symptoms of Titoism in the American camp—an attitude hardly distinguishable from that of their enemies, the Communists.

Nehru and his government should not allow themselves to be rattled or silenced by these complaints. Naturally they should welcome friendly criticism and weigh it on its merits, but they cannot afford to relinquish the advantages that flow from independence. One of these is the ability to talk to both sides. However "Western" may be the thinking and democratic concepts of Nehru, his interests are not by any means identified with the West. His country's closest ties will always be with its Asian neighbors, and so will its conflicts. Once India becomes no more than a pensioner and adjunct of the Western bloc it forfeits its great role, which is to be the leader of the new free states of Asia.

A second advantage is linked to the first. With independence, India could be the greatest force for peace in the Eastern world. Even now Nehru's position has a unique moral and political importance which has been demonstrated by the experience of Korea. Despite the practical failure of the peace efforts of the Arab-Asian states, it is significant that they rallied around India as the logical mediator in the struggle. With greater energy and boldness and a sharper sense of public relations Nehru's influence might perhaps have been more effectively asserted, though the whole weight of big-power intransigence was massed against him. But the example remains. To millions of people, in America as elsewhere, India under Nehru has become a symbol of reasonableness and good will, the one great nation that is prepared to put to a perilous test its faith in the possible coexistence of various, even conflicting, systems of government and ways of living. India today stands for conciliation and peace, for freedom and multiplicity, and it would be a tragedy if this spirit were to weaken under the pressure for uniformity that emanates from Washington.

From Franco's Border

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

On the Spanish border, September

I HAD a different purpose in visiting the Spanish border this time from that which brought me here two years ago. And it did not necessitate my crossing the mountains and entering Spain secretly. Franco's people, warned by my first venture, would have been pleased to see me try, but it was for me, not them, to decide what risks I should take. The principal purpose of this visit was to ascertain the reactions of Spaniards to the United States' intervention in Spanish affairs. Arrangements had been made so that I was able to talk to people from many parts of the country.

The first thing to take into account in judging the feelings of anti-Franco Spaniards—at least two-thirds of the population, according to conservative estimates—is the internal situation at the time of Admiral Sherman's visit, when Washington decided to include Spain in the West's strategic system. The United States came to Franco's aid just as his regime was on the brink of collapse. I described in *The Nation** the wave of strikes which swept through the country in the spring, and emphasized their significance as a portent of general rebellion—a significance which was recognized by all foreign observers in Spain, including American correspondents. But only those who have had a chance to speak directly with the labor leaders and to hear about their carefully worked-out plans can realize the strength of the gathering movement against the dictatorship.

The strikes shook the entire peninsula. To the long-existing Republican and Monarchist opposition was added that of the upper bourgeoisie—which became convinced that a few months more of Franco would invite a violent revolution—of the lower middle classes, of a considerable part of the army, of a section of big business, and even of many priests and some members of the Catholic hierarchy. Unquestionably the end was near—it was only necessary to let events take their natural course. At that crucial moment the United States tipped the scales the other way. I am not trying to be melodramatic, nor am I expressing only my own opinion. The majority of Spaniards understand perfectly the effect of the American action. And this explains a phenomenon which I regret to have to report: while the Spanish people felt no animosity toward Americans during the Cuban war—so my father told me—believing their own government more to blame than that of the enemy, resentment against the United States is now intense. The Communists, of course, are the chief beneficiaries of this feel-

ing. A few months ago they had little influence in the anti-Franco movement, but since Washington's intervention they have become twice as powerful, their anti-American propaganda supported by the event.

In some circles it is felt that the United States might at least have exacted some liberalization of the regime as a condition of American aid. The terror continues, if somewhat disguised; the hunger is the same and is expected to grow worse, for no one believes that any appreciable part of the four hundred or eight hundred million dollars provided by the United States will be used to alleviate the misery of the people. The money will go to the insiders—the rich, the high-placed grafters, the *estraperlistas*, the black-marketeers. It will also stimulate the already acute inflation.

From talking with people who have just come out of Spain, I have been able to get an accurate picture of what a minimum subsistence diet for a family of five now costs. For breakfast: half a liter of milk (a little over a pint), coffee being too expensive, five pieces of bread bought on the ration, a little malt for the children—total cost, 7 pesetas (50 cents). For luncheon (this meal, at 2 p. m., used to be fairly hearty): beans, 12 pesetas; bread, at the black-market price, since the ration was used up at breakfast, 7 pesetas; oil, some awful kind, since all the olive oil is exported, 7 pesetas. For dinner lentils may be substituted for beans, but the rest is the same. Never a pound of meat, an egg, a sweet. The three meals for five people cost about 60 pesetas (almost \$4.50), but a railroad worker earns only 12 pesetas a day, a skilled metal-worker a maximum of 26 pesetas. The men who are intrusted with the defense of the state are not much better off. A member of the Civil Guard serving in the mountains, where the pay is highest, with all his supplementary allowances receives 740 pesetas a month; a policeman, 600 pesetas. Added together, the cost of food, clothing, and shelter for a family of five comes to 4,000 pesetas a month. A lieutenant in the army gets 1,175 pesetas a month, a general 4,800.

The tuberculosis rate in Spain is the highest in the world, higher than in India.

Of course the American tourists who invaded Spain last summer found it a paradise and returned full of praise of Franco. Where else in the world could you get a room at a first-class hotel for \$1—provided you changed your money on the black market—and a suit made to order for \$25? A less numerous invasion goes on in the opposite direction. Every day Spaniards cross into France to buy bread—the "hunger column," the

* Issues of March 24 and June 2.

French call them. On Sunday, September 9, fourteen Frenchmen from St. Jean-de-Luz went in a small motor boat to watch the yacht races off San Sebastian. Twenty-two persons returned. Eight Spaniards, with only a few pesetas among them, had swum out to the boat and begged desperately to be landed somewhere in France.

EVEN the people who might be expected to rejoice over American aid have mixed feelings about it. Military men are naturally pleased at the prospect of receiving planes and guns and equipment. One of the things discovered by the American commissions which have been investigating military conditions in Spain is that there is practically nothing to show for all the money that has been appropriated for the army, navy, and air force in recent years. The budget of the army has been constantly increased at the expense of education and the social services, but the frightful corruption of the Falangist regime has prevented any visible improvement. Fear that the hundreds of millions which the United States is disposed to spend to prepare Spain to fight will sink into the same bottomless pit considerably reduces the satisfaction of honest military men in the expected aid.

Moreover, while officers and soldiers can only be thankful that American dollars are to extricate the army from the deplorable plight into which it has been forced by administrative inefficiency and corruption, they feel that Spanish dignity and pride have been injured. I was told by one of their number that they find it intolerable that Spain should put its bases and other strategic assets at the service of the West and still be kept out of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Franco's acceptance of this affront to Spain will prove more damaging to the regime than all its cruelty and corruption. People everywhere are asking what about his boasts of a united, invincible Spain which would never bow to U. N. resolutions of censure or other indirect pressure. Resentment

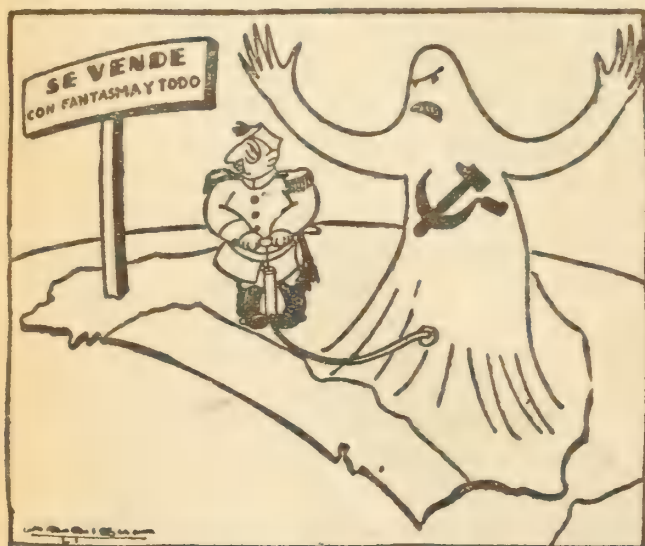
of the "sell-out" has been especially strong in the officers' clubs, where the Monarchists have been trying for years to break down loyalty to Franco. What their propaganda could not do, American intervention has accomplished.

One man who served Franco faithfully in the war said to me: "First he sold part of the country on the domestic black market; now he has sold the rest, including national sovereignty, on the international black market. There is a great patriot for you; there is the Caudillo who has been telling the United Nations that Spain would never yield to foreign pressure!" The legend of Franco has been deflated for many of his former followers and for the army he has offered to the Americans, not even insisting that the condition of his entering the Western camp must be an equal voice for his country with the other Atlantic powers.

Falangist propaganda tries to place all the blame for this situation on Great Britain and France. Although the Franco radio and press, in deference to the wishes of Ambassador Griffis, has in recent weeks somewhat tempered its insults, hatred of the two countries is flaunted in all circles close to the dictator. Pro-Franco diehards talk hopefully of the day when with an American-equipped army they will be able to "give a good lesson to France." The French are disturbed to see the United States courting Franco, not only because they dislike Hitler's old ally but because they foresee he might one day become a threat to their own security.

Strangely enough, the Spanish situation is affected in two contrary ways by the new policy of the United States. The financial support given the regime has undoubtedly saved it from imminent collapse; on the other hand, the transformation of Spain into a kind of modern protectorate, under American rule, may have given Franco the kiss of death. I have spoken of the wound to Spanish pride; additional antagonism will be aroused by the inevitable conflicts between the Spanish authorities and the Americans who will reorganize and control the military establishment. To obtain arms and equipment from America is one thing; to take orders from Americans is another. "In accepting financial aid Franco has permitted the canker to enter his body; in the end he will succumb to the infection"—to use the words of a prominent Spanish manufacturer with whom I have talked. He added, "In his place I would have preferred to live in the greatest poverty rather than compromise the homogeneity and prestige of my rule by a bargain which is bound to divide my own followers and give the opposition an invincible argument."

Encouraging as is this interpretation, the fact remains that the process of Spain's liberation has been interrupted and the people's sufferings cruelly prolonged. The opposition inside Spain realizes that the new situation created requires it to redouble its efforts and use every weapon at its command. Fortunately, the unions



Courtesy Lealtad (Montevideo)

"For Sale, Ghost and All"

emerged from the strikes of last spring stronger and more articulate than before. At present they have more influence than the underground political parties. They receive support from European unions but complain that neither the A. F. of L. nor the C. I. O. has offered any effective opposition to Washington's new policy toward Spain, though both organizations pledged themselves to

support the protest movement against recognition of Franco decided on by the International Federation of Trade Unions at its Brussels meeting.

To think that the struggle for freedom in Spain is over would be to ignore the fighting quality of Spaniards. It will go on. And it will become even more violent and desperate.

Senator Morse to Colonel McCormick

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, September 25

SENATOR WAYNE MORSE of Oregon is sometimes called a "maverick" Republican by people who do not understand his definition of himself as a constitutional liberal. He is at the moment an important Republican because he is the one Senator on his side of the chamber with the will and courage to wage full-scale war on the powerful Robert R. McCormick, publisher of the *Chicago Tribune* and *Washington Times-Herald*.

Colonel McCormick's modest ambition is to name the national candidates of his party and commit the party to his own peculiar concepts of patriotism and good government. In 1944 he was denounced by Wendell L. Willkie as a menace to the country and a handicap to the Republican Party, and his candidate was beaten in the Wisconsin Presidential primary election, close to McCormick's own bailiwick. Since then he has had indifferent success in the political field: his handpicked Republican candidates were overwhelmed in Illinois in 1948, when Adlai Stevenson was elected Governor and Paul Douglas Senator, but he made a comeback in 1950 when Everett Dirksen beat Scott Lucas for the Senate.

McCormick is the only surviving member of the newspaper triumvirate that once included himself as publisher of the *Tribune*, Captain Joseph Medill Patterson as publisher of the *New York Daily News*, and Mrs. Eleanor (Cissie) Patterson as publisher of the *Washington Times-Herald*. By virtue of longevity McCormick at seventy-one is master of all three newspaper properties, although he gives the *New York* paper's executives a relatively free hand. In Washington he has taken direct command of the *Times-Herald* after an abortive attempt to run it through a niece, Mrs. Ruth McCormick Miller Tankersley, and in a few months has turned it into a carbon copy of the *Tribune*.

The mind of McCormick as revealed in his newspapers and his weekly radio speeches—he sponsors himself on a national hookup—is fantastic and wonderful.

WILLARD SHELTON was formerly The Nation's Washington correspondent.

The New Deal—Fair Deal is now and always has been a Communist plot to overthrow the Republic. Roosevelt, General Marshall, Cordell Hull, and Henry L. Stimson deliberately "provoked" Japan's Pearl Harbor attack, knew about it in advance, and concealed the information from our field commanders so that more American ships could be sunk and more soldiers and sailors killed.

Republicans who object to McCormick's isolationism and hatred of Roosevelt and Truman are as bad as New Dealers or worse. The *Tribune* constantly belabored the late Senator Vandenberg; today it and the *Times-Herald* belabor Lodge and Saltonstall of Massachusetts, Ives of New York, Duff of Pennsylvania, Aiken of Vermont, Tobey of New Hampshire, Dewey "sold out" as long ago as 1943, when he advocated a post-war alliance with Britain. At that time he was "read out" of the Republican Party by the *Tribune*—which nevertheless reluctantly supported him as the party's nominee in 1944 and 1948. Roosevelt was, and Truman is, a Machiavellian schemer constantly trying to plant "Trojan horse" and "me-too" candidates among the Republicans. One of the more familiar McCormick editorial clichés is the assertion that since this country is not a democracy but a representative republic, people who prate of democracy are no better than Communists and are probably Soviet conspirators.

The Republicans of whom McCormick approves are honest John Bricker of Ohio, Joe Martin of Massachusetts, and Joe McCarthy. The *Tribune* was a master in the gentle art of character assassination and the technique of proving guilt by association or accusation long before McCarthy reached the national scene, but the *Tribune* and *Times-Herald* are grateful for the cooperation of the Wisconsin hatchet-man, who puts a wealth of material into the *Congressional Record* and thus makes it available for publication. Another McCormick hero, of course, is General of the Army Douglas MacArthur; the *Tribune* and *Times-Herald* were not scandalized when MacArthur neglected to take off his uniform before making a political speech in effect supporting Robert A. Taft for President.

McCormick's one and only candidate is Taft, and his

newspapers flagellate Republican deviates who are unhappy about the prospect of being stuck with Taft and would like to reach some understanding with General Eisenhower. (If Taft fails to make the grade, McCormick might not be too unhappy to see the Taft dele-



Senator Morse

gates drop into the anxiously waiting hands of the Colonel's personal ambassador to the United States Senate, the mellifluous orator, Dirksen.)

It is too early to tell how McCormick's invasion of the Washington newspaper field

will work out. The Colonel says he despaired of ever teaching Washington anything about America; so he brought America, to wit, himself, to the capital. In Chicago the *Tribune* is enormously successful, but the formula cannot be transferred intact. The *Times-Herald* now runs many *Tribune* editorials and anti-Administration stories reflecting McCormick's fetishes, but it can scarcely bait and belittle government workers as the *Tribune* does, or earn its editorial bread by arguing that Midwesterners are more patriotic than Americans on the Atlantic seaboard. Its circulation, with around-the-clock editions, is the highest in Washington, but both circulation and advertising are slipping. Cissie Patterson gave the *Times-Herald* an individualistic if somewhat shrill and shrewish tone, and fed the readers plenty of page-three sex stories. McCormick's moralistic instincts apparently were offended by page three, which has been tapered off, but substitution of five columns of text of one of the Colonel's own speeches does not seem likely to win new friends among the government girls.

RECENTLY the *Tribune* and *Times-Herald* ran an editorial "reading" Wayne Morse "out of the party." After the MacArthur hearings Morse had issued an individual report upholding the President's action in firing the General and warning his Republican colleagues not to be caught in the MacArthur trap. Morse has repeatedly demanded an investigation of the China lobby. Goaded beyond endurance, the McCormick papers denounced him as a "Republican in name only" and demanded that he be thrown out of the Senate Republican caucus. Morse's response was prompt and refreshing.

Speaking on the Senate floor, he first inserted the *Tribune-Times-Herald* editorial in the *Record* and then smashed back at the newspapers as "mouthpieces of reaction" and instruments of a "type of American fascism" that would ruin the Republican Party if it became

dominant in party councils. As he has done on several other occasions in recent months, he warned that if the Republican Party entered the campaign next year under the banner of reaction, isolationism toward Europe, and unlimited war in Asia, he would bolt the party. "The junior Senator from Oregon will be heard across this country from platform to platform," he said, "if the reactionary wing of the party" captures control. If the party adopts the political philosophy of McCormick, he added, "it must be repudiated by the people."

After hearing McCormick's rejoinder to the effect that he was a New Deal liar, Morse took the floor again, to discuss the Colonel. Journalistic hardening of the arteries had reached "such an advanced stage with McCormick," he declared, "that if a liberal thought could get through his cortex, a thought that placed the interest of the American people above the reactionary forces he serves, he would die of a brain hemorrhage."

The junior Senator from Oregon had had a taste of McCormickism before. Conservatives poured money into the state last year to try to beat him in the Republican primary with a candidate fortuitously named Hoover, and billboards in every town blossomed with bold appeals to the voters to nominate a "real Republican." Morse accepted the challenge. He told his audiences that he would continue to think and vote independently and did not seek their support unless they wanted an independent Senator. He won an overwhelming victory in the primary and beat his Democratic opponent in the election by 376,000 to 116,000.

Most liberal Republicans from the East and West coasts are dead set against Taft as the party's 1952 nominee. They have observed the deterioration of Taft's once scrupulous integrity and the abasement of their party in the McCarthy-MacArthur episodes. But their only candidate is Eisenhower—and they don't really know whether Eisenhower will run or not. It would have been interesting to look into Taft's mind as Morse concluded his diatribe against McCormick with the remark that he "considered it a great compliment" whenever he was attacked by the *Times-Herald* and *Tribune* and that he would "consider himself disgraced" if he ever found McCormick supporting him politically.

A generation ago Alfred E. Smith blasted the political ambitions of William Randolph Hearst by telling a New York State Democratic Convention that he would refuse to run for Governor if the convention, as some Tammany bosses desired, nominated Hearst for the Senate. Smith excoriated Hearst as a yellow journalist: no decent person would touch with a ten-foot pole—and Tammany surrendered. McCormick differs from Hearst in that he does not seek office himself; he merely wants to be master of the Republican Party. It is refreshing to hear one Republican Senator talk back to him.

How to Buy a College

BY H. E. BOWEN

Demorest, Georgia, September 26

LAST year, when Jefferson Military College refused Judge George W. Armstrong's tender of fifty million dollars because of the odious condition that "white-supremacy" doctrines had to be taught, *Life* quoted the Judge as saying that he was going to start his own college. Although he has not yet, to my knowledge, done so, he has given at least a thousand dollars to a small liberal-arts college in northern Georgia.

Piedmont College may return the money to the Judge and accept no more gifts from his Texas Educational Association; or it may welcome such gifts and face ultimate ruination. Until later this fall, when a special committee reports to the board of trustees, the college's fate will remain undecided. That the acceptance or rejection of the race-obsessed judge's money has been so long in abeyance is disgraceful, but the community can be congratulated that popular opinion has for some months triumphed over the moral flabbiness of a few. There has not been much sympathy in Georgia for those who would accept Judge Armstrong's money, even with "no strings attached!"

Piedmont College, in Demorest, of which I am an alumnus, matriculates two hundred or so pupils and maintains a vague connection with the Congregational church. After the war I returned to Piedmont to teach English and dramatics. In 1949 James E. Walter, D. D., Piedmont, 1947, became president of the college.

On Monday, November 20, 1950, on the eve of what was to be a pleasant student-faculty pre-Thanksgiving banquet, it suddenly became known that General George Van Horn Moseley would be guest of honor and principal speaker at the affair. Because I was unwilling to preside over festivities honoring such a man, I resigned as master of ceremonies. Then the head of the English Department and I, after confirming our recollections of the General by some library research, went to the president's office. General Moseley, however, was already there, and we were unable to see Dr. Walter. At the banquet General Moseley, introduced by Dr. Walter as a great soldier, rambled incoherently of "Americanism," lapsing only once into racist talk.

For the moment we were dismayed merely that this known racist had been foisted on the school as "guest of honor," an expression which could only imply our approval of him. We were ignorant of the graver impli-

cations of the General's visit until the following afternoon, when President Walter announced at the regular faculty meeting that General Moseley was inspecting the school with a view to obtaining for it \$500 a month, without any guaranty of continuance—that is, the donations could be stopped at any time with no explanation. Although the college treasurer, David Eddy, a friend of the president, had that very morning, armed with apposite literature, relayed our distress to him, Dr. Walter made no reference to General Moseley's views until he was asked if he was aware that Moseley had in 1939 advocated the extermination of all "mongrel" peoples in the United States. "I knew all about the man and I have no apologies to make," Dr. Walter angrily retorted. Then he told us that two trustees of the college had indorsed Moseley. Finally he said, "I got him here; what are you going to do about it?" I replied, "I intend to denounce him publicly."

This I did in a speech in Wednesday-morning chapel, the only time the school would meet before the students went home for Thanksgiving. I described the "guest of honor" as the hate-propagator he was and then asked those present who repudiated General Moseley to rise. Only 5 of the 215 present remained seated.

At my request President Walter had disclosed the names of the two trustees who he said had indorsed Moseley. I had been able to talk to one of them before the Wednesday chapel, and at the conclusion of my speech I informed the faculty that this trustee had told me he had not known of the General's visit until after it occurred. This trustee and later the other denied indorsing the General's ideas.

General Moseley's views seemingly did not concern President Walter. He replied to my objections by referring to the funds the General and his friends would make available to us. A letter submitted to Dr. Walter two weeks later by eight faculty members respectfully requesting "a clarification of your views concerning General George Van Horn Moseley and the things for which he stands" remains unanswered.

While the trustee with whom I spoke prior to the Wednesday chapel did not indorse General Moseley's views, he supported President Walter's course. He had no objection to taking the General's money, he said, "if there were no strings attached." So far, at least two \$500 checks from Judge Armstrong's Texas Educational Association of Fort Worth have, presumably on General Moseley's recommendation, been received by Piedmont College. They were dated January 18, 1951, and Febru-

H. E. BOWEN, formerly on the faculty of Piedmont College, is now doing graduate work at Columbia.

ary 2, 1951, and were accepted despite the promise President Walter made to aroused students and faculty on December 11, 1950, that no Armstrong funds would be pocketed before the students had stated their objections to the executive committee of the board of trustees.

The receipt of the money was revealed to the Atlanta *Constitution* by a girl student disturbed by the trustees' dismissal of myself and Dr. A. R. Van Cleave, dean, and former president, of the college. Dean Van Cleave had also made known his opposition to taking Armstrong money. "On February 5, 1951, relations between Mr. Eddy [the college treasurer] and Dr. Walter seemed strained," the student stated in an open letter in the *Lamp*, a student publication. Mr. Eddy had showed her the two checks. She had said nothing then about them because she understood she was to keep college business confidential. But "about a month later, when Dr. Van Cleave was asked to resign and Mr. Bowen was fired," she continued, "I thought of the phrase 'no strings attached.' "

NO strings attached." Many good Georgians worried over those words as weekly and daily papers brought our struggle to their attention. A Demorest woman wrote to an Atlanta paper:

"Why shouldn't Piedmont College take money from the Texas Foundation?" you ask. Someone else has said, "If you were a doctor you wouldn't refuse to take a fee from a bootlegger." And another, "Why not take it if there are no strings attached?" I'm amazed, frightened! Is it possible that so many people cannot see that what matters is not where the money comes from but the purpose for which it is given and which it has already begun to accomplish? . . . What General Moseley is and stands for is known by Dr. Walter, by his own admission, and surely by the trustees as well. . . .

A doctor has performed a service for the bootlegger's money. It is a finished transaction. But this grant to Piedmont *does* have strings, and the first one is the manner of giving, the threat to withdraw at any time. It can gradually be increased until it talks very loud to those more interested in financial solvency than in integrity. What other invisible strings are there? Can Dr. Walter prove that the Texas Education Foundation did not "suggest" that he get rid of Dr. Van Cleave, Mr. Bowen, and Mr. Eddy? Can anyone know that whoever replaces these and others who resign or are fired are not "suggested" by the Texas Education Foundation?

David Brewer Eddy, Jr., was fired on March 17. President Walter ordered him out of the treasurer's office without notice or written statement of the alleged justification for breaking Mr. Eddy's contract. The reason given to the press was that Mr. Eddy sided with the insubordinate teacher, Bowen.

And how had the trustees gone about firing the insubordinate teacher, Bowen? My first experience of the

sort of treatment I was to receive came on December 11, 1950, when Pope F. Brock, the second of the two trustees named by President Walter as indorsing Moseley, informed a select group of students and faculty members that I had attacked him in my chapel speech. My speech was extemporaneous, and no complete transcript of it exists, but I can reproduce it fairly accurately from memory. This is what I said:

Most of you know me but a few may not, so I will tell you that I saw something of the last war. I was on active duty from a year before it started until a year after the fighting ended. Wars are horrible. There is much in war to hate. But the worst thing about war is not seeing the still jerking limb blown from a body or watching a flame thrower in action. The worst thing about wars is that they don't stay fought. The slimy creatures who cause them crawl under the rocks when the heat is on and crawl out again when the heat is off. Friends whom I loved as dearly as a brother were killed in that war. I have seen men killed and maimed. I say this not with any pretense that it makes me a hero but to say that many of us did not know what we were fighting for . . . but we knew what we were fighting against.

Last Monday evening General George Van Horn Moseley, U. S. A., retired, was guest of honor at our Thanksgiving banquet. Most of you are too young to remember when General Moseley was widely quoted as indorsing the German-American Bund: as saying that Nazism was a good thing for the American people. He went further, according to the *Christian Century*, and proposed a plan to put the entire country under martial law and then exterminate all "mongrel peoples." He is quoted as saying that this massacre would make all massacres in history look like peaceful church parades. This is what we were fighting against. And I will continue to fight it whenever and wherever I find it.

Now I would like to ask those of you who repudiate the things for which General Moseley stands to please rise. [Here is where 210 of the 215 present stood up to be counted.]

Now if anyone tries to tell you that Piedmont College represents the things that Moseley represents, you have seen proof to the contrary. Making him guest of honor did not represent the sentiments of the students or faculty but was the work of one individual on campus.

IN EARLY February I asked Dr. A. T. Cline, president of the board of trustees, to let me present my side of the "Thanksgiving incident" at the annual meeting of the board on February 20. Dr. Cline said that the incident could not be discussed at the meeting. It was at this meeting, however, that the board decided not to renew my contract, and President Walter himself told me that the sole reason was the "Thanksgiving incident." On March 5 President Walter said to a joint protest meeting of students and faculty, "Bowen will be given

a hearing if he requests it in writing." My written request was received by him on March 14. To date I have not been heard.

Apparently in response to student, faculty, and alumni agitation, the trustees decided on June 2, in the course of the annual meeting, that Dean A. R. Van Cleave had not been dismissed after all. The students have requested removal of President Walter; faculty and students have recommended the return of Texas Educational Association funds; the Alumni Association has voted to withhold support from the college as long as it takes T. E. A. money and as long as James E. Walter remains president. Early this summer, Professor Francis C. Cook, head of the English Department, resigned.

For myself, I have tried to evaluate what acceptance of \$500 of Armstrong money a month may do to Piedmont College, and what, indeed, the phrase "no strings attached" means. That a man should be convicted on a fragment of inaccurate evidence which he was not allowed to see, at a meeting he did not know was taking place, may have no connection with the receipt of Judge Armstrong's money. This foul procedure may conceivably reflect the tempers of other men. But assume that the Texas Educational Association will not influence the curriculum, admission policies, or appointment at Pied-

mont College, there still accrues to Judge Armstrong the reputation for contributing to Piedmont College; and who knows what other colleges may not be lured into accepting his money, and on more favorable terms?

The decision of the trustees to appoint a committee to study further the matter of accepting or rejecting the Texas Educational Association grant was a last-minute one. Just four days before the June 2 meeting at which this decision was taken, on May 29, the last day of classes, a special investigating committee appeared unexpectedly on the campus. Its head, Kendall Weisiger, a retired executive of Southern Bell Telephone, announced to the press that it did not go to Piedmont to consider the acceptance of Armstrong funds. "We went there," he said, "on the request of the school alumni to gather facts about the administration and the fight brought on by the dismissal of English instructor H. E. Bowen, Dean A. R. Van Cleave, and Treasurer David Eddy. . . . Surely nobody believes that for \$500 a month the board of trustees, twenty-one intelligent and honorable men and women, would let anyone 'take over' the school or dictate policy." The acceptance of the money, he added, was "a finished, decided thing."

But thanks to students, faculty, alumni, some trustees, and an alert press, it won't be decided until later this fall.

Press Gag for India?

BY JEAN LYON

New Delhi, September 20

AROUND the India Coffee House on Delhi's Queensway, where the capital's newsmen hang out, are many who believe that freedom of the press in India is now on trial for its life. They say that the new government-sponsored press bill, which Parliament has recently passed on to a Select Committee, will be a death sentence if it becomes law. With both the Congress Party and the government behind it, there is little chance that the bill can be defeated.

To Prime Minister Nehru and his Home Minister, C. Rajagopalachari, who have argued eloquently in favor of the bill, it has no such dangerous implications. They explain it as a protective measure designed to preserve law and order at home and friendly relations abroad. The heart of the government's argument was contained in the Home Minister's statement in Parliament: "We require public order and peace so that we may make progress and take equal rank with other great self-

governing nations within a reasonably brief period."

The very vocal opposition to the bill comes from three groups—the All-India Newspaper Editors' Conference, the All-India Working Journalists' Federation (a fledgling reporters' trade union), and the various opposition political parties, ranging from the Hindu Mahasabha to the Socialists and Communists; all these parties fear that the provisions of the bill may work against them in the coming national elections.

The Home Minister talked of liberty versus license. When opponents of the bill argued that the libel and obscenity laws applicable to individuals were sufficient to control press misdemeanors, he pointed out the difference between controlling motor cars and bullock carts. When the opposition cited the absence of such laws in other countries, he reminded it, "We belong neither to the East nor to the West. Our laws must be of our own pattern." When the opposition worried that the law could easily be too loosely applied, he said, "The value of a penal law lies in its non-application, not in its constant use."

That the government faces a special set of circum-

JEAN LYON, an American newspaperwoman, reports frequently to *The Nation* on what is happening in India.

stances cannot be denied. Since India achieved independence, newspapers have blossomed all over the country; the southern city of Trivandrum alone has more than forty, dailies and weeklies, some consisting of only one or two pages. Many of these new papers are tools of politicians and opportunists with no knowledge of press traditions and few scruples. Their reporting is often irresponsible, and their editorials have been credited with causing mob violence on both communal and political issues.

The English-language paper most often cited as an example of this irresponsibility is a Bombay weekly called *Blitz*. A noisy, tabloid type of paper, it takes a leftist line and is sometimes dubbed a Communist sheet. *Blitz* has had little good to say of Nehru. It attacks Truman and the United States constantly and with gusto. It plays up its own "inside" stories about British or American "plots" in this quarter or that. The sensationalism with which the stories are headlined and written often beclouds what facts may have crept into them.

Blitz's theory about the press bill is that Nehru is unable to take the personal attacks upon him it has printed and is urging passage of the bill out of an all-consuming desire to have revenge on *Blitz*. The accusation is absurd in its specific form, but a more general version seems to have gained popular credence.

NEHRU and the government are undoubtedly aware that this weed-like growth in the publication field may do irreparable harm to an impressionable and largely illiterate people to whom the printed word is gospel, even though their knowledge of it comes from hearsay. It is against this rankest section of the press that the government claims its press bill is directed. But the responsible press also feels itself endangered.

The bill has an unhappy precedent in the press controls enacted by the British in the 1930's, when they wanted to curb the civil-disobedience movement led by Gandhi. In spite of the promise of free speech in India's new constitution, these controls have remained in effect. To prepare the way for revamping them without running into constitutional difficulties, an amendment qualifying the constitution's free-speech clause was pushed through Parliament last winter under Nehru's guidance. Critics find nothing very different in this press bill from the old British press-control laws.

In the Parliament debate Pandit Kunzru of Uttar Pradesh, who is often referred to as "the only old liberal left in Parliament," said, "The Home Minister seems to assume that . . . an indigenous democratic government requires all the safeguards that a foreign bureaucratic government required." This is but one of the criticisms of the bill. Another is that it could be readily misused by unscrupulous local authorities.

Various forms of punishment, including confiscation

of the copies and closing down of the press, are provided for the publication of "objectionable matter." The definition of "objectionable matter" is the most bitterly attacked section of the bill. One of its eight clauses will give an idea of its scope. Objectionable matter consists of any "words, signs, or visible representations" which "incite or encourage or tend to incite or encourage any person to interfere with the administration of the law or with the maintenance of law and order or with the supply and distribution of food or other essential commodities."

The government proudly points out that the publisher has a safeguard which the British laws did not offer: he can appeal from the judgment of the court and demand, if he chooses, a jury chosen largely from the journalistic or allied professions. Opposition publishers, however, are not comforted, believing that they will be prevented by local officials and Congress Party leaders from printing any criticism of government ministers or policies on the eve of India's first national elections.

Under the existing circumstances India's interpretation of freedom of the press should not be measured by an American yardstick. But it can hardly be disputed that the means the government has chosen to cope with these special conditions are dangerous to civil liberties.

The Oatis Trial

BY JAMES LAWRENCE FLY

[Officials in Washington have never been furnished with an official verbatim transcript of the trial of William Oatis or with an official verbatim record of the indictment. A condensed version of an unofficial transcript, however, was printed in the Department of State Bulletin for August 20. The Nation submitted this record to James Lawrence Fly, member of the New York bar and former chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, for his analysis and summary. His report appears below.]

WILLIAM N. OATIS'S conviction of espionage in Czechoslovakia continues to be a cause for concern throughout the Western world. In the annals it will remain as a *cause célèbre* even after Oatis is released. Despite positive demands and retaliatory action by our government, this American reporter remains in prison under a ten-year sentence.

After examination of the record available a few salient observations are in order. The first has to do with the marked contrast between the status of free roving reporters in this country and that of those who attempt to obtain and report news in a Communist-ridden country. Here a reporter may go almost anywhere and question anybody, in government and out, on governmental and military matters. This is routine, the simple functioning of a free press.

In a totalitarian country such a pattern of conduct is espionage. Indeed, in Czechoslovakia the law as laid down by the judge at the Oatis trial apparently limits the reporter to governmental handouts. The traditional American reporter is a spy a priori. This point is at least indicated in Oatis's testimony:

Q. Were your espionage activities unusual as compared with activities of a correspondent?

A. No, it wasn't. Other correspondents did the same—the fact is that members of the Western press and the diplomatic corps in Prague did the same.

The prosecution sought, through the obvious coercion of Oatis, to indict the whole Western press. Actually it highlighted the Communist suppression of the press.

The second observation is that the chief function of the Oatis trial was to provide a public spectacle; the line of questioning by the prosecution and the recorded comments of the judge make this clear. The indictment started with the public lesson that "the United States is waging war against the Soviet camp of peace." Through the mechanism of the trial the whole Western world, especially its press representatives, press associations, and diplomatic corps, were condemned as a huge web of espionage. Thus Oatis is brought to say:

Now I would like to say something more about a second class of people I dealt with in this way. I mean in this case Western correspondents and Western diplomats here in Prague. I said yesterday that other Western correspondents were dealing in espionage news.

Earlier he had asserted that the Associated Press "was working together with people connected with espionage"—and so on. This picture was obviously created for its effect upon domestic opinion. One may doubt that the Czechoslovak government thought it would be accepted at face value in the West.

The travesty is accentuated by the frequent references to Oatis's "secrecy." Yet he went about openly and asked questions as our reporters normally do. He took *and kept* notes on his interviews. His instructions and dispatches, branded as "secret," were sent out over telegraph wires under government control. The news material he handled was run-of-the-mill reports on public doings, none of which involved security or secret material as we normally understand the terms. He was just a reporter, openly doing a routine job.

A LAWYER, as such, in analyzing the record can offer little not available to any intelligent reader. Perhaps the most critical point involves the validity of Oatis's testimony at the trial, on which to a great extent the charge of sham rests. It should be borne in mind that Oatis, on the record, is a native-born American of real intelligence and good training as a news gatherer and reporter. To the time of his arrest, his allegiance to

this country and to his employers is proved by the record.

He was convicted on our own freedom day, July 4. By queer coincidence a Czech co-defendant is named Svoboda. This name, in the Czech language and even in Russian, means literally "freedom." "Freedom" was convicted and sent to prison for twenty years. *He* was, and I think *it* was. Let's turn back to William Oatis.

From April 23 to the beginning of the trial on July 2 he was held in prison and allowed no communication with his fellow-Americans. He was not given counsel of his own choice. The assigned counsel was *pro forma*. One can only conjecture as to what happened to Oatis in jail, but the conclusion of duress is impelling. On the witness stand he used the word "espionage" frequently and glibly. His schooling, he said, was in United States "espionage" schools;* his routine news activities were "espionage"; his press association was a spy web; his American associates and predecessors were "spies"; the Western news agencies were engaged in "espionage," as were the Western diplomatic corps. His openly kept notes, instructions, and documents are supposed to be accepted as "proof" and "confession." After condemning himself and all others about him, Oatis made an abject statement of regret for the injuries done the Czech republic and the working classes, to which he said he was deeply devoted.

All this passes belief. How could this American, in ten weeks of quiet, comfortable contemplation, decide to condemn himself and to injure his fellow-men and weaken his own country in this manner? A free, intelligent man, unfettered and uncoerced, simply does not act that way. Even the casual and uncritical reader who may reject this analysis will say about a trial in this milieu and with this procedure that he cannot believe we know the truth. He sees that no important concrete point was proved, and that the witnesses spoke of espionage in broad terms. Groping for facts, such a reader remains completely in the dark as to innocence or guilt. No one can have confidence in such a trial mechanism.

Apparently Communist regimes regard a trial as a public demonstration of a proposition already stated. It is hardly a fact-finding procedure. Rather the "facts" are molded to fit the predetermined position. The trial is the display for public consumption.

The whole series of "trials" behind the iron curtain fall into a consistent pattern. Possibly in part it is a defense mechanism against the inroads of Titoism. It deepens the people's fear and thus strengthens the restrictive bonds of communism. How long and how effectively rule by fear can survive is conjectural. Certainly Communist claims of freedom and of justice have been degraded by this trial.

* Oatis was not trained as a spy: he was not even trained as an intelligence officer. In 1943, in the army, he had training in the Japanese language and studied the Japanese area and conditions.

BOOKS and the ARTS

American Foreign Policy: The Voice of Maturity

AMERICAN DIPLOMACY, 1900-1950. By George F. Kennan. The University of Chicago Press. \$2.75.

IT IS a rare event when a book appears that exactly fills a long-recognized need—a book dealing with a subject of critical importance and written by a man uniquely qualified to speak with authority. It is even more remarkable when the book in question proves to be brief, well-written, and so simple and direct in presentation that it can be read with ease by any reasonably informed citizen. Such is the little book on American diplomacy—originally a series of six lectures delivered at the University of Chicago—by George F. Kennan, formerly counselor of the Department of State and now a member of the Institute for Advanced Study.

Mr. Kennan, a career diplomat of twenty-five years' standing, more than a year ago requested an extended leave of absence in order to be able to give consecutive thought to the underlying assumptions of American foreign policy. The present book represents the first fruits of his reflections. Through diligent historical study Mr. Kennan has sought out the key turning-points in American policy over the past half-century in an effort to discover why this country's statesmen acted as they did, where they went wrong, and what we can learn from their mistakes that will help us in the infinitely more difficult decisions that face us today. These lessons Mr. Kennan draws without hesitation or evasion. He combines sharp criticism with a tone of moderation, common sense, generosity, and good humor. Again and again he startles us with a regrouping of familiar facts that suddenly gives them a new meaning and relevance.

In his introductory lecture on the Spanish-American War—that "simple, almost quaint, illustration of some of our national reactions and ways of doing business"—Mr. Kennan resurrects

the arguments against "manifest destiny" and demonstrates their continuing applicability. "We Americans," he warns, "should beware of . . . the acceptance of any sort of a paternalistic responsibility to anyone, be it even in the form of military occupation, if we can possibly avoid it, or for any period longer than is absolutely necessary." The Open Door policy in China—again a half-forgotten landmark of an earlier, more innocent era—Mr. Kennan treats as an example of a national tendency to take a merely verbal diplomatic success for the real thing. And in reviewing the long, unhappy history of American relations with Japan, he taxes his countrymen with a persistent lack of flexibility and imagination in judging Japan's relations with the Asiatic mainland. "Today," he recalls—and the parallelism is startling—"we have fallen heir to the problems and responsibilities the Japanese had faced and borne in the Korean-Manchurian area for nearly half a century, and there is a certain perverse justice in the pain we are suffering from a burden which, when it was borne by others, we held in such low esteem."

Similarly, in discussing the two world wars, Mr. Kennan underlines the extent to which American freedom of action was mortgaged to a past that was only vaguely understood. The senseless destruction, physical and moral, of the First War—which left Europe without a functioning balance of power and with, in its center, a Germany "frustrated, impoverished, stung with defeat"—drastically limited the range of decision in which statesmen could operate. And by the end of the "twenty years' armistice" the Second War had become virtually unwinnable for the Western democracies. The overwhelming concentration of armed strength in the hands of the three great dictatorships—Germany, the Soviet Union, and Japan—meant that the Western powers could win the war only in alliance with one of the totalitarian states against the others. The alternative of inciting a German-Soviet conflict was impracticable: it "could take place only over

the prostrate bodies of the small states of Eastern Europe." An alliance with Nazi Germany was morally unthinkable. There remained the alliance with the Soviet Union. And this, unavoidably, meant "the relative strengthening of the collaborating power and its eventual appearance as a greedy and implacable claimant at the peace table." That was essentially what happened at Tehran, at Yalta, and at Potsdam—of which "if it cannot be said that the Western democracies gained very much . . . , it would also be incorrect to say that they gave very much away." The importance of these conferences, Mr. Kennan sensibly concludes, "has recently been considerably overrated."

The second great lesson Mr. Kennan draws from the two world wars—and in a way the major thesis of his book—is that in both cases, instead of entering the conflict at an early date in order to pursue definite, limited national ends, the United States joined the Allies late in the game, with the self-righteous anger of a peace-loving man who has been provoked beyond endurance. "The fact of the provocation then becomes itself the issue. . . . Day before yesterday, . . . the issues at stake between ourselves and another power were not worth the life of a single American boy. Today, nothing else counts at all; our cause is holy, . . . violence must know no limitations short of unconditional surrender." And at the peace table we attempt to remake the world in our own image.

This way of behaving Mr. Kennan ascribes to a "legalistic-moralistic approach to international problems" that he finds characteristically American. In opposition to it, he proposes the rehabilitation of traditional diplomacy and the concepts of national interest and the balance of power. "Stability" is a key word that recurs again and again through his book. A few years ago such a thesis would probably have struck many readers as hopelessly reactionary. True, it is based on the implicit proposition that the United States is a satisfied and hence a conservative power. But over the past five years the alternative

doctrines have gradually demonstrated their lack of realism. And in its practical applications the conservative position may prove to be more productive of concord, or at least forbearance, between the two ideological power blocs than a doctrine directed more vociferously at the improvement of mankind.

The practical applications of Mr. Kennan's thesis appear in his two articles on Russia—the celebrated "Mr. X" article published in *Foreign Affairs* in 1947 and a sequel entitled *America and the Russian Future*—which are now republished as an appendix to the six lectures. From these it emerges that Mr. Kennan is anything but an advocate of war with the Soviet Union. He questions whether in such a war "there could ever be any such thing as total military victory." And he sees some grounds for hope that without a war the Soviet Union might evolve into a society which could become a cooperative member of the international community. "There can be no genuine stability," he argues, "in any system which is based on the evil and weakness in man's nature. . . . All these institutions of the police state . . . sooner or later end up—like some stale and repetitious pornography—by boring everybody, including those who practice them." But should a new Russia emerge, Mr. Kennan warns us that we should not expect it to conform to our conventional notions of "democracy." "There is no Russian national understanding which would permit the early establishment . . . of anything resembling the private-enterprise system as we know it." From the Russia of the future, Mr. Kennan concludes, "an American well-wisher" should ask only three things: "that she lift forever the Iron Curtain, that she recognize certain limitations to the internal authority of government, and that she abandon . . . the ancient game of imperialist expansion and oppression."

These are wise and sobering words. They deserve to find a wide audience in an America desperately in need of mature reflection on questions of foreign policy. And they also need to be heard by those Europeans who frequently wonder—not without cause—whether the voice of maturity will ever be raised on this side of the water.

H. STUART HUGHES

A New Kind of Hero

BIRTH OF A HERO. By Herbert Gold. The Viking Press. \$3.50.

WHEN Richard Aldington wrote "Death of a Hero" in 1929, the First World War had been over for ten years, and serious writers of the generation that had survived the carnage were still assessing its effects on their lives and their world. For Aldington, who conceived of his novel as both a threnody and an atonement, the death of a hero in the war was "sickening putrid cant." As the intelligentsia became radical during the depression and the Popular Front came into being, the idea of the hero was revitalized: he was no longer a pathetic figure but a symbolic representative of the moral grandeur and eventual triumph of the proletariat. In the best novels—those of Malraux and Silone—he was profoundly expressive of the noblest aspirations of the time.

But now we are in another time, and Herbert Gold's "Birth of a Hero" can be read as a kind of signal indicating how far we have come. Although Mr. Gold is a young veteran, his hero is a fighter in neither imperial nor class conflict. He is not even young. He is a business-man-lawyer-commuter-family-man in a Cleveland suburb who conceives a heroism initially not as deriding-do but more modestly as an interruption of established routine. There is no mention of war in this chronicle of the forty-sixth year of the fledgling hero, who was presumably too young for the first war and too old for the second; and as for the class struggle of yore, nothing could be more removed from the daily life of Reuben Flair, for whom the acquisition of a new car is an event pregnant with meaning and who accepts as his due a quiet nook in a stratified society that is slowly congealing, like a glossy but essentially tasteless dessert.

As the book opens, Flair is celebrating his forty-fifth birthday en famille. His son-in-law refers to him as the hero of the evening, and "the mocking word" is "spittle in Reuben Flair's face." But the opportunity for heroism is presented by the woman next door, a voluptuous and exotic female of uncertain years who believes that any man can be a hero, that "you can make your-

self a hero for yourself," because, as she explains after seducing Flair, "you can learn from everyone. That's the miraculous part of you—in fact, that's what makes you a hero."

Flair manages to continue learning from Lydia Fortner by the amusing expedient of dropping in on her after breakfast and going off late to work, a solution made possible by his advancement in the office hierarchy. His heroism, however, is really tested when her brother Larry (who is not really her brother at all) comes to Flair's house and ensconces himself as a member of the Flair family. Larry Fortner, a kind of Mysterious Stranger, pushes Flair to the limits of his endurance by threatening to reveal the truth to Mrs. Flair, fornicating with the Negro maid, and goading Reuben to examine with the utmost candor his relations with Lydia and with his own family.

While Larry's brutally deliberate assault on the Flair household is resolved melodramatically, Flair's liaison with Lydia is terminated on a muted note that is wryly apropos; and Reuben himself has learned that "he was heroic not

**A cross-section of
the Soviet citizen and
what he thinks**

SOVIET ATTITUDES TOWARD AUTHORITY

By MARGARET MEAD

■ What is the attitude of the Soviet citizen—in his varied roles of parent, worker, soldier, citizen—toward those forces that control his life? Specialists of the Rand Corporation, under the direction of the world-famous anthropologist, Margaret Mead, give a comprehensive and objective answer derived from research in Soviet newspapers, movies, records, Party Congresses, and interviews. **SOVIET ATTITUDES** presents a contemporary understanding of the complex Soviet character, and provides a sound basis for predicting future developments in Russia.

At all bookstores \$4.00

McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc.
330 West 42nd St., New York 18, N. Y.

in freedom, which is the lie about heroes, but in submission freely given to a chosen responsibility, like a man."

I am afraid that this bald recital does not begin to summarize the factual layer of Mr. Gold's ingenious novel, much less the philosophical overtones with which it is somewhat too heavily weighted. It ought to be noted for example that Reuben Flair's grown children—presumably of the author's generation—are merely mentioned contemptuously in passing, and that the people most affectionately treated by the author, in addition to Reuben, are the hero's little boy and an aged bibliophile who stands *in loco parentis* to Reuben.

BOOKS AND PERIODICALS from the **U S S R**
Just Arrived! **VASIL AZHAYEV**
FAR FROM MOSCOW
 Novel in 3 Vols. — Illustrated
 In English — 1420 pp. — Set \$2.75
 Latest Soviet Records, Sheet Music, Handicrafts
 1951 SUBSCRIPTIONS OPEN FOR ALL
 SOVIET NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS
 Ask for Complete Catalogue P-51
FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.
 53 W. 56 Street, N. Y. Murray Hill 8-2680

WHAT WAS THE SECRET OF EDISON'S GREATNESS?



Early in life, Thomas A. Edison came under the influence of Thomas Paine's writings, and fully acknowledged his indebtedness to this great thinker. He said: "Paine educated me. . . . Never have we had a sounder intelligence in this republic." Let Thomas Paine do for you what he did for Edison!

FREE "THE AGE OF REASON"
 By Thomas Paine

Write for your copy of Paine's masterpiece, "The Age of Reason," 190 pages; complete unexpurgated. Sent to you without obligation as part of an educational campaign . . . but please add 10¢ to cover cost of postage and handling.

THE THOMAS PAINE FOUNDATION
 Dept. 12, 870 West 111th Street, New York 1, N. Y.

Buy Your Books through THE Nation

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C. O. D. No C. O. D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to
Miss Le Pach

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
 10 Vesey Street New York 7, N. Y.

But if it is true that Mr. Gold's novel has a special importance because it represents a turning point in the intellectuals' attitude toward the middle class (it is my guess that "Birth of a Hero" will fulfil the promise of its title in a special sense by being the first of a series of conservative novels attempting to anchor the unaffiliated intellectual to that middle-aged segment of American society which he has hitherto scorned above all others), it must not be overlooked that Mr. Gold writes with charm and talent. He understands the phenomena at which he is smiling, and he communicates adroitly his delighted recognition of the significance of such neglected rituals as the office party and the commuter's daily journey. If we are really at the beginning of a new era of conservatism, we can only hope that the writers who will choose to celebrate the heroic virtues of the middle-aged and the comfortably placed will be able to do so with at least a portion of Mr. Gold's benevolent wit, radical perception, and intellectual vigor.

HARVEY SWADOS

A Man of Genius

THE LIFE OF JOHN MAYNARD KEYNES. By R. F. Harrod. Harcourt, Brace and Company. \$7.50.

LOUIS HACKER has called this book "a great biography of a great man," and few people, I think, will quarrel with the second half of this statement. For Maynard Keynes was a man of rare genius whose contribution to the evolution of economic thought ranks him with Adam Smith and Karl Marx. Moreover he was also outstanding as logician, administrator, financier, teacher, and master of English prose.

In addition, Keynes had unique gifts of personality, a point illustrated by an extract from the journal of Professor Lionel Robbins describing a war-time meeting of British and American experts:

Keynes was in his most lucid and persuasive mood; and the effect was irresistible. At such moments I often find myself thinking that Keynes must be one of the most remarkable men that ever lived—the quick logic, the birdlike swoop of intuition, the vivid fancy, the wide vision, above all the incomparable sense of the fitness of words, all combine to make something several degrees beyond

the limit of ordinary human achievement. Certainly, in our own age, only the Prime Minister is of comparable stature.

This is a tribute all the more impressive in that it was paid by an outstanding exponent of classical economics who had earlier broken many an intellectual lance in battle with Keynes and his followers.

Mr. Harrod has done justice to his many-sided subject, but he is hardly a Boswell, and I doubt that his book will live except as an essential sourcebook for future biographers. Undoubtedly, he was one of Keynes's most devoted disciples, but I question whether he was the most understanding of them. His own instincts are conservative, and at times he appears to suffer from an itch to depict Keynes as more orthodox than he was and to make unwarranted assumptions about his reactions to events subsequent to his death. For Keynes, while following the great traditions of humanism, did so as a liberal in the best and fullest sense of the word, as a daring and imaginative experimentalist who never feared the untried.

Nor is Harrod's prose style worthy of his subject. He is correct but far from lively, and when he does attempt flights of eloquence he usually achieves a pomposity which would surely have amused Keynes—the least stuffy of men. Still, let us grant the book its merits. Compiled while memories of the man are still fresh, it does provide a mine of information about Keynes's public life. And although it is unduly reticent about his private life, it gives a fascinating account of his education at Eton and Cambridge drawn largely from his own astonishingly mature letters. We also learn a good deal about his relations with the brilliant group of men, including Lytton Strachey and Duncan Grant, the painter, with whom he was associated at Cambridge, the group which later became the nucleus of "the Bloomsbury set."

As Harrod is himself an economist, he naturally devotes a major part of this long book to Keynes's economic writings and to his work as economic adviser in World War II. Future historians will certainly find his detailed accounts of the Bretton Woods and British loan negotiations of great value. But vital as Keynes's war-time services were, it was in his books that he made

his chief contribution to the history of our times.

Keynes first attracted public attention in 1919 when he resigned as economic adviser to the British peace delegation and wrote "The Economic Consequences of the Peace," which Harrod rightly describes as "one of the finest pieces of polemic in the English language." In recent years this book has been sharply attacked, notably by Paul Montoux, on the ground that its criticisms of the Versailles treaty, particularly the reparation clauses, were grossly exaggerated and helped to create the sense of guilt about Germany that tended to blind Britons and Americans to the dangers of Hitlerism. Harrod deals shrewdly and faithfully with this charge, showing that the real fault lay with those who put forward the fantastic proposals that Keynes riddled, correctly anticipating the later dangerous reaction from one form of unrealism to another.

"The Economic Consequences" was the first of a series of politico-economic essays that Keynes wrote in the twenties, examples of pamphleteering at its best. In these same years he was also engaged in a reexamination of theories of credit and investment. His "Tract on Monetary Reform" (1923) dealt a hard blow at the still sacrosanct gold standard. "A Treatise on Money" (1930) demonstrated *inter alia* that decisions to save and decisions to invest were made by different sets of people and challenged the accepted belief, which inspired central banking and treasury policies, that there was at all times a rough equivalence between the volume of savings and that of investment.

From the ideas first formulated in these works grew "The General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money" (1936), a book as influential for our times as "The Wealth of Nations" was for the age of the Industrial Revolution. In a letter to Bernard Shaw, quoted by Harrod, Keynes expressed his belief that this book would "largely revolutionize—not, I suppose, at once but in the course of the next ten years—the way the world thinks about economic problems."

His prediction has been fulfilled to the letter. Keynes's explanation of the way in which "effective demand" is determined by the interaction of "the

propensity to consume" and "the propensity to invest" is now completely accepted by the majority of British and American economists. Furthermore, the policies of both the British Labor government and the Truman Administration owe a great deal to "The General Theory." Thus the theoretical tools fashioned by Keynes are serving to shape "the mixed economy" which is the Western world's alternative to the totalitarian socialism of the Soviets.

KEITH HUTCHISON

The Letters of Cicero

CICERO: THE SECRETS OF HIS CORRESPONDENCE. By Jérôme Carcopino. Yale University Press. Two Volumes. \$7.50.

PROFESSOR CARCOPINO'S well-argued thesis that the correspondence of Cicero was published much earlier than scholars generally suppose, by Octavian before he became The August, with the express intention of making Cicero execrable and yet using his posthumous infamy to prove the necessity of the new regime, is of less interest to the general reader than the portrait of Rome's greatest orator that emerges from his own letters as M. Carcopino guides us through them. No high-school junior who has been bored by the four orations against Catiline, the speech for the Manilian Law, and—perhaps, we hope, a little less—the oration for Archias, no college freshman who has had "De Senectute" stuffed (why?) down his throat, but will take, as Professor Carcopino seems to, some malicious pleasure in this exposé of Cicero as a greedy and unscrupulous counselor, a magistrate on the make, an evildoer by proxy, a self-seeking husband, a father too casual, a father-in-law too indulgent, a great recanter, a doctrinaire without a doctrine, chronically blind, morbidly vain, an impenitent trimmer, a boaster, coward, malicious, deceitful, double-dealer, blasphemer; and all this proved by the things he said himself.

Yet—yet, how wonderful the letters are, and how little difference all this makes. Boswell comes to mind, inevitably: our sneaking weakness for him is little affected by the fact that we sort of know he was playing up to it, in advance, and smearing himself a bit more

than might have been really necessary. There is no such intention in Cicero; there would not be apt to be in any Roman. Are we perverse, merely, in admiring him for, or in spite of, this bad character? Perhaps the answer is to be found in some lines from W. H. Auden's poem on the death of William Butler Yeats:

Time, that is intolerant
Of the brave and innocent,
And forgetful in a week
Of a beautiful physique
Worships language, and forgives
Every one by whom it lives,
Pardons cowardice, conceit,
Lays its honors at their feet . . .

Marcus Tullius Cicero, on Professor Carcopino's showing, deserves better than the lame apology delivered by the old Augustus to his grandson, "This was a great orator, my boy, and one who loved his country well." By his own stylus he stands indicted, as, one way or another, a first-class heel. But the heel could write, first-class.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

SPINOZA DICTIONARY

Edited by Dagobert D. Runes

IN THIS WORK, Baruch Spinoza, one of the cardinal thinkers of all times answers the eternal questions of man and his passions, God and nature. In the deepest sense, this dictionary of Spinoza's philosophy is a veritable treasury of sublime wisdom.

Here is what Albert Einstein writes about this book:

"I have read the *Spinoza Dictionary* with great care. It is, in my opinion, a valuable contribution to philosophical literature.

"If the reader despairs of the business of finding his way through Spinoza's works, here he will find a reliable guide speaking in Spinoza's own words.

"The grand ideas of Spinoza's *Ethics* are brought out clearly in this book, not less than the heroic illusions of this great and passionate man." \$5.00

Expedite Shipment by prepayment

PHILOSOPHICAL LIBRARY

Publishers

15 East 40th Street, Desk N, New York 17

BUY U. S. SAVINGS BONDS

Books in Brief

LLOYD GEORGE. By Thomas Jones. Harvard. \$5. As Henry Adams said of Theodore Roosevelt, Lloyd George was energy untroubled by thought. Champion in his youth of the Boers, the reformer who clipped the claws of the Lords and changed the social and economic pattern of England, a leading architect of victory in World War I and of the disastrous peace that followed, the opportunist of the "Hang the Kaiser" campaign who wrecked his party and spent the last quarter-century of his life exiled from the power and glory that he loved, Lloyd George was a massive example of the super-politician, ruled by expediency and corrupted by power. This compact and more than competent biography is written by a friend and associate who views the Welsh Wizard kindly but without illusions.

FALL OF THE SPARROW. By Jay Williams. Oxford. \$3. A book about the dodo, the passenger pigeon, the sea-cow, the heath hen, and other species that have become extinct, with the reasons for their downfall. A pleasant, inconsequential book, lightly written with rather too much whimsy. The illustrations are by Richard Taylor.

IN THE CITY WAS A GARDEN. By Henry Kraus. Renaissance Press. \$3. The human drama of a housing project in San Pedro, California, from 1942 to 1947 conversationally told with emphasis on racial conflicts in the first half and on political in the last. The optimistic blurb writer says that it shows the love of the residents for the responsibility of running their Garden City and their development of "the dormant American knack of self-rule." Actually it shows, rather, an abnormal capacity for prejudice, petty rivalries, and sustained bickering, and an equally great incapacity for enlightened self-interest.

POEMS IN PROCESS. By Phyllis Bartlett. Oxford University Press. \$4. Abundant in material, well organized in its general outline and chapter plan, within those chapters Miss Bartlett's study tends toward some rather jumpy

choppiness. Recognizing that what makes a man a poet is a mystery, and wisely leaving that aspect of the creative process alone, Miss Bartlett is chiefly concerned with demonstrating that even where inspiration is greatly claimed, few indeed are the poets who omit entirely the arduous necessities of revision; she shows, with elaborate documentation, drawn from a study of letters, journals, and work-sheets, how many different ways and means, impulses and motives, are absorbed into this phase of the poet's task. A work of scholarship, complete with index and bibliographical notes: by no means dry going, and modest in its conclusion—"A great writer may write with ease, and so may a lightweight; a great writer may write with difficulty, and so may a fool."

THE GOLDEN ASS. A New Translation by Robert Graves from Apuleius. Farrar, Straus and Young. \$3.50. The refractory and industrious intelligence of Robert Graves has here produced an easy-ambling and most readable translation of one of the world's earliest pieces of prose fiction. These primitive forms, in which people having adventures meet with people who tell them about the adventures they have had, including the stories told them by other adventurers, have their boring stretches, but "The Golden Ass" has fewer than most. And Mr. Graves, of course, is competent to find values of morality, symbolism, and even terror along with the raciness, bawdry, and plain story-telling.

Drama

JOSEPH
WOOD
KRUTCH

THREE weeks ago the infant dramatic season took its first faltering step. Since then it has essayed two more and fallen flat on its face both times, the latest *faux pas* being one of those psychological melodramas of the sort more familiar to moviegoers and entitled "Twilight Walk" (Fulton Theater). Its principal achievement is to make multiple murder in Central Park seem very dull indeed, and it manages this feat by discoursing upon the psychiatric aspects of criminology with all the subtlety of "Ten Nights in a Bar-

room" exposing the evils of drink. The chief offenders are two: a heroine to whom are attributed all the feminine virtues, including beautiful legs, but who is also given to writing highbrow articles on crime for the papers; and a no-nonsense detective who believes that the best cure for a chronic throttler is the electric chair.

All the action takes place in the park, and the curtain goes up on one of those sets which always bring a little burst of applause from the audience, taking this way of letting everybody know that it recognizes the scene. Then, after the atmosphere has been dutifully established by two children skipping rope, a shoe-shine boy playing a harmonica, and so on, the heroine is heard remarking, first, that she never intends to let her mind stop growing and then, lest you should get the idea that she is too coldly intellectual a type, that she just loves children. Having thus established her character, she startles everybody by announcing her conviction that the time is not far off when policemen and prisons will be totally superseded by doctors and hospitals. "Crime Is a Disease!"

I confess that I can only hazard a guess at the conclusion of all this, but I think it a pretty safe bet that the murderer turned out to be the over-protected young medical student whose mother, as we early learn, still tucks him in bed every night. As I wandered out into the darkness I was thinking what a difficult world this is. From other plays and novels I have learned that if we don't tuck children in long enough, they feel rejected and therefore become anti-social. But of course if you tuck them in too long, the results are, if anything, worse. It must be terribly difficult to determine when the danger of rejection is over and that of over-protection begins. Under the circumstances I am surprised that walking in the park is not more hazardous than it is. Nearly everybody there must have been either over- or under-cuddled.

Some of my colleagues thought that Nancy Kelly did a fine job in a bad play. She certainly acts her part with what seems like conviction and delivers enthusiastically the most complete collection of high-minded platitudes ever assembled in one play. But I am not so sure that this is to her credit.

Records

B. H.
HAGGIN

RECENTLY there has been occasion to note that some recordings which sounded good when played on the limited-range phonograph I have in the country sounded poor when played on the wide-range set-up I have in the city, and to realize all over again that what a reviewer reports as the sound of a recording will be found true only by those with reproducing equipment like his own. I think, therefore, that readers of this column should know that what I report is the sound of an LP recording when reproduced by a G. E. cartridge, a Brook amplifier, and an RCA LC1A speaker, with the treble control of the amplifier set at position 3, which provides a response that falls to minus 16 db at 10,000 cycles and thus compensates for the rise to plus 16 db in the Columbia LP recording characteristic. They should realize further that what I report as good sound may be sharp, strident, harsh, and otherwise unpleasant when the recording is reproduced without such compensation, or by inferior equipment which introduces distortion and peaks; and on the other hand that what I report as sharp, strident, and otherwise unpleasant sound may be agreeable when the recording is reproduced by equipment which cuts off sharply at 5,000 cycles (I would say that if one can't afford first-rate wide-range equipment, a set-up which cuts off sharply at 5,000 is preferable to one of wide range with distortion and peaks).

After these preliminaries here is a report on recent recordings of chamber music:

Mozart's Trios for piano, violin, and cello have been issued by Period—K.254 and 496 on one record (523), K.502 and 548 on another (522), and K.542 and 564 on a third (521). Of these K.496 is the finest, but all are engaging, with especially beautiful slow movements in K.502 and 548. The playing of Agi Jambor, Victor Aitay, and Janos Starker—as individuals and as a group—is beautifully sensitive, and better than that of Abba Bogin, Ruth Posselt, and Samuel Mayes in K.502 and 542 on the Allegro record. As for recorded sound,

even with treble at minimum the violin is edged and brash.

Concerning Mozart's Serenades K.375 and 388 for winds (Decca) I repeat what I wrote on the occasion of the Westminster recording: "Marvelous writing for the instruments; and the brilliant K.375 has breathtaking details; but K.388 has a power which I think is better realized in the string quintet version K.406." The Decca performances by a group of prominent American wind players are very good, though not as fine as those of the Vienna Philharmonic group on the Westminster record; but the Westminster performance of K.375 starts a half-tone sharp and the Westminster surfaces are noisy.

Of the works I have found uninteresting, Beethoven's String Trio Opus 3 is played very beautifully by the Pasquier Trio, with the violin sharp even with treble at minimum (Allegro); Brahms's Quartet Opus 51 No. 1 is also played beautifully by the Budapest Quartet, with the over-all recorded sound hard and cold and the violin sound edged and otherwise not agreeable, and with surfaces gritty (Columbia); Brahms's Sonata Opus 78 is well played by Isaac Stern and Alexander Zakin, with Stern sounding too close to the microphone but the recording otherwise good, and surfaces not quiet (Columbia); Debussy's Sonata for violin and piano is well played by Ricardo Odnoposoff and Leonid Hambro, with the recorded sound excellent but surfaces gritty (Allegro; with Villa-Lobos's Sonata No. 3); Piston's Sonata and Lopatnikoff's Sonata No. 2, both skillfully put-together works, are superbly played by Joseph Fuchs and Artur Balsam, with the recorded sound excellent but surfaces gritty (Decca).

And now recordings of piano music: Haydn's Sonatas Nos. 44 and 45 offer the interesting operation of his mind on not very interesting material. Virginia Pleasants's playing is again soberly intelligent; surfaces are gritty (Haydn Society).

Mozart's wonderful Rondo K.511, his Sonata K.533 and 494, a fine work with remarkable harmonic details, his Suite K.399, which offers interesting Mozartian transformations of the movements of the Handel suite, and the intricate Gigue K.574 that Balanchine used for the opening dance of "Mozart-

iana"—all these are excellently performed by Charles Rosen; but the rondo and sonata are defectively reproduced (R. E. B.).

Chopin's Preludes are given mannered, distorted, and often heavy-handed treatment by Claudio Arrau; and surfaces are poor (Columbia).

Debussy's "Images" are played by Gieseking with his extraordinary precision of subtle dynamics; but in two of the finest of the pieces, "Hommage à Rameau" and "Poissons d'or," there is an occasional strange and perverse substitution of *forte* for *piano* and vice versa which diminishes their effect; and "Poissons" is not always clear in texture. Surfaces are gritty (Columbia).

Some of Bartok's etude-like pieces from his "Mikrokosmos" are engaging, others not, but all are marvelously played by Bartok himself. Surfaces are poor (Columbia).

A rather engaging Sonata by Alexander Reinagle (1756-1809) and March of the Gaboros by Gottschalk are on a record of American music with the Griffes Sonata, which makes no musical sense to me, and three Preludes by Robert Palmer, which are studies in an intricacy that doesn't achieve much else.

→ "from 'Bach-Gesellschaft'"
† from "Urtext" ed.

Pocket-Sized, Low-Priced Editions

BEETHOVEN† 33 Piano Sonatas, 5 vols.	\$3.08
MOZART† The Violin Sonatas, 11 vols. ... each	.08
BRAMHMS All Violin Sonatas08
CHOPIN 24 Preludes, 2 Sonatas, Fantasy08
BACH* 6 English & 11 French Suites08

& MANY OTHERS—WRITE FOR FREE CATALOG

Order From Your Dealer, or Direct From

LEA POCKET SCORES Dent. W. Box 139
New York 32, N. Y.

PULITZER PRIZE AND CRITICS' AWARD
RICHARD RODGERS & OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd
present in association with
LELAND HAYWARD & JOSHUA LOGAN

ROGER RICO
MARTHA WRIGHT
IN
South Pacific

Music by RICHARD RODGERS
Lyrics by OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd
Book by
RICHARD HAMMERSTEIN 2nd & JOSHUA LOGAN
Adapted from JAMES A. MICHENER's Pulitzer Prize Winning "TALES OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC"
Directed by JOSHUA LOGAN
Scenery & Lighting by Jo Mielziner
with MYRON MCGONAGLE • DIOSA CASTELLO
MAJESTIC THEATRE, 44th St. W. of B'way
Evenings 8:25. Matinees Wed. & Sat., 2:25

Jeanne Behrend's performances seem excellent; surfaces are gritty (Allegro).

Uninteresting to my ears are Bach's English Suite No. 4 and his French Suite No. 2 (except the Sarabande), played a little stiffly on the harpsichord by Denise Restout; and Mozart's Sonatas K.279 and 280, played on the piano by Florenica Raitzin very sensitively but with a curious disregard for Mozart's directions about dynamics. Surfaces are poor (R. E. B.).

CONTRIBUTORS

H. STUART HUGHES, assistant professor of history at Harvard University, is the author of "An Essay for Our Times."

HARVEY SWADOS, a contributor to the *New York Post*, the *Progressive*, and the *Menorah Journal*, recently wrote for *The Nation* two articles on paper books.

KEITH HUTCHISON, financial editor of *The Nation*, is the author of "The Decline and Fall of British Capitalism" and other books.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, AND CIRCULATION required by the Act of Congress of August 24, 1912, as amended by the Acts of March 3, 1933, and July 2, 1936 (Title 39, United States Code, Section 293) of *THE NATION*, published weekly at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1951.

1. The names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are:

Publisher, The Nation Associates, Inc.,
20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

Editor, Freda Kirchwey,
20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

Managing Editor, None.

Business Manager, Hugo Van Arx,
20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

2. The owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a partnership or other unincorporated firm, its name and address, as well as that of each individual member, must be given.)

The Nation Associates, Inc. (no stockholders),
20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

Freda Kirchwey, President,
20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

Evans Clark, Vice President,
330 West 42 Street, New York 18, N. Y.

Hugo Van Arx, Secretary and Treasurer,
20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

3. The known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.) None.

4. Paragraphs 2 and 3 include, in _____ where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person as corporation for whom such trustee is acting; also the statements in two paragraphs show the affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner.

5. The average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the twelve months preceding the date shown above was: (This information is required from daily, weekly, semiweekly, and triweekly newspapers only.) 34,082.

HUGO VAN ARX,

Signature of Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 17th day of September, 1951.

[SEAL]

GEORGE F. BRANDON,
Notary Public, State of New York.
No. 41-6392950

Qualified in Queens County.

Certs. filed with Queens & N. Y. Co. Clks. & Regs.
Commission Expires March 30, 1958.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

A Subpoenaed Clergyman

Dear Sirs: On September 12 the Reverend Stephen H. Fritchman, minister of the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles, was questioned by members of the Committee on Un-American Activities, which has been holding hearings on communism in the film industry. As Mr. Fritchman has pointed out in the following extracts from a statement he issued to the press on September 16 and from one he read to the committee while he was being interrogated, the subpoenaing of a clergyman before an investigating committee threatens the independence of the church and could lead to its control by the state. Here are some of the things Mr. Fritchman said:

I am profoundly shocked at this first example to my knowledge of the committee's calling before it of a parish minister. Every clergyman in the land should be equally alarmed. . . .

With this subpoena you actually seek to invade the realm of religion. The history of religion in America—Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant—has been one of healthy independence and it must remain that way. . . . If this committee should succeed in subpoenaing the ministers of this country and intimidating them, both American democracy and unfettered religion as we have known them for 165 years will vanish.

I am one who believes Congress has proper authority to make many investigations, but I do not believe it has the power to ask citizens to surrender their privileges under the Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

Representative Jackson seeks to separate my ministerial from my civic life. He protests he is not questioning me as a clergyman. But he has already questioned me on officers, speakers, meetings, and activities of the Unitarian church, not only groups renting rooms for meetings but actual events under the auspices of the church itself. He holds the strange opinion that a minister is only a minister when robed for services or when listening to the troubles of his people in the sanctity of his study. A reading of the Old and New Testaments would remind Mr. Jackson that for centuries religion has taken the minister into the market place, the parliament, and to the street corner, wherever he could help his fellows diminish "man's inhumanity to man." Any minister who must disclose the words and activities of his church people or himself before a governmental committee has surrendered his leadership as a moral guide. Our Founding Fathers

made the wall of separation between church and state very high, and so it must remain if the clergy are to avoid being abject sycophants before the Administration in power. I would remind Mr. Jackson of Cromwell's efforts to prescribe the religious leadership of John Lillburne. The indemnity paid by Parliament to Lillburne has long symbolized the importance of free association in a democratic state by religious leaders.

Los Angeles

PETER STRONG

Boys Will Be Boys

Dear Sirs: Our neighborhood has been the scene of an interesting pow-wow this week between three gangs of boys—the short boys (who recently lost a strategic gang war over on the other side of the tracks), the tall boys (who succeeded in licking the short boys), and the freckle-faced boys (who for the most part sat on the sidelines and watched because their slingshots were being used on the other side of town).

These all came into our street the other day on the invitation of the tallest of the tall boys, who was beginning to feel generous in his victoriousness. He wanted his friends and his enemies too to sign a friendship pact with the short boys and to promise that they would never sling stones at each other again.

The freckle-faced boys accepted the invitation, but they were skeptical of the tall boys' methods and suspicious of their motives. They said so. Indeed, they said so several times and with gestures. They even accused the tallest of the tall boys of being a bully. But everybody knew that the freckle-faced boy with the reddest hair was the worst bully of all.

An old man who was whittling away while all these discussions were going on made a strange observation. He noticed that some of the smaller tall boys applauded every time a freckle-faced boy made a point. The old man says it's because the smallest tall boys also think the tallest tall boy is a bully. But they don't say so, because the tallest tall boy gives them candy.

Now that the boys have gone home I hear there may be another fight. The thing that frightens me is that another fight will not help us learn that whether they are tall boys or short boys or freckle-faced boys, boys are boys.

San Francisco

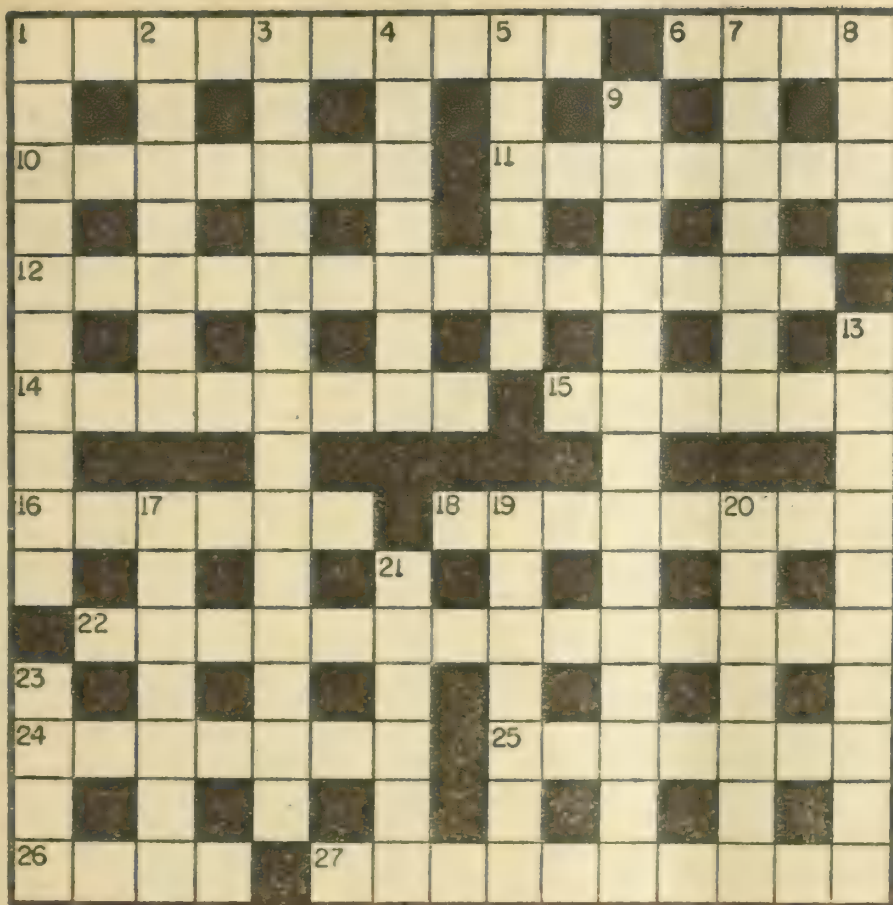
ROBERT MOON,

Minister of the

Park-Presidio United Church

Crossword Puzzle No. 433

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 Circumstances under which one so acts as a trainer. (10)
- 6 and 8 down. Implying plethora of change for the bells, but not enough for the till? (4-4)
- 10 In no hurry to be found in the reception office. (7)
- 11 To serve ■ ■ harbinger of ruins, he gets ruined. (5, 2)
- 12 Taking ■ residential census of banks (8, 6)
- 14 The strongest women are by the 24. (8)
- 15 Its chances of being associated with a new star are reasonably bright. (6)
- 16 The province of the parchment. (6)
- 18 It is confused with the broken-down vehicle of 27. (8)
- 22 Implying Fate didn't follow suit! (3, 5, 2, 4)
- 24 Extremely amazing persons show them up. (7)
- 25 Bill and the soprano had better be! (7)
- 26 The function of ■ levy. (4)
- 27 Smith is so made to carry Orville, perhaps. (10)

DOWN

- 1 Functions and potentials of volumes. (10)

- Why 22 couldn't get in the first blow? (2-5)
- and 23. This might describe you! (14, 4)
- 4 How the head of 7 might vary, very feelingly. (7)
- 5 Hung at a circle of complete failure. (6)
- 7 This sort of B.A. never organizes a plant. (7)
- See ■ across.
- 9 Feet arrive much in disorder, in disorder. (9, 5)
- 13 Foil. . . . (10)
- 17 . . . and a foil across. (7)
- 19 Certainly not a first impression. (7)
- 20 Got into a windy calling. (7)
- 21 C. C. C. P.? (6)
- 23 See 3.

.....

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 432

ACROSS:—1 CLEARING HOUSE; 10 OP-PUGNS; 11 ARIETTA; 12 UNDINES; 13 EBONITE; 14 OYSTERS; 15 STOPGAP; 16 EN MASSE; 20 CRIPPLE; 23 ANNULET; 24 LEMURES; 25 DECLARE; 26 BUFFALO; 27 ASSEVERATIONS.

DOWN:—2 LEPIDUS; 3 ARGONNE; 4 INSISTS; ■ GRADERS; ■ ORINOCO; 7 SITTING; ■ MODUS OPERANDI; 9 PAT EXPRESSION; 17 MENACES; 18 SELVAGE; 19 EXTREME; 20 CULEBRA; 21 IN MUFTI; 22 PERTAIN.

RESORTS

Colorful! Gay! Exciting!
THAT'S INDIAN SUMMER AT THE GLENMERE!
famed horseback riding!
the Glenmere
Chester, N. Y. in the beautiful Ramapo
Phones: Chester 2151 — N. Y.: Rector 2-5047

50 MILES TO FOREST HOUSE

Near enough for easy travel, far enough for an unforgettable vacation. Forest House achieves new levels of gay relaxation in inspiring surroundings. Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality. Two grand lakes. All sports.

FOREST HOUSE

Lake Mahopac, N. Y. • Tel. MAhopac 8-3449

WINDY HILL

ON ORANGE LAKE

A pleasantly informal vacation in friendly atmosphere. Books, Records, Ping-pong, a two-mile lake for boating, fishing, swimming. Food of excellent quality in generous quantity. Rate: \$45 weekly, \$7.50 daily.

65 Miles From N. Y. C.
JANE O. ARENZ, R. D. No. 1, Walden, N. Y.
Phone: Newburgh 115 W 2

PUBLISHING SERVICE

AUTHORS! Sales Department available for your short stories, articles, books and plays. Free booklet, write today! Mead Agency, 419 Fourth Avenue, N. Y. 16 (OR 9-1150).

PERSONALS

exit loneliness

Somewhere there is someone you would like to know. Somewhere there is someone who would like to know you. We can help you find a richer, happier life through discreet, dignified social introductions. Write for booklet, or phone
MAY RICHARDSON
Dent. TN, 111 West 72 Street
New York City EN 2-2033



INSTRUCTORS!

Take advantage of
The Nation's
Special Class-Room Rate
40¢ Monthly per Student

for order of 10 or more copies
to be sent to one address—
desk copy supplied free

Address your order to

The NATION
TWENTY VESLEY STREET
NEW YORK 7, N. Y.

Advertising Rates

CLASSIFIED

74¢ a line (6 words)

Three-line minimum

CLASSIFIED DISPLAY

\$7.42 per inch (minimum)

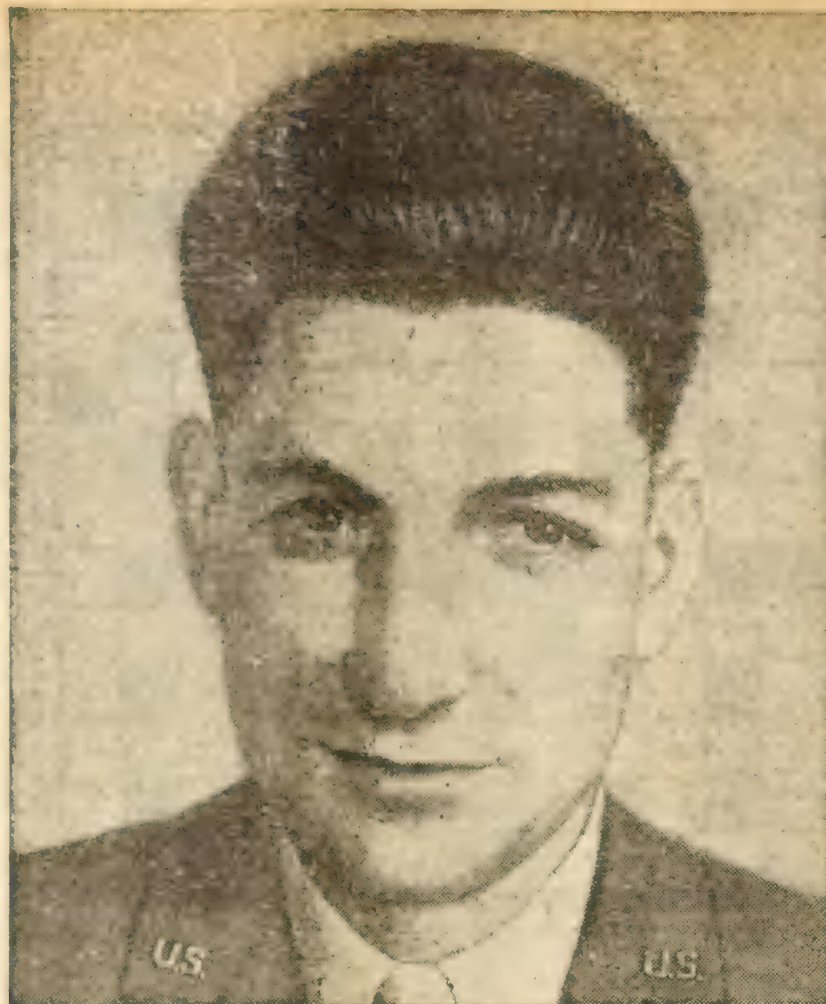
Remittance must accompany all orders

The NATION

Twenty Vesley Street
New York 7, New York
BARclay 7-1066

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

Medal of Honor



Lieutenant Frederick Henry of Clinton, Oklahoma—Medal of Honor for sacrificing himself to save his platoon in combat near Am-Dong, Korea, September 1, 1950. When the platoon could no longer hold its position, Lieutenant Henry ordered the men to pull back. But someone had to stay behind to provide covering fire. He chose to be that man, and was lost.

Always remember this—Lieutenant Henry offered his life for more than just a small platoon in far-away Korea. It was also for America. For you.

Isn't there something you can do when this man did so much? Yes, there is. You can help keep the land he loved solid and strong and secure. You can do a job for defense . . . by buying United States Defense* Bonds, now! For your bonds give your country greater strength. And a strong America is your best hope for peace and freedom—just as it was his.

Defense is your job, too. For the sake of every man in service, and for yours, start buying more United States Defense Bonds now.

Remember that when you're buying bonds for national defense, you're also building a personal reserve of cash savings. Remember, too, that if you don't save regularly, you generally don't save at all. Money you take

home usually is money spent. So sign up today in the Payroll Savings Plan where you work, or the Bond-A-Month Plan where you bank. For your country's security, and your own, buy U. S. Defense Bonds now!

***U.S. Savings Bonds are Defense Bonds - Buy them regularly!**

The U. S. Government does not pay for this advertisement. It is donated by this publication in cooperation with the Advertising Council and the Magazine Publishers of America in public service.



Copper, Chile, and Communism—*Carleton Beals*

THE *Nation*

BURLINGAME
PUBLIC LIBRARY
Durham, Cal.

October 13, 1951

TV at the Crossroads *Vital Policies in the Making*

BY EDWARD LAMB and HARVEY LEVIN

*

Britain's Coming Crisis

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

*

FALL BOOKS

Forrestal's Diaries - - - - - Willard Shelton
Myth and Irony in Thomas Mann - - - Leslie A. Fiedler
The New Middle Class - - - - - Irving Howe
"Samuel Butler's Notebooks" - - - - - Ernest Jones
Soviet Patterns of Authority - - - Barrington Moore, Jr.

Are There Any Young Liberals In Your College?

LISTEN TO THESE VOICES FROM THE CLASSROOM:

Here is a young man in a Middle Western college. He is the new type of student. War was his prep school. He is married and knows responsibility. He does not take the world lightly. But he does not find his seriousness reflected in current magazines. He has written in a daily theme:

"I came upon *The Nation*. This is what it meant to me. It is not for violence, but strictly for freedom. It gets at wrongdoing through truth. It doesn't say anything without telling me why it says it."

Now hear a voice from the South:

"As a sophomore at Knoxville College, while beginning my major in sociology, I saw my first copy of *The Nation*. It served me an intellectual anchor, and I have missed few issues since."

A young Kentuckian speaks:

"During my sophomore year at the University of Kentucky I never derived so much benefit from any other single publication containing similar material as I did from *The Nation*. It has been a teacher in thought, fact, and opinion."

And from New England:

"During my Harvard days I appreciated *The Nation* as a well-written magazine that kept me in touch with men and events of the non-college world."

In each of these cases an assiduous search ripened into a discovery. A thought recommended *The Nation*. And in the minds of these young people, in the Era of McCarthyism, *The Nation* fanned some stirring of in strengthened some rebellion against the narrow and the partial, satisfied for fairness and light and understanding.

Instructors! Are there any young liberals in your college? Potentially there and they need your encouragement. By using *The Nation* in your classes help them to find their way—"not for violence, but strictly for freedom."

Use This Convenient Order Form

THE NATION

20 Vesey Street • New York 7, N. Y.

Please send me _____ copies of *The Nation* for _____ months at the classroom rate of 40¢ monthly per student. (Desk copy supplied free.)

☐ Bill me.

☐ I enclose my remittance.

Name _____

City _____ Zone _____ State _____

College or University _____

10/13/61

Special classroom rates are
monthly per student for orders
more copies to be sent to one
A desk copy is supplied free. we sug-
gest you fill out and mail the convenient
order form.

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 173

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • OCTOBER 13, 1951

NUMBER 15

The Shape of Things

THE RIGHT AND LEFT WINGS OF THE British Labor Party cooperated in making that organization's conference at Scarborough a love-feast at which all oratorical acid-throwing was directed at the political enemy. "My differences with my colleagues," said Aneurin Bevan in one speech, "are microscopic compared with my differences with the Conservatives. . . . No matter what our excuse, we must never allow the British Labor Party to become schismatic and must fight at all costs a repetition of what has happened to Continental socialism. . . . That is why when the election was decided on, I and my friends had no hesitation at all in saying that nothing must be allowed to prevent us from uniting our forces to destroy the challenge now made to our movement." All the same, the skeleton of internal dissension could not be kept under wraps all the time. In the course of discussions on policy it became clear that a good many of the delegates representing local Labor parties, as distinct from the affiliated trade unions which exercise the bulk of the voting power, shared Mr. Bevan's misgivings about the scope and tempo of the rearmament program. Moreover, in the election of the party's National Executive, in which representatives of the local parties voted separately for seven out of the twenty-five members, the "rebels" made a strong showing. The return of Mr. Bevan himself at the top of the poll, a position he also occupied last year, was not surprising in view of his personal popularity. More significant was the big increase in votes recorded for three of his associates who were also elected. Thus, while the Bevanites have not actually increased their strength on the Executive, they can claim a moral victory.

✱

THE NEW MEXICO SUPREME COURT HAS ruled that teachers in the public schools cannot wear religious garb but has specifically avoided saying that members of the Catholic religious orders are ineligible to teach in tax-supported schools. Even before the case was decided, however, the church had permanently withdrawn nuns from the public schools after having provided such teachers many years. The court decision reflects this change in policy, which in turn reflects a change in the *mores*. Today 60 per cent of the

state's voters are to be found in the so-called "Little Texas" counties of eastern and southern New Mexico, which are also known as the "Bible Belt." With the influx of Protestants the church began to withdraw its teachers from the public schools of these counties and to transfer them to schools in the mountainous portion of northern New Mexico, where the Spanish-speaking are concentrated. The Supreme Court's ruling marks a new step in this process of withdrawal, since the case arose in Dixon, which is located in northern New Mexico. But there is no evidence that the church either in New Mexico or elsewhere has abandoned its demand for state aid for parochial schools. On the contrary, the French Assembly has just voted to give public funds to Catholic schools, thus abandoning the principle of separation which has prevailed since 1905. And the Pope's recent homily to the first International Congress of Teaching Nuns makes it quite clear that the church in all countries demands legislation which will afford Catholic schools a status and freedom equal to that enjoyed by public schools. This certainly implies state aid.

✱

DURING THE TRUCE TALKS AT KAESONG, and after they were suspended, the U. N. command in Korea kept sending out warnings that the Communists were unscrupulously using the negotiation period to rebuild and regroup their forces for a big offensive. However, when the offensive opened last week it was not the Communists but the U. N. that started it, and dispatches from the front said that advancing U. N. forces found deep dugouts in the abandoned enemy lines—certainly no sign of a coming drive. With the offensive came the first real break in the diplomatic deadlock. The Communists accepted Ridgway's proposal that the truce talks be resumed at a point in no man's land instead of at Kaesong, on which they had previously insisted. The great danger now is that new talks will bog down in the same dispute over truce boundaries. On this issue an ingenious suggestion was made the other day by the *London Times*, which pointed out that since there was no realistic chance of creating a "united, independent, democratic" Korea today, the U. N. should define more limited political aims, which could hardly be other than the status quo ante. The U. N. should state without delay its willingness to "recognize the Thirty-eighth

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things	289
Eisenhower to the Fore	292
Churchill over France <i>by A. W.</i>	293

ARTICLES

This Is Scandinavia <i>by Alexander Werth</i>	294
TV at the Crossroads: The Educational Promise of TV <i>by Edward Lamb</i>	297
How Much Merger in Television? <i>by Harvey Levin</i>	299
Britain's Coming Crisis <i>by Keith Hutchison</i>	300
Copper, Chile, and Communism <i>by Carleton Beals</i>	302
The Hollywood Hearings <i>by Hannah Bloom</i>	304

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Forrestal's Diaries: A Rich Lode <i>by Willard Shelton</i>	305
Soviet Patterns <i>by Barrington Moore, Jr.</i>	306
Myth and Irony in Thomas Mann <i>by Leslie A. Fiedler</i>	307
The New Middle Class <i>by Irving Howe</i>	309
Tirades and Notions <i>by Ernest Jones</i>	311
Verse Chronicle <i>by Rolfe Humphries</i>	312
Books in Brief	313
Art <i>by Manny Farber</i>	313
Music <i>by B. H. Haggin</i>	314

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 316

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 434 *by Frank W. Lewis* opposite 316

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Associate Editor: Carey McWilliams

Foreign Editor J. Alvarez del Vayo *Literary Editor* Margaret Marshall

Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin

Assistant Editor: Charles R. Allen, Jr.

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside

Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting

Staff Contributors

Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: Mary Simon

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1951, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

Entered as second-class matter, December 18, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas. Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$7; Two years \$12; Three years \$17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: *The Nation* is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

Parallel as the frontier . . . as soon as the Communists had proved their willingness to stop the war by accepting an armistice on the lines demanded by General Ridgway." This, the *Times* said, would provide military protection to the U. N. forces, while assuring the Communists that the U. N. "had abandoned all idea of advancing to the frontier of Manchuria." Of course there is no guaranty that such a compromise would be agreed to, but at least it offers a sensible way out of the present deadlock.

✱

MRS. IONE SWAN, THE LOS ANGELES SCHOOL teacher whose defiance of the Board of Education and consequent dismissal were described by Hannah Bloom in *The Nation* of May 26, lost a battle but is winning the war against graft and inefficiency in the school administration. On September 18 Superior Court Judge Otto J. Emme sustained Mrs. Swan's dismissal on grounds of "insubordination, unprofessional conduct, violation of school rules, and evident unfitness for service." His reasons, in the light of recent events, are hardly convincing. The opinion said: "An important part of the education of any child is the instilling of proper respect for authority and obedience to necessary discipline. Lessons are learned from example as well as precept. The example of a teacher who is continually insubordinate . . . may seriously affect the discipline in a school . . . and teach children lessons they should not learn." In the ten months during which Mrs. Swan has been attacking the board's "phony code of ethics," all her charges have been corroborated; two board members who voted themselves fat commissions on school contracts have been ousted from office; a third member faces trial following a grand-jury accusation of "wilful and corrupt misconduct"; and further legal action is pending. Apparently profiteering and misuse of public office are the "lessons" school children are expected to learn by example. In announcing her intention to appeal the verdict, Mrs. Swan pointed to the paradox of punishing the accused in one court of law while her charges were being proved in others.

✱

THE PRESIDENT'S EXECUTIVE ORDER ABOUT security news restrictions is in keeping with the Administration's general policy of attempting to control opinion by the issuance of politically inspired press releases. The nation's press and radio services were quick to denounce the order. The National Association of Radio News Directors asked Congress for speedy action on a bill which would nullify the order, and the A. P.'s Managing Editors' Association not only deplored the directive as posing "the most important censorship problem of the year"—taking precedence over the Oatis case—but declared that ways should be found to circumvent it. The American Society of Newspaper Editors was strong-

ly against the order last July when it was first proposed. At that time the society called attention to the vague language of the order, which refers to information injurious to national security without clearly defining what constitutes an injury. The President did not help matters much with his subsequent statement that 95 per cent of the nation's security information had already been released by newspapers and magazines. If this is true, then what purpose has been served by the loyalty program and similar measures? We share the view of the *Gazette and Daily of York, Pennsylvania*, that the best way to start adding to the security of the nation is to let the public know the public's business.

★

THE SUGGESTION OF SENATOR DOUGLAS that Congress limit the deduction of entertainment and travel expenses from taxable corporate income will probably strike more fear into the heart of the average business man than all the talk of higher corporate rates. It is no secret that high corporate rates, especially the excess-profits tax, have increased the temptation to pad the expense account in order to reduce the tax bill. The "swindle sheet" today takes more money from Uncle Sam than from the employer. So while applauding Senator Douglas's suggestion, we wonder why it singles out liquor and travel. Is sending a case of liquor to a customer different from giving him tickets to "South Pacific" or seats at a World Series ball game? The Senator's recommendation that deductible travel expenses be limited to \$12 a year is a good one. On entertainment there should be a percentage limitation to be determined perhaps by a study of returns in low-rate years. Senator Douglas also suggested a study of the entire question of deductions, which he feels has been a source of great tax avoidance. When one compares the business man's ability to regulate his corporation's tax bill with the helplessness of a wage-earner whose tax is deducted before he ever sees his pay envelope, Senator Douglas's position takes on added appeal.

★

THE ATTEMPT OF THE TEXAS LEGISLATURE to require state employees, including college faculty members, to sign a ten-year retroactive loyalty oath has been temporarily nullified by a ruling of Attorney General Price Daniel. Daniel has held that the oath, which was attached as a rider to an appropriation bill, can only govern the two-year period covered by the bill. The Board of Regents of the University of Texas, by a five-to-four vote, had requested the ruling. The Attorney General informed the Regents, however, that a loyalty oath might be constitutional if passed as a general law, and such a bill is almost certain to be introduced in the next session of the legislature. Texas still has on its stat-

utes a 1949 loyalty oath which requires college students and faculty members to swear that they do not belong, and for two years past have not belonged, to any organization advocating the overthrow of the government by force. The Attorney General has never been requested to prepare a ruling on the constitutionality of this law, nor has it been tested in the courts. Also still applicable, and untested, is an oath which requires state employees to swear that they are not members of any organization listed by the Attorney General of the United States as subversive.

★

AN ESSENTIAL FEATURE OF DUE PROCESS, the free choice of counsel, is about to be denied to American Indians. Interior Department regulations now pending place lawyers for Indian tribes under the authority of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and vest them with only secondary responsibility to the clients who pay their fees. This departure from democratic principles is the more reprehensible in that the actions for which tribes need counsel have often been brought of late against the Commissioner himself. According to the Association on American Indian Affairs, the authority over tribal attorneys now being assumed by the Department of the Interior is without basis in existing statutes and directly contrary to the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. Tribes organized under that act are guaranteed freedom of action in matters of contracts. The present effort to control their contractual relations with attorneys sets back the Indians' progress toward self-government and full exercise of their citizenship rights. The President should tell his administrators that their "regulations" must comply with the principles of American constitutional government and the specific statutes governing their procedure.

★

THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WAS WISE TO withdraw the remaining oil technicians at Abadan instead of sending in an expeditionary force to hold the refinery—a course urged upon it by the Conservative press. But it would surely have been better to have taken this step three months ago when the refinery closed down. No good has been accomplished by maintaining a toe-hold in Iran. On the contrary, the presence in Abadan of this idle and unhappy body of men has impeded negotiations both by irritating the Iranians and by encouraging them to postpone facing the question of how to keep their Alladin's lamp from turning into a white elephant. And now that withdrawal has taken place under pressure, Dr. Mossadegh has been presented with an easy victory which bolsters his position at home and enables

Next week Willard Shelton will tell the story behind the story of the Administration's fight against McCarthy.

him to appear before the United Nations with a new authority. It has also given Mr. Churchill and the Tories an opportunity to lambast the Labor government for weakness and incompetence. Nevertheless, on this issue they have had to pick their way carefully, and not surprisingly Mr. Churchill has not immediately responded to Foreign Secretary Morrison's challenge to say "whether in his judgment we should have gone to war with Persia." In rejecting the demands of those who wished to protect British interests in Iran with arms, the British government had to take into account the strong opposition of Washington to such an operation. Thus Mr. Churchill, the prophet of Anglo-American unity, cannot attack the government too sharply unless he is prepared to declare publicly that it should have ignored the State Department's views. Moreover, too bellicose a line on Iran might increase the effectiveness of Labor's pointed question to the voters: "Whose finger do you want on the trigger?"

Eisenhower to the Fore

RECENT events have suddenly invested the Eisenhower boom with new substance and meaning. The General, of course, has still not said that he is a candidate, but the stage has certainly been set for such an announcement.

The stage-managing began early in September when Senator Taft returned to Washington after testing out issues and sounding sentiment in Maine, Minnesota, and South Dakota. Unfortunately for Mr. Taft, the people were testing him while he was trying slogans and arguments on them. At Rockland, Maine, the Senator addressed an audience whose lack of enthusiasm was too extreme to be explained as a manifestation of traditional Yankee reserve or even in terms of the deep torpor induced by a lobster "feed" that cost \$2.50 a plate. The audience, observers noted, "sat on its hands" and "coldly disregarded" Senator Owen Brewster's cheer-leader efforts to incite an ovation for Taft. Nor was there much greater warmth in the receptions which Taft received in South Dakota and Minnesota. Republican Party officials from coast to coast must have drawn the conclusion implicit in the reports of this disappointing trial run. In fact, Mr. Taft is probably the only influential Republican who failed to sense the message of the reports.

But even Mr. Taft could hardly miss the meaning of a full-page editorial in the October 1 issue of *Life*, warning him against the "mink-like cunning" of Senator McCarthy. The reasoning of the editorial is more important than the conclusion. The Korean war, it seems, has forced Truman and Acheson to take a position "beyond all suspicion of pro-communism"! Indeed, we have achieved such a degree of "comparative security against

internal communism" as to make it unlikely that Houdini, if alive, could get near a government pay roll today. Thus domestic communism, McCarthy version, would be "a phony issue" for the Republicans to raise in 1952, the more so as the FBI, the McCarran committee, and the Wood committee, whose procedures impress *Life* as being fair and unbiased, are carrying out the necessary mopping up operations with admirable efficiency and dispatch. The impudence of this rationalization reflects more than an awareness of the perils of McCarthyism: it assumes that anti-communism as a political tactic has served its purpose, since all significant political opposition to a fight-communism foreign policy has either been crushed or silenced. With unanimity comes magnanimity.

On October 2 Governor James F. Byrnes of South Carolina announced that he would not support President Truman in 1952, urged the South to ignore "political labels" next year, and repudiated Senator Karl Mundt's "coalition" proposal. On the same day Senator James H. Duff of Pennsylvania, speaking at Lexington, North Carolina, came out openly for Eisenhower for the first time and predicted that as the Republican nominee the General would carry such normally Democratic states as North Carolina, Virginia, Texas, and Florida. Both speeches were the product of converging forces. On the one hand, some of the Southern Dixiecrats would like to avoid a split in their own ranks between coalitionists and non-coalitionists. On the other hand, the non-isolationist Republicans want to upset the coalition idea as a means of checkmating Taft, who doubtless favors the proposal. It was as though Senator Duff had said to the Dixiecrats: "Look, you don't need to support coalition; simply support Eisenhower." At the same time "the trend of world events," as James Reston reported in the *New York Times* of September 30, appeared to be pushing Eisenhower into the race if only to insure Congressional backing for phases of the Truman foreign policy which he strongly urges.

General Eisenhower's candidacy would force a major and perhaps final showdown between the Taft-MacArthur-McCormick-McCarthy wing and the Duff-Warren-Dewey-Lodge wing of the Republican Party. But the General's backers have doubtless concluded that his ability to draw Democratic and particularly Southern votes more than offsets the risk of some defection on the part of diehard isolationists of the McCormick variety. Moreover, the General could probably win the support of eight or ten liberal Republican Senators who are not favorably regarded in the party's inner councils but who have real public influence and demonstrated ability as campaigners. Although some of these Senators prefer Paul G. Hoffman, Mr. Hoffman is at the moment listed as a supporter of General Eisenhower.

Now that the stage has been set for an Eisenhower

announcement, the questions arise: Would President Truman decide not to be a candidate if the Republicans were to nominate General Eisenhower? How could he wage an effective campaign against a man, closely identified with his foreign policy, of whom he has often spoken with respect and admiration? And if not Truman, whom could the Democrats nominate that would have a chance of defeating General Eisenhower? The General would of course face the same difficulties in a campaign in which Mr. Truman was the Democratic nominee—a circumstance which has been noted by many Republicans, including some of the General's supporters.

The events of the past few weeks suggest that agreement has been reached on crucial phases of American foreign policy by critics of the Administration. Now that Truman and Acheson have been pushed into a policy of such "firmness" in Asia that they are free of the suspicion of being "pro-Communist," has a new solidarity suddenly developed among dominant power groupings in the Republican Party? And was Senator William Knowland's high praise for Mr. Acheson's performance at San Francisco an omen of this agreement? To a degree, the quarrel between Asia Firsters and Europe Firsters has now been sunk in the larger determination to concentrate American military power in all theaters. This reconciliation would account for the new impetus behind the Eisenhower movement. Agreements on means often follow easily once the ends have been determined.

Churchill Over France

Paris, October 3

IN THE midst of the economic and political confusion here, one question sticks out a mile: what will be the result of the British general election? On the answer that will be given to it depend the answers to a hundred other questions, and partly for this reason the French Parliament was sent home last week and all major decisions postponed till November.

One of the most important developments of the past few weeks has been the almost imperceptible but undeniable rapprochement of France and Britain. The French attempt to become Uncle Sam's fair-haired boy—which began with the Pleven and Auriol visits to Washington earlier in the year, and which explains the feeble stand taken by France in the matter of China and Korea—is now seen to have been a failure; and this fact has not been obscured by the welcome given to General de Lattre de Tassigny—*Time's* description of him as "the French MacArthur" was a compliment not much appreciated in Paris.

The Washington and Ottawa conferences were in general so disappointing that a fellow-feeling for Britain is growing in France such as has not existed for a long time. The personality of Herbert Morrison has much to

do with it. With Ernest Bevin the French never had a common language. They suspected he had an innate distaste for "Frogs" and a sneaking preference for Germany. His surrender on the whole principle of German rearmament at the end of 1950, which put the French in such a fix, was considered typical of his attitude. Herbert Morrison is felt to have a genuine feeling for the common cultural heritage of Britain and France and a clear understanding of Western Europe's worries and inhibitions. Apparently he realizes also that the time for British self-righteousness in relation to France is over.

Above all, the French in Washington and Ottawa received the strong impression that Morrison was a man of peace, one who would resist an adventurous, "crusading" policy that could bring only disaster to Western Europe, Britain included. He recognized, they believed, as fully as they did the deadly danger of German rearmament if it was not carried out in strict accordance with the French principle of the "European army." At the same time he seemed as well aware as the French that the "European army" might be used by the United States as a mere façade. Finally, the French were impressed by Morrison's refusal to consider World War III inevitable. French government circles are convinced that Russia is now on the defensive, and that the Grotewohl proposal, for example, offers a basis for discussion; they have a feeling that Morrison is with them there.

The alternative is Churchill. Churchill is a legend and all that, but when he came to Paris about a fortnight ago, responsible persons who saw and heard him were dumbfounded. The essence of his "policy" was to "talk to Stalin," and if this talk failed, to authorize all-out German rearmament. As his French listeners interpreted it, he was going to present Stalin with an ultimatum, and if Stalin did not yield, then the "free world" would have to accept the likelihood of war.

The feeling in the French government is that if the Russians think there is at least a fifty-fifty chance of avoiding war, they will not attack Western Europe. If they believe war inevitable, they will not wait. Morrison, it is thought here, will patiently work for peace against obstacles from all sides. Churchill, on the other hand, will "demand" peace, and if he does not get it on his own terms, he will grimly accept the alternative and damn the consequences.

Apart from that, a Tory victory would almost surely cause the fall of the present wait-and-see government in France, and of the center-Socialist coalition that would probably succeed it, and lead to the formation of a reactionary quasi-dictatorship under Paul Reynaud. Over seventy but still ambitious, Reynaud would like a chance to make up for his 1940 fiasco, and to bask in Churchill's reflected glory.

A. W.

This Is Scandinavia

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Copenhagen, September 30

SWEDEN and Norway both have Socialist governments, but Norway is wholeheartedly in favor of the Atlantic Pact and Sweden is politically and temperamentally neutral. Of course there are dissenting elements in both countries. Norway has strong pacifist traditions, and neutralist currents can be seen even within the Labor Party; in Sweden support for the Atlantic Pact is voiced by the largest Stockholm newspaper, the *Liberal Dagens Nyheter*. Denmark is ruled by a coalition of Agrarians and Conservatives but has an effective Socialist opposition. It is a member of the Atlantic Pact but not an enthusiastic one; Denmark is, in fact, the only member with a large political group opposed to participation, in this case the Liberal Party. Even among official supporters of the pact, few people in Denmark deny that they would have preferred the Scandinavian alliance proposed by Sweden.

All three countries are in the process of rearming and caught in the common dilemma of rearmament vs. better living standards. Apparently, however, they have managed to keep their rearmament to proportions that do not affect the standard of living too seriously.

Sometimes it seems as if the only part of continental Western Europe that makes sense is Scandinavia. Words like "freedom" and "democracy" which have such a hollow sound in West Germany, and, alas, in a good many other Western countries, here mean what they should: "democracy" means not merely political but economic democracy, and "freedom" is something purer than what certain American Senators talk so much about. I will give a small example of Scandinavian economic democracy. At Holmenkollen outside Oslo, on a hill overlooking the fjord, there is a large restaurant where anyone can go for a glass of beer or a cheap and reasonably good meal, with no extra charge for the view. On a similarly choice site outside Paris, in the Bois de Boulogne, are three restaurants which only the very rich can afford to patronize.

Norway's economic development since the war can fairly be described as marvelous. The merchant fleet, exclusive of fishing vessels, has doubled in five years to nearly six million tons; the fishing fleet has been fully rebuilt. The rate of investment at 35 per cent of the national income is the highest in Europe. Electric-power production is nearly twice the pre-war figure; the alum-

inum and sulphur industries have been greatly developed. The \$400,000,000 of Marshall aid has been well used, and since the middle of 1950 the adverse balance of trade has dwindled to almost nothing. Nor is this only because the Korean war has boosted timber and shipping prices.

Among the proud claims made by the Norwegian government are the following: although suits and overcoats are still rationed, the per capita consumption of textiles is 20 per cent higher than before the war; real wages are 10 to 15 per cent higher—or were until the recent price rises; incomes average \$1,250 a year per family and are more evenly distributed than in any other country. Furthermore, the U. N. Economic Commission for Europe recently established that in house construction Norway is above all other countries, with 32 rooms per 1,000 inhabitants built in 1950, as against 23 for Sweden and 20 for Finland and Britain.

In Parliament the Labor Party has an absolute majority—86 seats out of 150. The nationalized sector of the economy is about the same as in Britain, including the Bank of Norway, the railroads, steel, and aluminum. The chemical trust is not nationalized but is government-controlled, as is 75 per cent of the mining—copper, iron ore, and the Spitzbergen coal. Electricity is partly controlled. Since the war the fishing industry has gone through a "silent revolution" and become one vast co-operative with such a strong monopolist position that even the government is a little in awe of it. However, it sells fish cheap in Norway, and the government has better relations with it than with the farmers' co-operatives, in which it is sometimes necessary to play off the small farmers against the large. The trade unions, with a membership of half a million, form a closely knit body and are therefore in a better position than the British Trade Union Congress to carry out a general wage policy. Since 1945 there has been only one strike, and that was a political strike inspired by the Communists against the Marshall Plan.

In the last election the Labor Party received 820,000 votes as against the Communists' 100,000. The relatively high Communist vote is not attributed to economic discontent, of which there is very little, but to ideology and tradition; some of the best-paid municipal employees are among the most active Communists in the country. (The same is true in Sweden.) The Norwegian Labor Party was actually a member of the Comintern for some years, and the present-day Communists are the wing which decided to remain faithful to Moscow. It is a

ALEXANDER WERTH is one of The Nation's European correspondents.

standing joke in Norway that mighty few members of the government would be able to get an American visa.

While Norwegians would of course like to remain neutral in another war, they do not think it would be possible. But Norway is not straining its finances beyond endurance on rearmament. Military expenditures represent no more than 20 per cent of the budget, or 6 per cent of the national income. Except for some specialized troops the term of enlistment has been raised only to a year, from the former nine months, with supplementary training periods of two months.

Headquarters of the northern division of N. A. T. O. are at Oslo, and numerous large airfields are being fully prepared, but Norwegian officials are emphatic that no American troops are to be stationed in Norway. King Haakon is supposed to have said to General Eisenhower, "We don't want your troops here, but we don't want them too far away either." The Swedes feel the airfields in Norway aggravate the international tension. "There may not be any American planes there now," they say, "but they could easily get there in an hour."

What opposition to the Atlantic Pact exists within the Labor Party comes from old politicians with a hankering for closer bonds with Sweden and Denmark and

from left-wing groups with a traditional sympathy for Russia. This sympathy was fairly widespread before the 1948 coup in Czechoslovakia. After that the feeling grew that Norway must align itself actively with the West. Fellow-feeling with England was strong, and extensive emigration to the United States had forged warm personal bonds with that country. In addition, there was an economic argument: if the Atlantic powers could not count on the Norwegian merchant fleet, they might feel compelled to build ships which in peace time would compete with Norwegian tonnage.

Norway has only a small standing army, but its full mobilization strength is nearly 400,000 men. Sweden can muster about twice that number. In both countries it is often said that the combination of an "Atlantic" Norway and a neutral Sweden offers perhaps the best solution for the peninsula—one acting as a warning to Russia and the other as a reassurance!

THE Swedes can rattle off a dozen reasons for not joining the Atlantic Pact. The most familiar one is that their joining might impel Russia to occupy Finland. But the decisive argument is of course that they have twice got away with neutrality and may be able to do so



THE BATTLE OF WITS

London Daily Herald

again. "Even if it's one chance in a hundred, we must take it," a prominent politician declared recently.

In Sweden as in Norway the welfare state has reached a high degree of development, but a kind of Bevan-Gaitskell conflict in miniature is going on between Mr. Müller, the Minister of Health, and Mr. Sköld, the Minister of Finance, over the extension of various benefits. Sköld's views have so far prevailed, with the aid of opposition votes. The government has increased military expenditures, though not to the extent demanded by the opposition. Regret over the failure of the Scandinavian pact to materialize is mitigated by the consideration that Sweden as the chief industrial power of the three would have borne the brunt of the financial burden and living standards might have suffered.

Sweden has a curious social and economic structure, with a Socialist government, a strong capitalist class to which the government cannot actually dictate though profits are strictly controlled, and a vigorous trade-union and cooperative movement. The Socialist way of thinking is so strong in Sweden that the Liberals, through their widely read *Dagens Nyheter*, are constantly pressing for a coalition government on the ground that all parties are fully agreed on the broad principles of the welfare state. The Socialists hold, however, that a coalition is apt to paralyze parliamentary action and contains the seeds of totalitarianism. They also claim, with reason, that there are still substantial differences between right and left. The Socialists, for example, favor East-West trade, while capitalist interests oppose it.

With an average family income of almost \$1,500 a year, the general level of prosperity in Sweden is remarkable. The Korean war sent up the price of Swedish exports, and the last bit of rationing—for coffee—was recently abolished. There is full employment in Sweden; there are even labor shortages necessitating the importation of Italian miners and German domestic servants. In such conditions Sweden's problems are psychological rather than economic. One is reminded of the Russian woman who after visiting Sweden exclaimed, "That's how we are going to live under full communism—but then what?"

DENMARK is in a far more dangerous military position than either Norway or Sweden. Only a few miles of country as flat as a pancake separate it from the Soviet zone of Germany. It is not surprising in the circumstances that Denmark is far from enthusiastic about belonging to the Atlantic Pact. It joined simply because after the failure of the Scandinavian pact it had no alternative. Or rather the only alternative, to be neutral like Sweden, was considered too dangerous.

Even so, both the government and the opposition make numerous mental reservations. Almost every Socialist speech begins with something like, "If only the

Scandinavian pact had materialized." Mr. Kraft, the present Foreign Minister, fully supported by most of the other parties, is known to be doubtful about German rearmament, was absolutely opposed to the inclusion of Greece and Turkey in the Atlantic Pact, and desires to develop East-West trade. Alternative markets to Great Britain are eagerly sought, the everlasting complaint being that the adverse trade balance is due less to the high cost of imports than to the low prices paid for bacon and dairy products by Britain. Germany's rearmament, in the Danish view, should at least be postponed until the other Western powers are sufficiently well armed to keep it in order. Objections to Spain's inclusion in the Atlantic Pact are based on the conviction that this, together with the inclusion of Greece and Turkey, would turn it into a plain military alliance, discrediting its democratic claims, and could rightly be regarded by Russia as further provocation. "What if the United States refuses to take your objections into account?" I asked. The reply was a slight shrug, followed by, "We can make it very awkward for them all the same."

The Danish army had to start from scratch after the war, and at first only 300,000,000 kroner a year were spent on it; now the figure has been more than doubled, and a good deal of equipment is coming from the United States. With some difficulty Eisenhower has persuaded the Danes to raise their conscription term from nine to eleven months; but the underlying feeling in the country is still the old *Hvat kan det nytte?*—"what's the good?"—a famous motto based on past military experience.

The Liberal Party, which represents Danish farmers, is openly hostile to the pact. One Liberal leader said he was "all in favor of the Atlantic Pact—but without Denmark." "Our policy," he said, "should be to try to reduce the tension between the two blocs, not to increase it. Why should we not adopt the same policy as Sweden? We do not agree with the argument that we would be left defenseless: we could, like Sweden, buy arms in the United States and no doubt get them cheap. In that case we would have as much—or as little—security as now but a much smaller chance of being overrun by the Russians and, later, wiped out by American atom bombs. For Denmark the main thing is to avoid war, not to organize military defense, which never got us anywhere. That is the dominant feeling in our country, and nobody can deny it. When the Atlantic Pact first came up for discussion we proposed a referendum on whether Denmark should join it or not. In Parliament we were defeated by 119 votes to 30. Parliament knew too well what the feeling in the country was, and rejection of the pact would have strained our relations with the United States."

This Liberal point of view is dismissed by the Socialists, as well as by the right-wing government parties,

as "provincial" and "parochial." But what the Liberals say about the state of public opinion is apparently true, and one is constrained to ask, "Why, then, is Denmark a member of the Atlantic Pact?" The answer is given by one of the Socialist leaders who were in power when Denmark joined: "We would have liked, after the war, to enter a democratic European security bloc not dominated by the great powers. This hope was disappointed. Nor were our democratic friends in Britain and the United States sufficiently favorably disposed toward the Scandinavian pact. The alternatives were to be left alone, unarmed and isolated, or to join the Atlantic Pact. Let us, by all means, criticize the United States when the occasion arises; it can only help. Nevertheless, we are, in every way, closer to America than to Russia. And we must not forget what Marshall aid has done for us."

One reason why the Socialists finally decided to vote for the pact was, of course, their strong anti-Communist tradition; at various times since 1917 there has been bitter competition in Denmark between the Social Democrats and the Communists. Also, Czechoslovakia in 1948 came to them as a severe shock, just as it did to the Norwegian and Swedish Socialists, who were traditionally less hostile to Russia.

The Danish economy, lacking as it does practically all raw materials, is less healthy than that of Sweden

or Norway. Whether full employment can be maintained is the Danish Socialists' chief problem. The present Conservative-Agrarian coalition government has shown alarming signs of wanting to resort to the classic capitalist method of reducing an adverse trade balance by curtailing credit and employment. Some steps have already been taken toward abolishing the sliding-scale of wages, lowering consumption, and tearing down, as one of the present ministers put it, "the outer ramparts of the social services." The government has also been trying by means of taxes on consumption to transfer labor from the textile, tobacco, shoe, and confectionery trades into engineering and other export trades. As a result it is feared that the present 40,000 unemployed may before long increase to 60,000 or more. The Socialist leaders declare that they "will not allow Denmark to adopt the capitalist policies of Adenauer's Germany" and are fairly confident that their strong parliamentary position—their representation is equal to that of the present government coalition—and the pressure of public opinion will help them to limit the damage and preserve for Denmark the "Scandinavian way of life." But it is a hard struggle. In the course of it the United States is blamed for expecting a lot of rearmament, Britain for not paying enough for Danish bacon, and the whole world for having put Denmark in this cursed plight.

TV at the Crossroads

The Educational Promise of TV

BY EDWARD LAMB

WITH television networks finally spanning the country, half the people in the United States are today within range of a station. More people now watch television than attend all our schools and universities. The speech of a Presidential candidate, a session of the United Nations, the signing of the Japanese peace treaty, may be witnessed by more Americans than voted in the Presidential election. Uncle Miltie, Studio One, or the Pulitzer Prize plays may be seen by more people in

one hour than attended all the motion-picture theaters in the country during a whole week of 1951.

Now that TV's effectiveness as an educational, cultural, and commercial medium is established, the educators, at least, are taking vigorous measures to utilize it. Miss Frieda Hennock of the Federal Communications Commission deserves tremendous thanks for jarring not only the politicians but the teaching profession into the realization that something had to be done immediately if any TV channels were to be available for non-profit educational institutions. Then the National Association of Educational Broadcasters began to move, organizing a Joint Committee on Educational Television, with headquarters in Washington, on which were represented the American Council on Education, the Association for Education Television, the Association of Land Grant Colleges and Universities, the National Association of State Universities, the National Education Association, and other groups.

At the outset the educators came up against the fact that the Federal Communications Commission had imposed a "freeze" on the licensing of additional TV

EDWARD LAMB, a graduate of Dartmouth College and the Harvard Law School, owns Television Stations WICU in Erie, Pennsylvania, and WTVN in Columbus, Ohio, and Radio Station WTOD in Toledo, Ohio. He is also the owner of the Erie Dispatch-Herald. Since he is the only individual owner of more than one video station in the United States, his emphasis on local public-service programming has attracted nation-wide attention.

stations. Not until March 24, 1951, was this "freeze" relaxed and the allocation of new licenses considered. Hearings are now going on, and a decision making new grants possible may be expected this winter.

In the proposed disposition of both the very high frequencies and the new ultra-high channels, educators have fared rather well, though some insist that the approximately 10 per cent to be assigned to them is inadequate; in the eventual settlement this figure may be raised or lowered. Meanwhile churches, trade unions, farm cooperatives, and other organizations will certainly contend that if schools and colleges receive channels, why should not they?

SOME of us, including a few persons actually in the TV business, say that the reservation of channels for the exclusive use of non-profit-making institutions is not the complete answer. Senator Edwin C. Johnson believes that the present commercial stations should be required to set aside a portion of their time for educational and public-service broadcasting, and there is no doubt that the more the problem is studied the more this solution is likely to be favored. Senator Johnson's proposal, however, raises some questions. Just how is an "educational" program to be defined? Would the requirement violate the constitutional guaranty of free speech? As to the latter, surely the FCC has the obligation to see that stations operate in the public interest, even if it has no right to censor or control program content.

The educators are not entirely pleased with the Ford Foundation's decision to provide funds for experimental programs in the field of visual education which would be placed on commercial networks and even made available to commercial sponsors. The Joint Committee on Educational Television takes the position that the experiment may divert the attention of Congress and the FCC from the committee's proposal to reserve certain channels exclusively for educational purposes.

With only 107 TV operating stations at present in the United States, the shortage of facilities is critical. More than forty cities now have but a single TV station. Such monopoly of control over an effective means of communication may very possibly be abused not only by over-commercialization but by owner discrimination against minority religious, racial, or even educational groups.

It seems to me elementary that the educators of the nation deserve TV channels. At the present time only WOI-TV, the Iowa State College station at Des Moines, is operated by a non-profit institution. In spite of some Congressional criticism and the howls of a few competitors, the undertaking has been commercially successful. The station brings sponsored network shows to Iowa TV-viewers and at the same time performs its

primary function of showing locally produced public-interest programs. Recently it received a grant of \$260,000 from the Ford Foundation for experimental work in educational TV and also to evaluate films for television use.

The State College station, which now has the means to engage top-ranking experts, has presented a series of telecasts which have real audience appeal. Educational TV programs are not always particularly exciting, but the Iowa experiment is developing techniques which will raise them above grade-school levels of showmanship. Such important subjects as housing, freedom of speech, press, worship, and assembly, and other issues of equal urgency have to be "dressed up" to capture the public's attention. By taking advantage of the new techniques, educators with their own stations, free from the time limits imposed on commercial broadcasters, will be able to utilize to the full the visual appeal of TV to bring valuable information to the American public.

Some of the present commercial TV broadcasters are also doing a creditable job in educational programming. The classroom sessions presented in Detroit, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and elsewhere have been useful and interesting. Most TV stations with facilities for local productions will allow these facilities to be used for educational purposes. It is an opportunity not to be ignored, and yet educators are often reluctant to ask for the privilege. Teachers whose requests for contributed video time are refused should bring the matter to the attention of the FCC.

On WTVN, my Columbus outlet, we have an education program scheduled which includes items contributed by the Agricultural Extension Service of Ohio State University, discussions by youth groups, safety and fire-prevention campaigns conducted by the city, art classes, nature courses, and civil-defense instruction. The sole assignment of one of our producers is to line up public-service programs. At my Erie Station, WICU, four colleges put on regular weekly programs. During the winter months the public schools conduct classroom sessions every day. Dr. John Hickey, superintendent of the Erie Board of Education, has assured me that they have been eminently satisfactory from an educational point-of-view and will be continued.

But the impact of TV upon our thinking and living habits is much too great to permit educational programming to depend upon the beneficence of TV station-owners. Either stations should be required to save a certain amount of time for strictly educational broadcasts or channels should be set aside for the exclusive use of educators, or both. Actually there is nothing much the trouble that a few more outlets would not cure. When they are available, the chief question will not be who shall get them but how we can most quickly bring satisfactory educational television into the largest number of

American homes. It may be that several hundred channels can be allocated to non-profit organizations. But, in all fairness, educators and others who are granted licenses should be required to build stations and put them into use within a specified time or turn back the grants to the government.

How Much Merger in Television?

BY HARVEY LEVIN

ON July 27 the stockholders of United Paramount Theaters, Inc., and of the American Broadcasting Company voted to amalgamate the two companies. The amalgamation is subject, of course, to the approval of the Federal Communications Commission, which is charged with assigning radio frequencies in the "public interest." In view of the importance of the concentration-of-ownership issue and the large amount of money involved (\$25,000,000) the FCC will doubtless hold a public hearing. In any case it will have to consider how the public interest is affected when a theater chain—not some company outside the amusement industry—seeks to merge with a network of radio and television stations. The theater chain in question operates outright 690 movie houses and has a partial interest in another 298; the network owns 5 television and 5 radio stations and provides facilities for 290 affiliates.

No doubt the FCC will be assailed with indignant protests that the legitimacy or desirability of the merger is not affected by the fact that one company owns theaters and the other radio stations—any more than newspaper ownership should prejudice the application of a publisher for a broadcasting license. But is it really in the public interest to concentrate control of mass media in a few hands? Might not a company which owns or is affiliated with both theaters and radio stations be able to exploit these connections to the disadvantage of competitors in both fields? The implications need to be thoroughly explored, for the present amalgamation may foreshadow others of even greater importance.

To date few theater owners have sought to enter radio and television, but several facts suggest that the number is likely to increase. At present theater owners could not obtain television stations in our fifteen largest cities even if they tried, since all spectrum space available there is preempted. But two thousand or more outlets can be set up once the ultra-high frequencies come into use, and then theater owners and movie producers will be able to move into the field. Furthermore, if box-office receipts and foreign rentals continue to decline, Hollywood will become increasingly sensitive to television's inroads.

HARVEY LEVIN is assistant professor of economics at Pennsylvania State College. He has written several articles on the economics of mass media.

Once companies like United Paramount enter the field, how long will Fox, Loews', Warner Brothers, and the others stay out?

Of course if appreciable economies can be effected by joint enterprises of this type they should not be condemned out of hand. Operating a movie theater, however, does not have too much to do with operating a television station. With films forming from 25 to 50 per cent of television programs, there may be some advantage in having men in television stations who know something about the buying and booking of films, but exhibiting films for large theater audiences used to three-hour shows is very different from exhibiting televised films for disconnected groups in homes where distractions are numerous and the small screen presents novel problems of pacing and characterization. Consequently many theater owners have preferred to install television equipment as an added attraction rather than undertake operations aimed at home audiences.

One of the most important issues involved is the effect such mergers might eventually have on the form and quality of motion pictures. For centuries the theater has provided a setting in which people could gather to view a performance under conditions requiring a definite group discipline. Part of the movie theater's appeal may stem from the feeling of the spectators that they are participating in the emotions of others or even that they have momentarily lost themselves in the group. Seeing a movie is not at all the same experience as viewing television at home, and the difference may well be reflected in the art forms which will eventually evolve in the two fields. If the basic appeals of the two media are sufficiently different, television's competition need not be deadly; the film-makers will simply have to develop ingenuity in exploiting their own strong points, as newspapers have done in the face of radio competition.

Competition between moving pictures and television could very well improve the quality of both. Gilbert Seldes recently pointed out that movies still have a large untapped audience—the mature in culture and age. The virtues of the legitimate theater might be approximated if movies could cater to specialized audiences or win at least a measure of freedom from the necessity of pleasing a mass audience made up largely of adolescents.

On the other hand, if television is forced by high operating costs to enlarge its audience still farther in the hope of increasing advertising revenue, the quality of the entertainment may deteriorate. The larger its audience, the more television will have to program for a low common denominator, except in the case of educational offerings underwritten by foundations or universities which have their own channels. Should this happen, people with specialized tastes and interests might become valuable prospects for the movies and radio.

The "specialized audience" is not a new idea or an

entirely visionary one. Ruth Inglis suggested it five years ago in a report to the Commission on Freedom of the Press. More recently authorities like Charles Siepmann and Gilbert Seldes have discussed the question. Last year Samuel Goldwyn warned Hollywood that it must raise the quality of motion pictures if it expected to survive television's competition. Spokesmen for some of the major studios have already spoken of dropping or reducing the number of Class B films, since according to Jack Gould in the *New York Times*, Class A films seem best able to weather television competition.

While the counter-attraction of television will not by itself be sufficient to break the Hollywood taboo against "controversial" or other themes with limited appeal, a change might come about if such themes were demanded by special groups. The pinch of television will force producers to experiment, and eventually perhaps to make a new kind of quality film on a low budget—something Europeans have long known how to do.

When newspaper publishers felt radio's competition twenty years ago their first reaction was to seek affiliations with radio stations. Since then they have learned to adjust to radio. Dropping the afternoon "extra," for example, they have left bulletins to their rival and

turned to detailed commentary and analysis. Most of them also carry radio sections with radio logs, and the reviews of radio and television by men like John Crosby and Jack Gould undoubtedly attract many readers.

When newspapers and radio criticize each other vigorously, the public is likely to benefit by getting more accurate news and better entertainment. But one wonders whether Gould would be able to write his excellent column if the *New York Times* were affiliated not with WQXR but with a major network, whether Crosby would continue to appear in the *Herald Tribune* if the paper owned ten radio stations, and whether CBS would present its fine analysis of the press—"CBS Views the News"—if it were controlled by the *Daily Mirror*. Though the United Paramount case today presents no perfect analogy, it is not unreasonable to ask whether the theater company would not be more interested in showing good films if the merger with ABC should be disallowed. With growing revenues from radio and television advertising accounts, the new combination might gradually forsake films for more television in its theaters, reducing still further the impetus to make better movies. These are some of the questions that the FCC will have to consider.

Britain's Coming Crisis

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

IN 1950 Britain's economy, crippled in World War II, seemed on the way to renewed health and vigor. Production had been raised well above the pre-war level; a large domestic reinvestment program for the modernization and expansion of industry was in full swing; the volume of exports had been lifted 60 per cent above that of 1938, making possible a modest surplus in the balance of payments; and while Britain's own dollar gap was still uncomfortably large, sterling-area reserves of gold and dollars were more than double their low pre-devaluation figure. Thus in the fall of 1950 Britain felt able to discard its Marshall-aid crutches.

More than that, the British government believed that the economy could support the rearmament which deterioration in international relations following the Communist invasion of South Korea appeared to render an unfortunate necessity. In September, 1950, Prime Minister Attlee announced a three-year defense program costing \$10,080,000,000. That amount, he told the House of Commons, "represents the maximum that we can do . . . without resorting to the drastic expedients of a

war economy." Nevertheless, four months later the British Cabinet decided that the program should, and could, be enlarged at an estimated additional cost of \$3,080,000,000, even though it was then known that the United States would provide little if any financial aid.

In the eight months that have since passed, it has become clear that the rearmament burden is overtaxing the strength of the still convalescent British economy. Superimposed on an export drive which must be maintained at all costs and an internal investment program which can be seriously curtailed only at the expense of future efficiency and productivity, the defense effort has engendered dangerous pressures on Britain's material and human resources. As the Economic Commission for Europe said in a recent bulletin, Britain's economy "is showing every sign of suffering from severe strain. . . . Cost inflation is rampant and toward the end of the year may well be enhanced by demand inflation flowing from the heaviest rearmament program in Europe."

The most dramatic and alarming evidence of that strain was Chancellor of the Exchequer Gaitskell's announcement on October 3 that sterling-area reserves had fallen since July 1 by \$598,000,000, an even greater loss than had been anticipated and one that more than

KEITH HUTCHISON, financial editor of *The Nation*, has recently returned from a three months' visit to England.

wiped out the gains of the previous two quarters. Before discussing some of the causes and effects of this reversal I wish to take up internal economic developments.

CONSIDER first the position of fuel and power supplies, basic to all industry. Last winter a coal crisis was barely averted thanks to additional efforts by the miners, costly emergency imports from the United States, and relatively mild weather in February and March. Conditions in the coming winter will be no easier and may very well be harder. The trouble is that while production has been rising slowly, consumption has been galloping, with rearmament applying the spur. In the first six months of this year output was 2,600,000 tons higher than in the corresponding period of 1950, but inland consumption rose by 4,300,000 tons. As a result, stocks are little higher than a year ago, even though exports have been halved, to the distress of European countries partially dependent on British coal.

To blame this shortage on nationalization, as so many American commentators do, is to ignore the facts. Actually the modernization schemes of the National Coal Board are producing tangible results: output per man-shift has risen about 17 per cent since the mines became public property in 1946. The basic trouble is shortage of man-power, for the job of mining coal remains unpopular even though miners are among the highest-paid industrial workers. Tens of thousands more men could be profitably employed in the pits, but now that unemployment no longer serves as a recruiting sergeant, most workers prefer less dangerous and dirty jobs.

The shortage of coal is a threat to electric-power production, but the main difficulty in this field is lack of sufficient plant to meet all demands. Yet the building of power stations has proceeded apace since the end of the war, and installed capacity last year was 72 per cent greater than in 1938, with units generated 125 per cent higher. However, this growth is much less than that provided for in the British Electricity Authority's program, which has frequently had to yield its claim on the output of the electrical-equipment industry to competing demand from overseas. Power plant, cables, and other electrical equipment are among Britain's most salable exports, and the need to earn foreign currencies has overridden the urgent requirements of home industry.

With demand for power growing all the time, it will be several years at least before a safe margin of capacity can be provided. Existing plant can now supply a maximum output of 12,000 megawatts, while peak demand is estimated at 13,800 megawatts. Consequently, on dark, cold days last winter power stations were often compelled to resort to "load shedding," idling factories and depriving householders of light and heat. Such interruptions of electric service will almost certainly be more frequent in the approaching winter.

The most serious of all British shortages is that of man-power. Today unemployment is residual: only 200,000 men and women, less than 1 per cent of the working population, are registered as without jobs, while according to a London dispatch to the *New York Times* of August 29, there are half a million unfilled vacancies, mainly in such vital industries as engineering, coal-mining, and transport. Nor is any relief in sight. Britain is suffering, as is the United States to a lesser extent, from the fall in the birth rate during the depression, as a result of which 110,000 fewer boys will reach the age of eighteen this year than in 1939.

The pressure on labor resources can hardly fail to grow more severe. At present there are about 600,000 workers engaged in arms manufacture. When the defense program passes from the present tooling-up stage to that of mass production, at least another 400,000 workers will be required. They can be found only by cutting back production in the non-defense industries—in other words, by reducing the volume of goods available for domestic civilian consumption.

THIS brings us to the problem of inflation, which qualified observers believe is assuming menacing proportions. The primary cause of the "cost inflation" referred to in the E. C. E. bulletin quoted above is the post-Korean rise in prices of raw materials and, to a lesser extent, of foodstuffs—commodities which Britain must obtain mainly from overseas. Their rise is reflected in the United Kingdom index of import prices (average of 1950=100) which jumped from 98 in June, 1950, to 143 a year later. Such sharp increases in raw-material prices were naturally passed on by manufacturers, and in the same period the retail-price index (1947=100) rose from 114 to 126, which in turn brought an irresistible demand for wage increases. Thus between June, 1950, and June, 1951, the index of wage rates (1947=100) advanced from 110 to 119.

These figures suggest that wages have tended to lag slightly behind prices, although the index probably understates the increase in total take-home pay, which is being swollen by up-grading and overtime. Nevertheless, there has been no falling off in civilian purchasing, which in the first six months of this year was running about 10 per cent ahead of 1950—clear evidence that current incomes were being supplemented by savings in efforts to stock up before prices rose further. In the past few weeks a change in trend has been noticed. The fall in raw-cotton and wool prices has stimulated buyers' resistance, and some textile prices have declined. However, this check is very likely to prove temporary. As the rearmament program takes on more momentum it will tend both to add to the total of cash incomes and to diminish the volume of consumer goods available by attracting resources from civilian industries. Thus infla-

tionary pressure is bound to increase unless steps are taken to curtail purchasing power.

The need for such a disinflationary policy is heavily underlined by the decline in the sterling area's reserves during the past three months. Since June these reserves have been cut by nearly one-sixth, the greatest loss in a quarter since 1949. In announcing this "sharp setback" Mr. Gaitskell stressed the partial responsibility of a number of temporary factors—seasonably large purchases of American cotton and tobacco, a seasonal decline in sterling-area sales of wool and cocoa, the cost of replacing Iranian oil, some government stockpiling, and large seasonal purchases in Europe resulting in the disbursement of \$106,000,000 to the European Payments Union. However, after making full allowance for such factors, it is clear that the sterling area as a whole has been living beyond its means, increasing its dollar purchases far more rapidly than it has added to its dollar receipts.

Britain's foreign-trade returns tell a similar story. In the first six months of this year imports totaled £1,643,000,000, and exports £1,305,000,000, leaving an apparent deficit of £338,000,000. Net invisible receipts—shipping income, interest on foreign investments, and so forth—make a net adverse balance of £122,000,000, which compares with a surplus of £42,000,000 for the first half of 1950.

A major cause of this change is the deterioration in Britain's "terms of trade": that is to say, the prices of its imports have risen far more than those of its exports. At the moment the trend of prices is slightly more favorable, but as long as the armament-fed boom continues, no permanent improvement in the terms of trade can be expected. Over the past fifteen to twenty years world production of primary commodities has failed to keep pace with the growth of population and industrial capacity; so that food and raw materials have become relatively scarcer than manufactured products.

In order to keep solvent Britain must therefore endeavor to expand exports to the utmost while curbing imports. That means that home consumption both of imported goods and of domestic manufactures for which there is a potential foreign demand must be drastically cut. This end may be achieved to some extent by reducing British home investment, but not a great deal can be done in this way without impairing efficiency: indeed, a greater investment in labor-saving machinery is required. The real choice of the next British government, which will be installed by the electors on October 25, seems to lie, therefore, between modification of the arms program and a fairly drastic reduction in the national standard of living. I shall examine the political implications of this dilemma in a second article.

Copper, Chile, and Communism

BY CARLETON BEALS

TWO world wars burned basic resources at a disastrous rate, and now world-wide rearmament has again stepped up the tempo of consumption. Of the three essential metals for rearmament—steel, copper, and aluminum—copper is in scarcest supply.

Despite a tariff on copper, the United States has shifted since 1940 from a copper-exporting to a copper-importing country. Today it imports about a third of the copper it uses, and the amount is certain to increase. The chief outside sources are Canada and Chile. Now supplying 45 per cent of our copper imports, Chile must supply two-thirds or more in the next few years, since Canada's domestic needs have tripled since 1940. Without Chilean copper our industrial and defense position would soon become desperate. Chile, for its part, depends on its exports of copper, which represent 60 per cent of its total exports; the employment and the high

tax revenues provided by copper are important props of the Chilean economy. These benefits might be even greater, Chileans believe, if 90 per cent of production were not controlled by American companies.

With copper in short supply, Chile is in a better bargaining position today than ever before. Yet it has had to accept the price of 24½ cents a pound fixed by the United States. Chileans are resentful that this price, while doubtless sufficient to return a profit to the American companies operating in the country, is only half the world price, and only half our own black-market price.

It can be assumed, of course, that Washington officials did not fix the price for Chilean copper without consulting Anaconda and Kennecott—the two companies with large holdings in Chile. Both of these companies are organized on vertical lines—that is, they are engaged not only in mining but in manufacturing; Anaconda, for example, manufactures copper alloys, copper wire and cable, and brass products. Vertically organized companies are not too concerned over a higher price for imported copper, since a low or moderate price makes it difficult for competing firms to open new mines. Inde-

CARLETON BEALS was a contributor to *The Nation* as early as 1928, when he was with Sandino in Nicaragua. He has written a score of books on Latin America, and has just published "Our Yankee Heritage."

pendent fabricators who compete with them for the domestic market are additionally handicapped by the fact that the price they must pay is always higher than the domestic price by the amount of the tariff. And in periods of short supply domestic manufacturing competitors are driven to seek supplies on the black market at prices as high as 40 or 50 cents a pound. The more Chilean copper sells for on the world market, the higher are the manufacturing costs of foreign competitors.

THE war forced Argentina and Chile into intimate economic relations after fifty years of bickering. Chile and Bolivia followed Argentina's lead in remaining neutral, and Chilean trade, previously divided among Germany, England, and the United States, was rerouted; by the time peace came Chile was selling more to Argentina than to all Europe, and its imports from Argentina were twice the pre-war figure. Toward the end of the conflict, however, Washington began to use loans and promises to induce Chile to break with the Axis and redirect its trade to the United States.

After the war, Perón made heroic efforts to continue the close war-time economic relations with his neighbor. Chile was hard hit by the abrupt curtailment of war orders, and Argentina had accumulated such large dollar and pound credits that in 1946 Perón could offer Chile a loan of \$175,000,000—the biggest in Latin American history, five times the total war and post-war financial aid which Chile has received from the United States. As additional bait Perón offered Chile a treaty and trade agreements which provided that Argentina was not to build any synthetic nitrate plants, that tariffs were to be abolished and new highways constructed across the Andes, that coal was to be exported from Argentina's vast new beds in the south via the Chilean port of Aisen, and that the two countries were to back each other's Antarctic claims against Britain. Real body was given these proposals by the completion of the trans-Andean railroad into Antofagasta, which provided a feasible Pacific outlet for northern Argentina.

Chile was not, of course, without fear of the consequences of a close alliance with Argentina. But the Radical Party, which had elected its candidate for the Presidency, Gabriel Gonzalez Videla, favored the Argentine deal, and Gonzalez had shouted loud pre-election denunciations of "Yankee imperialism." Moreover, he could not have won the slim plurality that put him into office if he had not received 50,000 Communist votes. But a nine-million-dollar loan from the United States, plus twenty-three millions to build the great Talcahuano steel mill, plus an outlet for Chilean copper, when copper was not in short supply, decided the issue. The Argentine treaty was voted down.

The Communist-controlled coal miners promptly went

on strike. Wages were around forty cents a day, conditions were miserable, and a soaring inflation undercut the effect of the raise offered by Gonzalez. When his offer was rejected, troops were sent to the mines. The Communist Party was then outlawed; Communist publications, including the daily *Siglo* of Santiago, were suppressed; and five Communist senators and fifteen Communist deputies, one of whom was the well-known poet, Pablo Neruda, were arrested. Relations with the Soviet Union and two other East European countries were broken off. Protest strikes flared up in the nitrate fields and copper mines but were suppressed.

The turbulence which followed these repressive acts might have been avoided if effective measures had been taken to control inflation and improve living conditions. But almost nothing was done along these lines. In consequence, the factions supporting the President lost heavily in the last municipal elections, and it is feared that Carlos Ibañez, the harsh "Socialist" dictator of the thirties, who set the first colored-shirt troops marching in South America, may rise to power.

In this general political confusion the people have found a perfect scapegoat—the foreign-owned copper and nitrate industries. Waves of strikes have wrecked Cabinet after Cabinet in the past two years. The people are convinced that Chile is getting too little for its copper, just as the Iranians are convinced that Iran is getting too little for its oil. Popular protest forced Gonzalez to stop copper shipments to the United States early this year. As a result President Truman had to release part of our six-million-ton stockpile and cut the quotas of our European allies.

The United States was forced to take steps in Chile to save its rearmament program and, in American terms, to insure the country's political "stability." Point Four funds were hastily appropriated; other loans were promised; and Under Secretary of State E. G. Miller was rushed to Chile to make a new copper deal. As part of this deal, signed last May, the United States consented to add a three-cents-a-pound bonus to the price of Chilean copper, and the Chileans in turn agreed to restrict domestic consumption and foreign sales to 20 per cent of their total production.

But aside from the larger tax revenues obtained from increased production, the Chileans got few benefits, and the foreign markets in which copper brought sky-high prices were in effect shut off. Nor did President Gonzalez convince the people that he had won a great victory over the Yankees. Many noted wrathfully that plans to build an independent refinery, as promised more than ten years ago, were sidetracked again. And in the wake of the settlement, on June 9, the technicians in the copper industry went on strike, demanding pay raises in American dollars, not in inflated pesos. After three weeks of martial law a compromise was finally

arranged, but not before a nation-wide protest strike had been scheduled. In passing, it should be pointed out that President Truman invoked the Taft-Hartley act against striking American copper miners, despite the fact that one of the American companies had reached an agreement with the unions.

Higher prices for copper would not necessarily bring improved social and economic conditions in Chile. Inflation would have to be checked and other measures taken. But the price of copper is still the key factor in the relations between the United States and Chile. If the United States were to "jigger" the price upward, explains Mobilization Director Charles E. Wilson, our European allies would get even less of the 20 per cent of Chilean copper now available to them. On the other hand, if conditions do not improve in Chile, how long can the United States expect to receive the lion's share? What Chile needs is integrated economic development plus social reform. Increased revenues from copper could be used to finance such a development.

The Hollywood Hearings

BY HANNAH BLOOM

Hollywood, October 2

WINDING up a four-year investigation of communism in the film industry, the House Subcommittee on Un-American Activities departed from Hollywood in the manner of carefree picnickers who, having enjoyed the sunshine and flowers, feel no concern about the mess they leave behind. The committee was in the mood to put on a good show before the television cameras, since it had been able to force the capitulation of civil rights and economic freedom in the motion-picture industry. The seven days of testimony only pointed up the fact that economic sanctions are more effective than jail sentences. Shameful as the procedures and motives of the investigating committee have been, the final disgrace rests with the movie producers, directors, and various guilds of actors, writers, and artists who have consented to become a corps of mercenaries.

Last March, Joyce O'Hara, vice-president of the Motion Picture Association of America, announced: "Film names who do not firmly deny their associations with Communist or Communist-front organizations . . . will get short shrift from the picture industry and will undoubtedly find difficulty getting jobs in the future." Any shadow of doubt that this meant a black list has been eliminated, though industry officials are still shy about calling it that. Neither denial of present Communist membership nor repudiation of past affiliations will

guarantee employment. Job security can be assured only through the vehement denunciation of persons or groups which the committee has condemned *and* the incrimination of others. It became obvious during the hearings that some ex-Communists, in a desperate attempt to convince their employers they had reformed, were picking names out of the air. Those blasted in such capricious fashion have been dismissed from their jobs and will not be reinstated unless they, too, turn informer. After hundreds of names had been inserted in the record, an industry spokesman said: "Anyone who has been named has an opportunity to clear himself by making a complete denial to the Congressional committee. The allegations are presumed to be true if a denial is not made."

Although the black list only carried the committee's investigation to its logical conclusion, Chairman John S. Wood was not willing to accept responsibility for it. "As far as the activities of this committee are concerned," he said, "there is no attempt to blacklist anybody." However, he added that he would be "extremely happy" if the committee could be "instrumental in eliminating from the field of public entertainment the views of people . . . who decline to answer a question as to whether or not they are members of the Communist Party."

The blind fear which had led the film industry early in its history voluntarily to adopt a stringent censorship code may account for its willingness to sell the remnants of its integrity for a vague promise that it would not again be haunted by a Congressional investigating committee. In the middle of the Hollywood hearings producer Samuel Goldwyn said in a magazine article that censorship "has robbed us of much of the vitality and vigor that is essential to creative effort." Under economic compulsion the film-makers have indorsed a program which the late Dixon Wecter, speaking of the University of California loyalty oath, described as "shooting Alma Mater to save her from rape."

That the malice, distrust, and suspicion displayed during the hearings were contagious was shown by the public's reaction to the testimony of the last and most prominent witness. Sidney Buchman alone refused to divulge names because it was "repugnant" to his "freedom of conscience," not because he was legally protected from doing so. Few persons could believe that moral principle, self-respect, and personal honor could be so highly cherished; the less honorable and less courageous could only impugn his motives. Mr. Buchman had made the "sharp truth ring, like golden spurs," but it sounded on ears deafened by fear and evil.

P. S.—Columbia Pictures announce in *Variety* for October 3 that Kenneth Bierly, formerly with *Counter-Attack*, has joined its staff to take charge of "contacts with veteran groups" and similar matters.

HANNAH BLOOM is our Los Angeles correspondent.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Forrestal's Diaries:

A Rich Lode

THE FORRESTAL DIARIES. Edited by Walter Millis with the Collaboration of E. S. Duffield. The Viking Press. \$5.

THESE diaries of the man who was our first Secretary of Defense are the raw stuff of history, not history itself, although they have been given dimension by the editing of Walter Millis, who has brilliantly arranged them and written background notes setting each diary entry into focus. We are still too close to the events described to reach final judgments. The fact that Forrestal was deeply disturbed by the State Department's failure to develop a policy to prevent the Communist conquest of China means little unless we are told—as we here are not—that to “save” Chiang Kai-shek probably would have meant the use of American troops. A willingness to adopt this grim stratagem was implied, at least, in General Wedemeyer's reports and recommendations, but that is not mentioned by Forrestal or by those who today hurl political charges of blundering and appeasement at General Marshall and Secretary Acheson. What we have in Forrestal's diaries, therefore, is primarily a fascinating—because contemporaneous—disclosure of the ways in which our democracy works, a rich lode of gossip and revelations about people still active in politics, and the record, somewhat sketchy, of an intensely patriotic and honest man who fought hard to defend our national security amid the rising tensions of the cold war. There is not much in what Forrestal himself wrote—Millis supplies a bit—that shows the acute sensitivity of the man, the spiritual agonies he must have suffered in his private life and his struggles over policy, so that when he was propelled out of office he was so lonely and shattered that suicide seemed the only escape.

To dispose of the political revelations—which would never have been made in their present form at the present time had Forrestal lived—let me

cite, as an example, the delicious sense of amusement in the White House when Eisenhower warned Truman in 1947 that MacArthur might run for the Presidency and MacArthur at the same time warned against Eisenhower's ambitions. Also, Robert A. Taft's letter congratulating Truman on his victory over Dewey—Taft wrote that as the President might gather, neither he nor his wife was particularly disappointed in the result of the election. Or—to disclose something about our Secretary of State—the statement that the allegedly pro-Soviet Acheson wanted to answer Yugoslav attacks on our planes in 1946 by “an immediate and aggressive use of American air fighter power over Yugoslavia,” and had to be calmed down by General Norstad, who pointed out that we lacked the planes and trained pilots. Or—to disclose something about Forrestal himself—that his notion of how to deal with Henry Wallace's proposed trip to London in 1947 (this was when Wallace opposed Truman's foreign policies) was to deny Wallace a passport. The President had to say that he thought this would be unwise.

The solid part of the book covers the successive crises with which Forrestal had to deal in his period of high responsibility from 1944 to 1949. There were apprehensions of war over Trieste, the Berlin blockade, the Russian coup in Czechoslovakia, and a sudden alarm conceived on March 5, 1948, by General Lucius Clay. Domestically, the military-unification fight was a long-drawn-out crisis for Forrestal. Thinking in “global” terms, as befits a Navy Secretary, he battled to preserve the navy's integrity from the encroachments of the totalitarian air-force strategists. A geopolitician, he insisted on secure American rights to strategic islands in the Pacific which he and Secretary of War Stimson considered “of primary importance not merely to the security of the United States but of the world, and essential to the success of any world security organization” (March 30, 1945).

Forrestal began worrying about the

Soviet Union certainly as early as September 2, 1944, when he wrote that anybody who suggests that “we act in accordance with the needs of our own security [is] apt to be called a god-damned fascist or imperialist, while if Uncle Joe” claims all that Russia wants, “all hands agree that he is a fine, frank, candid, and generally delightful fellow.” Beginning April 2, 1945, when he learned of “serious deterioration” in our relations with Russia that had forced Roosevelt to send a “strong message” deploring Soviet pressures, Forrestal packed his diaries with copies of Averell Harriman's gloomy reports from Moscow. George Kennan's remarkable analysis of the sources and nature of Soviet power eventually became for him, as for many others, a sourcebook and guide.

He was dismayed as he saw the American people insist on practically instantaneous and complete demobilization after V-J Day. He fought for universal military training as the only means of supplying minimum man-power to support our diplomacy. As Secretary of Defense in 1948 he fought for more money for the armed forces than Mr. Truman and the Bureau of the Budget were willing to give him, but when he lost he apparently bore no grudge; at least he did not leave the Cabinet. Now, of course, we are spending four times what Forrestal wanted, but Korea has intervened. It is well to remember that if we are reasonably well organized today to defend our national integrity and the integrity of the free world, Forrestal deserves much of the credit.

WHAT does not emerge from Forrestal's diaries, even with the assists from Millis, is the nature of the man and the quality of his social understanding. He was moved solely by patriotism when he supported the Arabs against the Jews on the Palestine issue—as a navy man he was worried about fuel for his ships. He seemed genuinely and deeply shocked when neither Republicans nor Democrats would aid his recurrent efforts to “lift the Palestine issue out of politics,” and repeatedly

records his depressing failures. But whether he understood the real force of the Jewish drive for a national state, after the bitter experiences of Jews under Hitler, is less clear than the respect he had for 400,000,000 Moslems sitting on the oil fields of the Middle East. Yet it was not the existence of Israel which inflamed Iran against Britain and the Anglo-Iranian Company.

A Wall Street banker serving the New Deal, Forrestal also was a student of affairs, a philosopher, a widely read man. After a visit to Britain he reread Bagehot's "The English Constitution"—and, as every newspaper reader knows, he read Greek tragic poetry. But he was vehement in 1947 about the "intellectual muddlers" who had run the country "for ten years," and he warned that unless "practical people" could work miracles of reconstruction the "crackpots" would demand another chance. He had a naive faith in the capacities of business men to restore order, create job opportunities, and rebuild the world to stability, and was obsessed with apprehensions of proletarian revolt. In 1945 he had a sharp clash with Harry Hopkins at the British embassy, and apparently he never saw any distinction between British socialism, Soviet communism, and what he called spending our own way into economic collapse. If he realized that his ardently championed business men were precisely the people in charge of world affairs when economic dislocations shook the established order and thus created his lifelong apprehensions about intellectual left-wingers and the threat of revolt, there is no sign of it here.

I think Forrestal was a true representative of Burnham's managerial class—the élite of the business world who handle vast affairs, give guidance to technicians, experts, and lawyers, and conduct corporate enterprises. He harbored a notion in 1947 that we should no longer "underwrite the stability" of the British Labor government unless it would quit acting, in its own country, like a freely elected Labor government. Yet Justice Douglas in 1948 wanted him to run for Governor of New York or United States Senator, and in relation to obvious Soviet attempts to capture all of Korea Forrestal was concerned that we were dealing

primarily with Korean exiles who had been educated in the West. He wrote to friends that he disliked public life, but many signs suggest that he yearned for a political career.

He would be content, perhaps, to rest on a summary that he placed in his diary on April 25, 1947:

It was manifest that American diplomatic planning of the peace was far below the quality of the planning that went into the conduct of the war. We regarded the war . . . as a ball game that we had to finish as quickly as possible, but in doing so there was comparatively little thought as to the relationships between nations which would exist after Germany and Japan were destroyed. The United Nations was oversold; sound in concept and certainly the only hope for improvement in the world order, it was built up over-extravagantly as the solution to international frictions that had existed for centuries. Now there is a danger of its being cast aside by the American public in a mood of frustration and disappointment.

WILLARD SHELTON

Soviet Patterns

SOVIET ATTITUDES TOWARDS AUTHORITY. By Margaret Mead. The Rand Series. McGraw-Hill Book Company. \$4.

SCRAWLED on the back of the truck lumbering along Route 1 was the motto "We Haul Dead Communists Free." Not so long ago dead Japanese used to be offered this kind of free transportation. With the regrouping of victors and vanquished, the Japanese have become our brave democratic allies, and the Soviets, formerly democrats in the eyes of many intellectuals, are now the totalitarian monster. The masses can change one word in a slogan, while cabinets are caught in the death dance of power politics, whose measures they no longer tread with understanding.

If international power politics calls the tune for our daily lives, what is the political importance of culture, personality, social structure, national character, and the other abstractions of contemporary social science? In the slim volume under review Margaret Mead brings to bear upon this problem her training as an anthropologist and her gifts of imaginative insight into human relationships.

The method of analysis, in recent years the source of rising hackles in academic circles, marches under the banner of "national character" and "culture and personality." To her professional colleagues Dr. Mead's reply to the critics of this method and the statement of its assumptions will be among the most interesting pages in the book. According to this informal and lucid credo the major variables in human behavior are culture and personality. The human child is born into a going system, in which it acquires, from early childhood on, attitudes and solutions to the problems of life. This acquired equipment constitutes an important part, though by no means the total, of adult personality. In turn the personality reacts upon the culture, perpetuating it in most cases, altering it in others. This is such a condensed summary of the author's viewpoint as to approach travesty, but at least it may suggest the essential fruit of the marriage between psychology and anthropology. Sociologists sometimes criticize the formula, with a faint aroma of injury and neglect, for omitting what they regard as a crucial third variable—social structure. Actually Dr. Mead's analysis makes use of social structure a high proportion of the time. Many of her explanations of the way people think and act are couched in terms of the relationship of group to group or individual to individual. Fortunately Dr. Mead is not a pedantic purist and does not limit herself rigidly to her profession of scientific faith.

In her opening pages she sets down the complex series of questions to which this study seeks at least partial answers. At the factual level there are three related problems. First, what are the recurring patterns of behavior between those in authority and those under authority in Soviet society? Secondly, what is the relationship between this behavior and Bolshevik ideals? In working out this relationship it seems to me that Dr. Mead does not distinguish very carefully between ideals about the way people *ought* to behave and rather general Soviet notions about the way people *can be expected* to behave. The third problem is to determine the consequences of the effort to remake the pre-revolutionary Russian character into the "new Soviet man." For the pre-revolutionary Russian character she ac-

cepts as proved the quite debatable conclusions of her co-worker, Geoffrey Gorer. There is a danger here that brilliant hunches may be built up into an accepted scientific mythology by a process of pyramided quotations. From the answers to these three questions the author attempts to appraise the internal strength of the Soviet regime and to throw light on the possibilities and limitations of international compromise.

In working toward her conclusions Dr. Mead ranges over many topics—from the Russian and Communist idea of absolute truth and its bearing on political compromise to beliefs about personal and collective guilt. The degree to which her analysis carries conviction varies equally widely. There are times when a vivid illustration has to carry more weight than it can bear. At other points, as in her discussion of the conflict between the need for rigid control over the masses and the leaders' desire to elicit from them a maximum of zest, she cuts to the heart of the matter. Her specific interpretations present too rich a haul for critical analysis here. While many of them parallel the deductions of workers in the field who have used radically different approaches, others are genuinely new.

The central thesis of the report is that there is a strong contrast between Bolshevik ideals and the behavior necessary to survive in Soviet society. This contrast, Dr. Mead asserts, may produce increasing apathy among the population. In turn, the apathy must be counteracted by increasingly strict controls, all in a vicious spiral. Although the conclusion is not novel, the interpretation of the evidence is frequently highly suggestive.

As Dr. Mead's report was prepared by an agency that does secret research for the federal government, its implications for policy-makers deserve as much critical attention as its scientific argument. Rand is to be congratulated for exposing some of its work to intellectual fresh air, especially since the "national character" approach to politics has until quite recently been confined to confidential Washington memoranda. The political significance of Dr. Mead's study lies in its contribution to the understanding of the strength and weakness of our opponent.

If, however, policy-makers or the public attempt to extend this approach to an interpretation of Soviet behavior in international affairs, extreme caution and skepticism are demanded. To understand Soviet behavior in Berlin or Korea, I do not believe that one has to penetrate the mysteries of the Russian soul. At best this knowledge plays third fiddle to a sharp perception of the forces generated by a world-wide power struggle. These forces transcend both Russian and American society and limit closely the choices open to the leaders of each. Confined to a bureaucratic hot-house, this variety of social science could encourage the form of self-deception which sees something strange and extraordinary in every Russian action. Such self-deception contradicts the intention of the author by clouding the power issues between the Soviets and us.

BARRINGTON MOORE, JR.

Myth and Irony in Thomas Mann

THE HOLY SINNER. By Thomas Mann. Translated from the German by H. T. Lowe-Porter. Alfred A. Knopf. \$3.50.

BEFORE saying why I find this novel the most successful piece of fiction Thomas Mann has written since "Mario and the Magician," I suppose I must make clear just what my opinion of the main body of his work is. I consider Mann the master of many kinds of tedium—the most oppressive of them being the over-elaboration of platitudes in the name of philosophy (as in much of "The Magic Mountain") and a certain heavy-handed after-dinner type of humor which he constantly confuses with valid irony (as in the Joseph stories). His earliest work I find it impossible to reenter with any real pleasure; "Mario and the Magician" I consider moving, though limited in a way not untypical in the politicalization of its symbols; "Death in Venice" is quite wonderful. In general it is in his longer works that Mann is betrayed into the sort of self-indulgence which in the end forces the reader into the position, at once bored and respectful, of the listener before the great man who just talks too much.

"The Holy Sinner" has the advan-

ECONOMICS POLITICS SOCIOLOGY

SALE

1. **LEGEND OF HENRY FORD** by K. Seward. Ford's labor relations, economic impact, politics, etc. Exhaustive, documented. 558 pp. Big \$5 book. **\$1.49**
2. **GANDHI'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY.** Own philosophy, political beliefs, etc. Never-before-published material on prison years, education, marital relationships. 650-page volume. Orig. \$5. **Special \$1.25**

834 PAGES . . . ONLY \$1.49

3. **BASIC WRITINGS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON.** Ed. by Foner. 38 major writings, 249 important letters, plus Jefferson's will, chronology & preface. Index. Biographical notes. Orig. \$5. **\$1.49**
4. **STORY OF LIBERTY** by L. Anspercher. Analysis of British, Roman, Greek, American contributions to liberalism. 230 pp. Orig. \$2.75. **.98**
5. **SCIENCE OF LIVING** by A. Adler. Modern individual's adjustment to society—written by prominent psychologist. Orig. \$2.50. **\$1.25**

ORIG. \$5 EDITION NOW \$1.25

6. **EAGLE FORGOTTEN** by H. Bernard. Biography of John Peter Algeid and history of 19th century civil rights. 484 pages. Published at \$5. **Special \$1.25**
7. **WRITINGS AND SPEECHES OF EUGENE V. DEBS.** Intro. by Schlesinger. Source book — the Negro, Socialism, labor, Knights of Columbus, women's rights, etc. 500 pp. Barn value, \$4 book. **\$1.69**
8. **NO PLACE TO HIDE** by D. Bradley. Bikini witness explains effects of atom bomb on ships, cities, humans. 183 pp. Orig. \$2. **Only \$1.73**
9. **SCOTTSBORO BOY** by Patterson and Conrad. Sensational expose of Southern prison conditions by one of defendants. "Excellent job."—New Yorker. Orig. \$3. 800 pp. **\$1.98**
10. **GLOBAL MISSION** by Hap Arnold. Wartime head of Air Forces gives inside scuttlebutt on use of aviation as military instrument. Detailed material on FDR, MacArthur, et al. 698 pp. Ill. Orig. \$5. **\$1.25**
11. **TAX DODGERS** by D. Iroy. Case histories of attempts to defraud government. Material on Ku Klux Klan, White House chiselers. Orig \$3. 804 pp. **\$1.98**

ONLY 29 COPIES AVAILABLE

12. **DYNAMITE ON OUR DOORSTEP: PUERTO RICAN PARADOX** by W. Brown. Caribbean politics, economic problems, race conflicts. "Rare and valuable reporting."—New Yorker. Ill. Orig. \$2.75. 301 pp. **\$1.25**
13. **THE UNTRIED CASE** by H. Ehrmann. Defense lawyer for Sacco and Vanzetti tells why they couldn't have committed murders. 250 pp. **\$1.25**
14. **QUESTIONS OF GERMAN GUILT** by Karl Jaspera. Penetrating philosophical analysis. Orig \$2. 128 pp. **\$1.98**
15. **GIUSEPPE MAZZINI: Selected Writings.** Ed. and Intro. by Prof. N. Gargiulo. Italy's great liberal discusses dictatorship, Italy's destiny, republicanism, rights of man, Dante, etc. 863 pp. **\$1.25**
16. **THE LAND OF JIM CROW** by R. Sprigle. Pulitzer prizewinner gives eye-witness account of discrimination in hospitals, schools, politics. Orig. \$2.50. 215 pp. **\$1.98**

SAVE 75% OF PUB. PRICE

17. **BREAKING GROUND** by Gifford Pinchot. U. S. gov't conservation policy—written by forestry head under Roosevelt. 322 pp. Orig. \$5. Ill. **\$1.25**
18. **LORDS OF THE PRESS** by George Seiden. Behind-scenes story of Hearst, Howard, Thompson, Stern, Sokolsky, Lippmann, et al. 408 pp. Orig. \$3. **\$1.25**
19. **OUR VANISHING CIVIL LIBERTIES** by O. John Rogge. Shocking inside story of Loyalty Board hearings and their danger to civil liberties. Pub. at \$3. **\$1.25**
20. **POLITICS, ECONOMICS AND MEN OF MODERN SPAIN, 1808-1946** by A. Oliveira. Fully documented 720-page analysis of Franco, the Army, Church, distribution of wealth, trade, etc. Probably the most thorough book on Spain in print. Index. Map insert. **\$1.49**
21. **THIS AGE OF FABLE** by O. Stolper. "Should be welcomed by anyone willing to put his concepts of the world to a sharp test."—The Nation. Reality vs. myth in totalitarianism, economics, communism, British imperialism, dictatorship. Ill. pp. Orig. \$3. **\$1.25**
22. **AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF MAXIM GORKY.** Great works in 1 volume: My Childhood, In the World, & My Universities. Orig. \$3.75. Schneider transl. 616 pp. **\$2.49**
23. **JACK LONDON: AMERICAN REBEL.** London's social writings, incl. sections from Iron Heel, Martin Eden, People of the Abyss & essays. Orig. \$3.50. 538 pp. **\$2.49**
24. **ROOSEVELT AND THE RUSSIANS** by Edward Steptinus. Day-by-day account of Yalta conference, refuting many current GOP myths. "Should prove valuable to historians of the war."—Nation. Orig. \$4. Ill. 367 pp. **\$1.25**
25. **BEATRICE WEBB** by Margaret Cole. Trade unionism and Fabian socialism in Britain. Ill. 229 pp. Orig. \$3. **\$1.25**
26. **THE WAY OF THE SOUTH** by H. Odum. Relation of South to rest of U. S. in economics, sociology, politics, etc. Orig. \$3. 350 pp. **\$1.25**
27. **THE BRERETON DIARIES** by Lewis H. Brereton. Events of 1941-45 by only air commander to see all theatres of war. Orig. \$4. 450 pp. **\$1.25**

QUANTITIES LIMITED—MAIL TODAY

DOVER PUBLS. Dept. 49, 1780 B'way, N. Y. 19, N. Y.
Send books circled: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20
21 22 23 24 25 26 27 Books may be returned
in ten days for full cash refund if unsatisfactory for any
reason whatsoever.

Name _____
Address _____

Enclosing \$_____ in full payment.
(Add 10¢ per book to cover cost of postage.)

tage of briefness—though briefness is no infallible amulet for Mann, as witness "The Transposed Heads"—and this time that briefness reinforces a considerable amount of wit and charm. One never has the time to discover that beneath the play of irony a sense of humor is lacking, and that under all the *adresse* no real gracefulness is present; in this case, it truly doesn't matter. The actual language of the book is impossible; that nevertheless it somehow *works* gives the whole thing an extra fillip. Mann has fantastically decided to retell his ancient story in a kind of Spenserian fake archaic un-language, but in one that out-Spensers Spenser: for in "The Holy Sinner" (I have glanced at the original and in this respect the translation seems quite faithful) the narration is supposed to seem at once reminiscent of Middle English, Old French, and Middle High German—to become an anonymous language of a relatively undefined pastness. That Mann manages to bring this off is no less than astonishing.

Like all his longer fictions—with the exception of "Lotte in Weimar"—since

the Joseph stories, this book is a frank retelling of an older story, but this time Mann seems to have picked more wisely, and to stand in a better relationship to his material than ever before. One does not sense here the unconvincingness of his stance before an unremittingly alien tale as in "The Transposed Heads"; nor is one constantly thrown back on making comparisons with previous renditions of greater literary excellence, as with the Joseph and the Faustus myths. There is no feeling here even momentarily that Mann is down-grading his material, no uneasy suspicion that one is dealing with a kind of ignoble parody. The story of the legendary "Pope Gregory" appears in the "Gesta Romanorum" and has come down to us in three main recensions—English, French, and German—but none of the tellings belong to the first rank of literature or the conscious center of the European tradition.

The Gregorios saga joins together a Christian fable of repentance, penance, and forgiveness—in Mann's recasting a swiftly paced coda—quite absurd and touching, and a double in-

cest story that in two slightly differing versions has been long and widely diffused, though it has never, lacking a Sophocles, touched the heart of the West like the simpler Oedipus myth. In one archetypal version of the story a mother-son incest is succeeded by a brother-sister incest—the most famous examples appear in the "Heptameron" and a suppressed Gothic play by Horace Walpole; in the other, the brother-sister incest precedes the relationship between mother and son; in both cases, the first act traditionally is consciously entered upon, the second unwittingly, a blind consequence of evil following the choice of sin. It is the latter version with which Mann works, and one which in placing the main emphasis upon *Geschwisterinzeist* seems more in accord with a concern deep in North European mythology that Mann has previously touched on in his "Blood of the Volungs."

In Mann's rendition of the ancient tale one can see the typical modern attitude toward myth, the attitude whose spectrum stretches all the way from a John Erskine to Joyce and Eliot, and includes, if one is willing to extend the ranks beyond literature, anthropologists and psychoanalysts. Indeed, the ironic attitude, our attitude, as it appears in Mann has been tempered in the findings of the social scientists, who make it possible at once to deny and accept, to question and assume what the myth tells us. It is interesting to compare Mann's treatment of the Gregorios story, the tender smile that never becomes a snicker, the careful preservation of the *absurdity* of the tale of abomination and election as its central truth, with earlier approaches.

A truly archetypal story cannot disappear—in a world in which no one reads, it is whispered by neighbor to neighbor as the latest truth—and as it wells up in all its incompatibility into a world pledged to some fixed system of evaluation and belief, it must somehow be dealt with. Of course, to the simple in the beginning, and to the child always, it is "just a story"—that is, an unanalyzed complex *all* of whose possible meanings are allowed free and simultaneous play. Later the trouble begins.

Toward the end of the Middle Ages

SAGAS of STRUGGLE

A Labor Anthology

Selected by SAMUEL COLTON

THE HUMAN HISTORY OF LABOR

The turbulent years of labor are mirrored in this group of hard-hitting stories. Labor's struggles and victories are told by Edward McSorley, Oscar Ameringer, George and Helen Papashvily, Samuel Yellen, and many others.

SAGAS OF STRUGGLE is a written record of labor's toughest battles.

The "Library Journal" says, "At last a bona fide 'labor anthology.' This collection of moving, authentic excerpts from fiction and fact . . . is one that should be welcomed by all. . . . The selections have been made from some of the best American labor literature. They cover every phase of the movement. . . . Editor and publisher are to be commended for this excellent work. . . ."

\$2.25

CLARIDGE PUBLISHING CORPORATION

300 Fourth Avenue - New York 10, N. Y.

Special Discount for Quantity Purchases

the rational Christian compilers of the "Gesta Romanorum" preserved the tale but excised its "impossibility" by *allegorical* interpretation; a little appended explanation told the worried that this was no actual man marrying his mother who was also his aunt but in reality Christ, offspring of a union between body and soul, making a new alliance with the soul.

In the world of the nineteenth century, which survives in some quarters down to our own time, a new rationalism replaced the old; *scholarly* or *historical* interpretation took the place of typology; and the recurrent myth was explained as an invention of fifth-century churchmen to propagandize against the remnants of a supposed pagan practice of incest. (Walpole had anticipated this by a hundred years, turning the retelling of a closely related story into a diatribe against "papish superstitions.") And right now a *psychological* interpretation is busy telling us that the archetypal story is a projection of repressed infantile wishes or a mythicized account of the "integration of personality."

It is back through the long history of rationalistic awareness that Mann recasts the story, and his irony makes it possible for him to preserve what those insights have gained without committing himself to their single-minded reductions, and without giving up what centrally the myth is concerned with preserving: the sense of the ridiculousness of reality, the incompatibility of the given with any system of metaphysics or morality, however complex. Of the fact that in our world the acceptance of the absurd by which men once totally lived has been reduced to an occasional limited act of quasi-faith before a work of art, Mann is aware—and this adds a dimension of pathos to his work, which finally declares: here is the nature of sin and election, if we could only be sure there were, after all, such things as sin and election in the first place. The only reality the storyteller knows is the reality of the *telling* of a tale whose truth can never, this side of the fall from naivete, be attested. To assert this with irony and pathos and charm is the achievement of "The Holy Sinner."

LESLIE A. FIEDLER

The New Middle Class

WHITE COLLAR. By C. Wright Mills.
Oxford University Press. \$5.

THE dominant image of American character is that of an independent figure, the business man or craftsman, who makes his way up the social scale by hard work, shrewdness, and integrity. Whatever its validity a century ago, this image—like the ideology behind it—no longer aligns with reality. Often enough it is an imposed product of institutional advertising and other, less blatant kinds of propaganda. Among intellectuals it retains a curious subterranean power: liberals of the ADA variety modulate it into the notion that America is still a fluid society without a sharply defined class structure.

"White Collar" is a slashing attack on these assumptions about the shape of American society. High-spirited, polemical, and often brilliant, it begins with an account of the gradual decline of the property-owning middle class, which comprised 33 per cent of the gainfully employed population in 1870 and 20 per cent in 1940, and which has lost even more of its power within the business world than these figures might suggest. "Many of the remaining four-fifths of the people who now earn a living do so by working for the 2 or

3 per cent of the population who now own 40 or 50 per cent of the private property in the United States." Eighty years ago "there were three-quarters of a million middle-class employees; by 1940 there were over twelve and a half million." These employees—executives, fixers, bureaucrats, salesmen, technicians, office workers, communication and amusement specialists—form the new middle class, the world of the white collar.

A sociologist indebted to Marx and Weber, Mills displays large gifts for social description, often of a kind one expects from the superior novelist. He is very keen in distinguishing the effects of occupation upon status, and the grueling psychological cost of what he calls "the status panic." With quick, bright strokes he portrays the numerous strata of the new middle class: the fixers who "adjust" relations between one business and another or between business as a whole and the public, skillfully preying on their employers' expectation that nothing can now be done quite legitimately; the middle members of the business hierarchy who cautiously jockey for position, often serving merely as relay posts for orders from the top designed for robots on the bottom; the traveling salesmen who are losing part of their traditional independence, the very cant they feed to

The most comprehensive collection of British poetry to be found on the market today

A LITTLE TREASURY OF BRITISH POETRY

The Chief Poets, 1500-1950

OSCAR WILLIAMS, *Editor*

More than 700 great poems of four and one-half centuries—poets from Spenser to Dylan Thomas—long poems, short poems, narrative poems, ballads, songs, and passages from great plays. More than 500 pages are devoted to the masterpieces of 1500-1900. Over 350 pages cover the 20th Century, including 30 poems by W. B. Yeats, 16 by Thomas Hardy, 17 by G. M. Hopkins including "Wreck of the Deutschland," and 15 poems by Dylan Thomas, many of which have never before been published in book form. 74 photographs; fully indexed; double buckram binding; gilt top; silk reading ribbon; cellophane wrap; 912 pages. Boxed, \$5.00

at your bookseller

SCRIBNERS

retailers being carefully predetermined; the lawyers who shape their offices in the bureaucratic image of the corporations they serve; the department-store sales girls whom Mills playfully divides into such categories as charmer, ingenue, wolf, drifter, collegiate, and old-timer; the office girls whose work becomes increasingly mechanized; the academic sociologists who are turning into research agents for enlightened business and government agencies, studying morale instead of morality.

Despite their large internal range of income and status, these groups have several things in common: they do not perform manual labor and therefore can enjoy the privilege of wearing street clothes at work, they seldom produce goods but must sell their services and personalities, they are concerned not with crafts or creative skills but with

Looking for a PUBLISHER?

If you are looking for a book publisher, learn about our effective publishing program for new or unknown authors. Under this plan, we have just sold a first book a famous reprint house for a pocket edition. Perhaps we can start you a successful career, too. Ask for Free Booklet 101.

Write: Miss Natalie Miller

VANTAGE PRESS, Inc. 230 West 41st St., New York 18, N. Y.

MORE than 5000 TITLES of Books, Magazines and newspapers in English, Russian and other languages of EVERY KIND FROM EVERY COUNTRY:

- FAR FROM MOSCOW, novel, in 2 vols. illustrated by V. Azharyev \$2.75
- CHILDHOOD, MOTHER & ARTAMONOV, 3 nov. in one book, by M. Gorky 2.50
- ACROSS THE MAP OF THE USSR 1.00
- TALES OF SEBASTOPOL, by L. Tolstoy 1.00
- MATERIALS ON THE TRIAL OF FORMER SERVICEMEN OF THE JAPANESE ARMY75
- STUDIES & FURTHER STUDIES IN A DYING CULTURE, by Ch. Caldwell, ea. 2.50

We take subscriptions to all periodicals

- NEW TIMES, weekly yearly sub. r. \$3.50
- SOVIET LITERATURE, monthly yearly sub. r. 2.50
- SOVIET UNION, 10 issues, yearly sub. r. 2.50
- SOVIET WOMAN, 6 issues, yearly sub. r. 1.00
- PEOPLE'S CHINA, bi-monthly yearly sub. r. 3.50
- CHINA MONTHLY REVIEW yearly sub. r. 4.00
- SOVIET WEEKLY yearly sub. r. 3.50
- CZECHOSLOVAK LIFE, monthly yearly sub. r. 2.15
- FREE BULGARIA, fortnightly yearly sub. r. 1.50
- INDIA TODAY, monthly, yearly sub. r. 3.50
- FOR A LASTING PEACE, FOR A PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY, weekly mailed from N. Y. yearly sub. r. 4.15
- THE MODERN QUARTERLY yearly sub. r. 3.15
- THE MODERN QUARTERLY yearly sub. r. 2.25

Ask for Price List

DEPT. M

UNIVERSAL DISTRIBUTORS CO.

84 West 13th Street New York 11, N. Y.

the manipulation of symbols, and they fit neatly into those bureaucratic behemoths which sprawl over modern society. In behavior, they often conform to what David Riesman calls the other-directed character type: they are motivated by an anxious need to gain the approval of their contemporaries, whose pressures come to them either directly or through mass-communication media. ("White Collar," by the way, corroborates "The Lonely Crowd" in many ways.) And while the members of the new middle class receive a large share of the national income, they lack the aggressiveness and cohesion needed to exert political power. Celebrated in our mythology as the backbone of the nation, they behave like little men, conformist and bewildered. In a sense they are worse off than the factory workers, for they sell not only their labor power but their personalities too, having to shape themselves according to the glad-hand stereotypes of "go-getting" and "sincerity." ("If your wife can't balance a teacup," reads an advertisement for *Fortune*, "it may not matter how well you balance the company's books.")

Such descriptions must, of course, be taken with a little salt; Mills often resorts to the economy of caricature, his portraits suggesting tendencies rather than fully accomplished facts. But his mordant book does hit upon the main drift of our society—and when Horace Kallen attacks Mills in the *New York Times* for not mentioning the "positive, creative developments" in the new middle class he might trouble to specify what those developments are.

Mills concludes that the new middle class will follow "the panicky ways of prestige" in the short run and the pulls of power in the long run; it will, he says, choose only after its "choice" among contenders for power has won. Doesn't such an analysis underestimate the significance of political programs? The German experience indicates that in moments of crisis this class, or parts of it, will turn to the movement which seems to offer the most dynamic solutions of the problems of society. In Europe today Stalinism, which has certainly not yet won, has a considerable attraction for the new middle class.

Otherwise, I have only minor criticisms. Unaccountably, Mills says nothing about the school teachers, surely a most

important section of the new middle class. To balance his sketch of the fixer in industry, he might have added a page or two on the "think-man" in the unions, usually an ex-radical selling verbal fluency and guilty memories. It would have been good if he had included comments on the reasons why the Communist Party found its strongest support in America among the lower ranks of the new middle class, and the reasons why these lower ranks have been swept by a pathetic cagerness for the purchase of culture. Sometimes Mills is too sweeping in his statements: from his rather crude section on the professors one would hardly gather that there are still many dedicated people in the universities doing their work for limited rewards.

And I must quarrel a bit about his style. He writes far better than most sociologists or, for that matter, most literary people; but he lets his genuine gift for the striking phrase run wild and neglects the larger units of composition. "White Collar" is exciting to read; but exhausting. Mills's occasional tone of tough, professional power-consciousness is also disturbing; after all, white collars are worn by people, and when one sees how those collars tear into human flesh it would not be amiss to give way to a little grief.

But it is not these weaknesses, I suspect, which will trouble some of the academic sociologists. "White Collar" is likely to be attacked for its strengths: Mills will be accused of being an "impressionist"—he does not hesitate to use his imagination or to quote Balzac—and, worse yet, of not being "objective"—he resists the modish acquiescence in the status quo.

For "White Collar" is thoroughly radical in its point of view. It is a pleasure to come upon a book rebellious in its political values and entirely free of both Stalinism and that professional anti-Marxism so much the rage these unhappy days; a pleasure, as well, to find a political writer who has enough wit not to take the flush of war economy as evidence of social health. If a few more voices as strong and bold as that of Mills were raised, one might hope for the revival of a free radical wing, which is today the greatest need in American intellectual life.

IRVING HOWE

Tirades and Notions

SAMUEL BUTLER'S NOTEBOOKS.

Selections Edited by Geoffrey Keynes and Brian Hill. E. P. Dutton and Company. \$3.75.

THIS carefully edited book is a selection from published materials which are no longer easily available; there are also a few hitherto unpublished gleanings. The editors have taken those notes which, they think, "give the best picture of the range of Butler's mind and the diversity of his interests." The result is by turns entertaining, boring, and—I use the word with care—shocking.

Anyone who has read "The Way of All Flesh" will remember how abounding that imperfect novel (it should be read at seventeen) is in convictions—many of them stemming from the great tradition of nineteenth-century rationalism, many of them merely notional—assertions, tirades, and serious hatreds. They all turn up in the notebooks: a strong dislike of the family as an institution; the strongest disapproval of organized Christianity; the strongest contempt for Darwin; the strongest enthusiasm for the music of Handel, emphasized by consistent sneers in the direction of Bach and Beethoven; the strongest opinions about literary matters—Butler believed, for example, that the "Odyssey" had probably been written by a woman, and he had a theory about Shakespeare's sonnets; the strongest objection to the painting of Raphael, Leonardo da Vinci, Rossetti, Watts, and Burne-Jones—"No words can express my dislike of Burne-Jones." And so on.

Unhappily most of these passionate formulations no longer move us. Just as many of the epigrams which bedizen "The Way of All Flesh" turn out, once adolescence is past, to be over-emphatic or to bear no relation to any actual state of affairs, so many of these notes have worn badly. Often they explain the self-evident or what we already know, though it is not from Butler that we have learned it; or they flog the horses of dead controversies.

If many of the subjects of Butler's earnest thought are no longer relevant, there is, of course, no reason why his writing about them should not captivate. The difficulty lies in his sensibility and

in his prose. He was certain that common sense, a faculty never adequately defined in the notebooks, was the key to the problems of life; epigram and paradox were his chief means of imparting it. Consider these typical pronouncements:

The vanity of human wishes: There is only one thing vainer than this, and that is having no wishes.

Unmarried men very rarely speak the truth about the things that most nearly concern them; married men, never.

The best music should be played as the best men and women should be dressed—neither so well nor so ill as to attract attention to itself.

In each, accuracy, insight, and feeling have been sacrificed to a rigid verbal pattern. Further, one reads them as one listens to the unsolicited cosmic pronouncements of the stranger on the subway platform: they are obviously true; they are false; they need qualification. In no event is there any point in argument.

This lack of intellectual play dominates that self-portrait which, as Butler said, a man's work is always painting. For all his manifold interests and his enormous taste for life ("Is life worth living? This is a question for an embryo not for a man," he explodes at one point), the portrait does not create sympathy. His carefully tended hatreds are shocking to read about, for they show so little real human feeling. He was no doubt right about the badness of nineteenth-century English painting; his family was probably as dreadful as he says. But it is simple hatred and not serious judgments that his frequently oracular statements on these and other topics convey, forcefully stated but never resolved.

The notebooks are best when Butler is not riding his various hobby-horses. He was a skilled amateur painter and musician, and his eye and ear are good. When he talks about what he has seen or heard or felt without allowing his turn for the epigram or his notions or his hatreds to dilute his impressions he is entertaining and wise:

Sunday: The great and terrible day of the Lord.

Myself and the literary and scientific bigwigs: I am the *enfant terrible* of literature and science. If I cannot, and I

know I cannot, get them to give me a shilling, I can, and I know I can, heave bricks into the middle of them.

I do not know whether my distrust of men of science is congenital or acquired, but I think I should have transmitted it to descendants.

Mrs. Boss: She said she wished the horn would blow for her and the worms take her that very night.

... when I am dead there will be other reviewers, and I have already done enough to secure that they shall from time to time look me up. They won't bore me then, but they will be just as odious as the present ones.

ERNEST JONES

THE FREEMAN'S MANIFESTO

This is a book filled with absorbing new information. In these churning, uncertain times—search its pages and discover how peace can exist on the earth forever. Do not miss

A WORLD WITHOUT WAR

Write Kane Publications, 225 Fifth Avenue
New York 1, N. Y. Price \$1.00

"Always exciting and refreshing... whether one agrees with him or not."

—ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYES

"Americans who still believe in the Bill of Rights will enjoy the sturdy liberal democracy of these Jeffersonian chapters."

—*REV. CHAS. FRANCIS POTTER

Read how "one of the few independent minds actually functioning today" found an exciting modern belief, as inspiring in spirit as it is scientific in method... Through it you will see exactly how the current errors of mass thinking can be avoided.

BY CORLISS LAMONT

The Independent Mind

ESSAYS OF A HUMANIST PHILOSOPHER

International Relations... The Crisis in Civil Liberties... The Humanist Way of Life... Marriage... Concepts of God... American Myths About War, etc... Life's Comic Aspects... Philosopher's Mailbag

\$2.75 at bookstores, or direct from



HORIZON PRESS

63 West 44th St., Dept. N
New York 18, N. Y.

Verse Chronicle

THE enterprising and zealous house of Twayne Publishers, devoting itself exclusively to poetry, has recently issued three volumes: "The Catch," by T. Weiss (\$2.25); "Where the Compass Spins," by Radcliffe Squires (\$2.25); and "Immediate Sun," by Rosemary Thomas (\$2.50). Miss Thomas's book was selected by Archibald MacLeish as the winner of the 1950 First Book Contest, and is introduced with a foreword by him. Some of Miss Thomas's poems are a little forced, or self-conscious, and she is

somewhat inclined to overwork the word "pain"; in others the emotion comes through with both force and simplicity. Mr. MacLeish is right in finding this work accomplished; I am not so sure about the idiom being characteristic: it seems, as yet, too unsettled, venturing, rather tentatively, in too many directions, sometimes at once. Which, of course, is all right, and a good way to be beginning.

Mr. Weiss turns a firm sentence, and is adroit in the vernacular of the current trend. This chronicler, however, is old-fashioned enough to prefer the poet who makes more demand on the resource of rhyme, and would like, within the line, something more than firmness and a succession of images and symbols. In other words, the lift of a melody once in a while. Mr. Squires has a satirical imagination, obsessed, or maybe only preoccupied, with spectacles of decomposition, a pleasant change from the works of ladies who write poemsies, but in and for itself a little too much. Like most of his generation, Mr. Squires writes very competently: could it be that there are getting to be too many teachers of creative writing around our universities these days?

"Atlantic City Cantata," by Hugh Chisholm (Farrar, Straus, and Young, \$3), has its moments of high and low spirits, quite funny in spots, rather depressing in others. More of the intended dramatic character might be realized in a staged production; from the text alone, the character of the crowd, the auctioneer, the innocents, the flagpole-sitter, the three graces, and the two guys does not emerge too clearly, nor are their respective idioms sufficiently distinct, so that they sometimes seem less themselves than creatures of Mr. Chisholm's ventriloquism. And like many a less secular cantata, this one is

also much too long and repetitious, so much so that some of the light-hearted nonsense, at which Mr. Chisholm is very good, breaks down into boring inanity.

For the instruction of groundlings "who have had," as the editor puts it most politely, "comparatively little experience in the reading of poetry" Professor Stephen F. Fogle, of the University of Florida, has compiled "A Brief Anthology of Poetry" (American Book Company, \$1.50). Both the price and the size of the book are right for the undergraduate pocket. The book is a pleasure to hold in the hand, to take out and read under the trees. The selections are varied: Herrick, Wordsworth, Wyatt, and anonymous writers of ballads share the pages with Auden, Betje-man, and the well-known author of Macavity the Mystery Cat. Humorous poetry is happily included. The notes and queries in the back of the book may seem almost over naive, but just that kind of disarming pressure is often very sound pedagogy. God forgive us the term. Highly recommended, with one word of caution to teachers who get it for their classes: don't try to push it too hard, let it take itself easy.

On a much higher plane than anything mentioned so far we have "The Selected Writings of Paul Eluard," translated by Lloyd Alexander (New Directions, \$3.50). There are prefatory remarks by Claude Roy, Aragon, and Louis Parrot. Many of the poems are those written during the occupation and the resistance, in which Eluard, equally with Aragon, was a leading organizer. It is Claude Roy who, in his preface, makes much of the fact that Eluard is both a happy man and a good one, a fact possibly more worth bearing in mind than all our candidates realize. So that, because of the man, it means more than it otherwise might when you see the words, or hear on a record the voice saying:

Je dis ce que je vois
Ce que je sais
Ce qui est vrai.

The French text is included, facing the translation in this book.

The Spanish text is included, facing the translation, in "Poems of St. John of the Cross," translated by Roy Campbell, with a preface by M. C. D'Arcy, S. J. (Pantheon Books, \$2.75). Here

PRIMER FOR SOCIAL ACTION

By Homer A. Jack

25c

Dr. Homer A. Jack, for many years executive secretary of the Chicago Council Against Racial and Religious Discrimination, and has done outstanding work with the Chicago Urban League. He has designed this handbook for the guidance of churches and civic groups interested in promoting concerted social action. Methods of organizing a project are suggested, and fact-finding, educational, and direct-action techniques are offered in a practical manner, based on the wide experience of the author in this field.

DEMOCRACY'S TRUE RELIGION

By Horace M. Kallen

25c

Horace M. Kallen is a professor at The New School of Social Research and the author of many books, among them "Structure of Lasting Peace," "Culture and Democracy in the United States," and "The Liberal Spirit." He has given us here a statement of the real religion of democracy, whose believers accept "the common faith in the way of life which keeps impartial peace among them all and assures to each its liberty on equal terms with others." Without resort to creeds, dogmas, or authoritative control, its premises are based on equal liberty for all men to believe, to inquire, to hear and to teach, against the exclusive claims of a special occupational class.

(Beacon Reference Series)

THE BEACON PRESS, 20 Beacon St., Boston 8, Mass.

BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

from the

U S S R

1952 Subscriptions open for five outstanding publications, printed in English:

NEW TIMES—published weekly in English, Russian, French & German (delivered by airmail) 12 months \$3.50

NEWS—published twice a month in English only (delivered by airmail) 12 months \$2.00

SOVIET UNION—Pictorial Monthly (Life in the USSR thru the camera eye)—in English, Russian, French, German, Spanish and Chinese. 12 months \$2.50

SOVIET LITERATURE—published monthly in English, French, Polish, German and Spanish. 12 months \$2.50

SOVIET WOMAN—Illustrated bi-monthly. In English, Russian, French, German, Spanish and Chinese One year \$1.00
Contemporary literature and classics in Russian, English, Lithuanian, Latvian, Estonian and Ukrainian. Works in all branches of science, industry and art in Russian.

Latest Soviet records, sheet

music and artistic handicrafts.

Ask for Complete Catalog P-51

FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORPORATION

55 W. Street, N. Y. 19 Murray Hill 8-2600

Most deaths are suicidal—involuntary

Read how to live a long, happy, successful life in John Durkan's book

DON'T WORRY—LIVE, LOVE, LAUGH

We will send it to you postpaid for \$2.00

WILLIAM GORDON

545 Fifth Avenue

New York, N. Y.

The celebrated Dr. James Walsh, lecturing on longevity, was asked, "Doctor, what becomes of the men who are turned down by the insurance companies?" "Oh," said the doctor, "they generally live to be our Pallbearers."

we are really in the ethereal empyrean, though, for all the exaltation and ecstasy, the great mystic never loses sight of the ground. Mr. Campbell's translations are, on the whole, very good, though now and again his insistence on rhyme leads him into some padding and adjectiveness which soften the great direct force of the Spanish original. In general, however, the translations are of considerably more value than that of serving as a pony for the opposite page. **ROLFE HUMPHRIES**

Books in Brief

MARY WOLLSTONECRAFT. By Ralph M. Wardle. University of Kansas Press. \$4.50. Any reader who wants all the available facts about the author of "A Vindication of the Rights of Women," the first wife of William Godwin and the mother of Shelley's Mary, will have to refer to this book. Unhappily the facts are decked out in the worst professorial English, so larded with "would haves," "must haves," and "probablys" that one grows dizzy shuttling between actual events and banal conjectures and comments. A paragraph detailing adequately Mary's refusal to alter her prose to suit her publisher concludes: "Mary was not the woman to surrender herself to others' suggestions." Or we learn of her affair with Gilbert Imlay that "he was doubtless flattered by the attention of so distinguished a woman, and welcomed a passing affair with her. But the enduring sort of love that Mary craved was quite beyond his ken." This kind of writing might be somewhat less objectionable if it did not appear intended to make biography sound like bad fiction.

LETTERS TO BENVENUTA. By Rainer Maria Rilke. Philosophical Library. \$2.75. "Which that Boggs boy," remarked Old Hickey in one of Alfred Henry Lewis's Wolfville stories, "always was a eediot." Reading these letters to Benvenuta (Magda von Hattingberg), one is tempted to jump to the same conclusion regarding Rainer Maria Rilke. Yet there is something touching, something disarming, in their defenselessness, their noble protestations and self-justifications, their apologies, their wanting-to and wanting-

not-to at the same time. And there is also the same sense, recognizing Proust in 1914, that had earlier recognized Cézanne before anybody else did. The silliness, to be sure, was considerable, but it was outlived by the gift.

Art

MANNY FARBER

A LOT of people I know are at the edge of complete disintegration, want to give life up or trade it in at any moment; I'm at the edge." This fiery corn comes from the mouth of Larry Rivers, a twenty-eight-year-old romantic whose canvases, bleeding with "compassion" and bursting with bravura, reflect the several depots of his jolting journey—the Bronx, the Hans Hoffman assembly line, the new Bohemia. His latest paintings, exhibited this month by Tibor de Nagy, indicate that he is only a year or so away from a top position in avant-garde art if he doesn't waste away in jitters and torment ("Been very nervous . . . I keep waking up all scared"). Rivers is close to being a rare, natural dauber—a painter's painter on the order of Bonnard and Rouault, if you can imagine such a slapstick marriage; and he thus neatly snags both the aesthetic and the sentimental brass rings on the culture carousel. At his opening I heard an Elsa Lanchester-type zealot say that Rivers's stuff is as wonderfully oblique as Faulkner's, and this I suppose is true in that the younger man's work offers a Faulkner-like view of local (New York) misery—turmoil, exasperation, nostalgia; Lesbians, rabbis, Fire Island cottages, all tied together by a tireless, gushing, rhetorical crosshatching of strokes. Sometimes the superimposed texture is excitingly incorporated in the compositional structure, as when it helps to build an abstract chunk of atmospheric space between one head and another; more often it is an unintelligible self-indulgence, burying the picture in a vagueness of feathers, flax, or mud.

Rivers is so taken up with the stereotyped sloppiness of present-day "intra-subjective" painting that he loses any chance for playing with such powerful and subtle machinery as shape, contour, three-dimensional composition. But the

important thing today seems to be all-over pattern, and Rivers certainly gets that, both with his texture and his bushy, succulent islands of color—Bonnard's "spots" blown into broccoli. Indelicacy permits him to beef up his canvas by taking advantage of the heavily mixed hues that find their way on to most contemporary palettes; he slams together endless combinations of pure pigment, working always for total ripeness with an unpleasant, mustardy zing and sweat; then he indiscriminately lodges these concoctions in ropes or bundles so as to establish a clumsy balance throughout the picture. The paint sweats or dries flat over a surface made luxuriously

MUST PAMPHLETS FOR Nation Readers

WORLD COOPERATION AND SOCIAL PROGRESS • By Ralph J. Bunche, Paul H. Douglas, William Green, Selman A. Waksman and others. Harry W. Laidler, Editor.

Price 25¢

FREEDOM AND THE WELFARE STATE • By Oscar R. Ewing, Herbert H. Lehman, George Meany, Walter P. Reuther, Norman Thomas and others.

25¢

BRITISH LABOR IN GOVERNMENT AND OPPOSITION • By Harry W. Laidler.

25¢

LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY
112 East 19th Street, New York 3, N. Y.

LET'S LOOK AT THE RECORD

by Thomas R. Amlie

"There is nothing so terrible as to see the people misled by leaders who hate and despise them." —Herman Melville.

This volume makes it possible for the first time to look at the records of our congressmen. The 666 key roll calls of the past 20 years are explained in 850 pages of text. The appendix in 250 pages tabulates more than 75,000 votes.

Francis Downing in the Commonwealth,
Aug. 3, 1951

"In this remarkable book Mr. Amlie has assembled the only meaningful history of our modern Congress. For what he gives is the actual voting record of Congress on leading issues for that period of time. The roll calls on such things as Taxation, Public Power, Labor Legislation, Civil Liberties, Foreign Policy, etc., are here, all set down. An enormous task of painstaking research has been accomplished by Mr. Amlie. For he has listed the votes, on 660 chief roll calls, of 531 of our Congressmen."

U. S. Senator Wayne Morse on Senate floor, May 10, 1951

"A tremendous amount of work, the kind of digging-out job that is not very often done . . . a remarkably objective study and factual presentation of the voting records of Members of Congress."

Violet Gunther in The Nation, June 23, 1951

"LET'S LOOK AT THE RECORD should be a required sourcebook for anyone . . . in the field of politics. . . . An invaluable encyclopedia of political ammunition."

Wm. E. Bohn in the New Leader, June 18 1951

"He has condensed twenty years of congressional activity into a (single) volume . . . (Tom Amlie) is a recognized political book-keeper."

\$10.00 prepaid. 612 pages.
THE CAPITAL CITY PRESS
121 NORTH SPENCER STREET
MADISON 5, WISCONSIN

scummy by wild underbrushing, but the color is always visceral, acid rich, and so contemptuously and angrily applied as to be visually exciting. Unconcerned with grace, Rivers builds stolid archaic forms: take the trundled coffin in his huge cemetery opus; simply by cross-hatching a squarish white hulk out of dark space, he makes the casket assume the solemnity and grandeur of something finger-painted by Courbet.

All his techniques are self-deprecatory, mournful, destructively mushy; it is a grandiloquent sentimentality rooted, I imagine, in the orthodox-Jewish tenebrous life which provides most of his subject matter. It is this—plus the commitment at an early age to the sophisticated smear-drip-run academy of New York abstraction—which could so restrict the gifted Rivers to a rut of soulful exhibitionism that he might never grow up to be more than the Gershwin of the easel.

Richard Pousette-Dart, on the other hand, is something close to the Bobby Thomson of the spontaneity boys, as well as one of the unheralded pioneers of their group. With the quiet assurance of a man who keeps to himself and the untroubled reflexes of an Eagle Scout, he continues to knock out clean, competent, elegant, decisive line drives. Working with the tirelessness, dependability, and shrewdness of a good

mechanic—he loves gadgets—and the unerring taste of one who was buried in art from his eighth year on by a poet mother and a painter father, Pousette-Dart is a jack-of-all-trades (painting, sculpture, jewelry, photography, poetry, vegetarianism) who has had one or two impressive shows every year since 1941, when he introduced what was to become the bread-and-butter technique of the automatic school.

Now on view at the Betty Parsons Gallery—and drawing that inevitable question from the witless: "Tell me, are any of these paintings Pollock's?"—his recent output amounts to sculpture on canvas, veneered with an amorphous, glamorous crust of bright molecular color and half-remembered shapes (necklace, streamer, baroque vase) from the entire history of modern art. Each huge phantasmagoria is latticed horizontally and vertically like a many-paned early-American window over which some Martian has drawn his concept of the innards of an Elgin watch. A typical picture shows a field of gems built to ponderous thickness by every means of application except water pistol, coerced into a moody, earthy feeling by over-emphasis of texture and weight of pigment at the expense of true luster. Though the surface is imbued with deep red-salmon (or denim-blue or forest-green) fluorescence and jammed with mosaic-like bits of astonishing warmth, there is an over-all flatness, muteness, and sullenness of tone that one associates with the closeted sensitivity of the deaf.

In fact, Pousette-Dart deliberately subjugates beauty to his own hygienic gear-and-lever religiosity ("I want to do the mysteries of wheels, put magic into bicycles . . ."), and paints this part of himself into his pictures shrewdly and treacherously, without falling back on the formula of so many of his colleagues who know what their so-called "automatic" oeuvres will look like before they even start smearing, splattering, and scumbling. Yet his works, though momentarily impressive, merely nudge rather than move the spectator. Like a Hemingway story, they present a perfection of tasteful styling and impact that becomes close-mouthed and incommunicado at all points beneath the skin.

The other openings, including the

long-in-preparation Ensor exhibit at the Museum of Modern Art, seem less important than those of Rivers and Pousette-Dart. I will try to discuss the Ensor another week; I certainly suggest that you see it. Less certainly, I recommend these other displays: Lehmbruck and his Weltschmerzian friends (Valentin); Alfred Russell's dizzy skating on an isinglass ground (Peridot); Hugh Weiss, one of Dr. Barnes's last students (Hacker).

Music

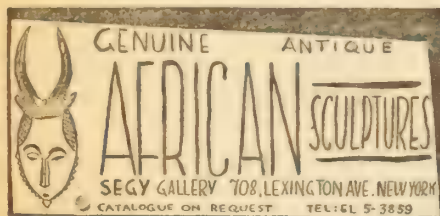
B. H. HAGGIN

URANIA'S Lieder Recital by Tiana Lemnitz offers three unfamiliar and uninteresting songs of Schubert, a few occasionally pretty ones of Cornelius, and a couple of good ones by Wolf, and lovely singing except for the tremolo in the upper range of Lemnitz's voice. Gritty surfaces.

The tremolo is absent from Lemnitz's performances (with only piano accompaniment, regrettably) of Wagner's Wesendonck Songs, which are not all as extraordinary as "Im Treibhaus." On the same Urania record are Lemnitz's shrill, tremulous performance (with orchestra) of *Dich, teure Halle* from "Tannhäuser" and her better singing in the duet from "Lohengrin," in which there is also the beautifully fluent and sensitive singing of Franz Völker. No texts for the opera excerpts; surfaces a little sputtery.

The magnificent contralto voice of Margarete Klose is heard, on another Urania record, in a number of mostly declamatory songs of Schubert, and is most impressive in the declamation of an excerpt from Monteverdi's "Arianna" (in German) and the sustained phrases of *Ombra mai fu* from Handel's "Xerxes" (in Italian) and *Che farò* from Gluck's "Orfeo" (in German), the end of which is distorted by the recording. No texts for the opera excerpts.

RCA Victor's LP record of Schubert songs sung by Marian Anderson reveals the fact that the voice has lost much of its beauty in its upper range and is not always securely on pitch. The lower range, however, still has the extraordinary timbre and voluminous richness



Buy Your Books through THE Nation

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C. O. D. No C. O. D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to
Miss Le Pach

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
20 Vesey Street New York 7, N. Y.

which give impressive effect to the second part of "Der Tod und das Mädchen" and to the differentiation of the three voices in "Der Erlkönig." These, and the "Ave Maria" which calls only for sustained legato singing, are her best performances; in the other songs the life that must be created by phrasing is contributed by the piano-playing of Franz Rupp—e. g. in the accompaniment figures of "Die Forelle." Bass must be stepped up to give the piano sound sufficient body; the crackling surface of my record gets very noisy at the end of side 2. No texts.

Mahler's song-cycle "Kindertotenlieder," similar in expressive content and idiom to the concluding song of "Das Lied von der Erde," is sung on a Columbia record by Kathleen Ferrier with the Vienna Philharmonic under Bruno Walter, and on a Urania record by Lorri Lail with the Radio Berlin Symphony under Rolf Kleinert. The Urania performance is good, but less effective and moving than the Columbia with Walter's richer elaboration of detail and the splendors of Ferrier's singing. On the Urania record is also a good performance of Mahler's early "Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen" by Josef Metternich, baritone, with the Radio Berlin Symphony under Leopold Ludwig. Both records are not quiet, and get very noisy at the end.

Alban Berg's concert aria "Der Wein" is sung by Charlotte Boerner with Werner Janssen's Orchestra on one side of a Capitol record; and the other side has a commentary and an analysis of the piece by Alfred Frankenstein of the San Francisco *Chronicle*. Mr. Frankenstein explains (insufficiently, I think) the twelve-tone-row procedure of the piece; he also analyzes its structure (questionably, I think) as another example of Berg's use of instrumental forms—in this instance a one-movement sonata-form overture or symphony—in his vocal writing; and he ends with a repetition of Berg's advice that the listener concern himself not with the instrumental forms of the music of "Wozzeck" but solely with its expressivity—which would seem to make Mr. Frankenstein's rather expensive analysis unnecessary. Concerning myself solely with the expressivity of "Der Wein," I find that unlike "Wozzeck" it has none for me in relation to

its text; nor does it have any for me in and for itself. The performance seems good; surfaces are very poor.

Except for two fine extended choral sections at the beginning and end, Schütz's Passion according to St. John is mostly recitative which after a while did not hold my interest. The performance on the Renaissance record is a good one by the Stuttgart Choral Society and soloists directed by Hans Grischkat.

The six cantatas that make up Bach's Christmas Oratorio are performed on four Renaissance records by the same chorus with soloists and orchestra directed by Grischkat. As in Bach's other cantatas the choral sections, and particularly the chorales, are beautiful and moving, but the soloists' arias are, to my ears, dull. The chorus and solo bass are good, the other soloists adequate, the playing of the orchestra a mere production of the notes without anything that could be called phrasing. Bass must be reduced; surfaces are noisy.

A fine work of Handel, his Ode for St. Cecilia's Day, with imposing choruses and beautiful arias, is well performed (in German, regrettably) on a Urania record by the Rudolf Lamy Choir, a lovely soprano, Lore Hoffmann, and excellent tenor, Walter Ludwig, and the Radio Berlin Symphony under Artur Rother.

Another good work of this type, Handel's Dettingen Te Deum, is on a WCFM record, less well performed by the Chancel Choir of the National Presbyterian Church and undistinguished soloists with the National Gallery Orchestra under Richard Bales. Several numbers suffer from the failure to fill in the harmony between bass and melody. Surfaces are not quiet; bass must be stepped up.

Mozart's Mass K.192 is interesting in the way its small scale compels him to crowd an effective expressive stroke into almost every successive phrase of the Credo; but there is beautiful sustained and developed writing for the soloists in the Benedictus, and the Agnus Dei is also very beautiful. It is well performed by the Salzburg Mozarteum Chorus, soloists, and orchestra under Hermann Schneider. On the same Lyricord record are the imposing Dixit and Magnificat K.193. Bass and treble must be reduced to minimum; surfaces crackle.

CONTRIBUTORS

WILLARD SHELTON was formerly *The Nation's* Washington correspondent.

BARRINGTON MOORE, JR., a research associate at the Russian Research Center of Harvard University, is the author of "Soviet Politics: The Dilemma of Power."

LESLIE A. FIEDLER has departed for Italy, where he will teach during the winter at the University of Rome.

IRVING HOWE has recently published a critical biography of Sherwood Anderson. He is also the author, with B. J. Widick, of "The U. A. W. and Walter Reuther."

ERNEST JONES, who regularly reviews fiction for *The Nation*, is a member of the English Department of Queens College.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES has published several volumes of poems. His most recent book is a translation of Virgil's "Aeneid."

FOLLOW—the score!

Pocket-Sized, Low-Priced Editions
SCHUBERT All Violin Sonatas & Duos,08
BEETHOVEN 32 Piano Sonatas, 5 vols. 3.98
BACH * English & 6 French Suites,98
*from "Bach-Gesellschaft," 7 from "Urtext" ed.
MANY OTHERS—WRITE FOR FREE CATALOG
Order from Your Dealer, or direct from

LEA POKET SCORES Dept. W, Box 138
New York 32, N. Y.

30% Less than List on LP Records

Send 15¢ for LP catalog to:

DISCOUNT RECORD CLUB

DEPT. N-33

Box 533, Grand Central Station, New York 17, N. Y.
Add 15¢ per record postage and handling charges
(50¢ minimum) SAME-DAY SHIPMENT

PULITZER PRIZE and CRITICS' AWARD

RICHARD RODGERS & OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN
present in association with
LELAND HAYWARD & JOSHUA LOGAN

ROGER RICO
MARTHA WRIGHT

South Pacific

Music by RICHARD RODGERS
Lyrics by OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd

Book by
OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd & JOSHUA LOGAN
Adapted from JAMES A. MICHENER'S Pulitzer
Prize Winning "TALES OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC"

Directed by JOSHUA LOGAN
Scenery & Lighting by Jo Mielziner
with Myron McCORMICK & Diana COSTELLO
MAJESTIC, 44 St. W. of B'way • Air-Cond.
Evenings 8:30. Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:30

Letters to the Editors

Washington's Ober Law

Dear Sirs: I have been interested in your coverage of the rash of test oaths currently being inflicted upon educators and civil servants. I don't believe I have seen anything in *The Nation* on the Washington State situation, and I hasten to assure you that we have been by no means immune to the present epidemic. In the last session of the state legislature a duplicate of the Ober law was jammed through at the last minute and in the total absence of hearings. July 1 was set as the deadline for oaths to be submitted by all state, county, and city employees. Under penalty of perjury signers had to swear they were familiar with and understood the loose definition of subversion in the law and that they were not subversive persons. Since no organization has ever been legally declared subversive in the state it would take a more penetrating mind than mine to understand why anyone should be asked to state that he is not a member of any organization which some official may decide at some later date to name. Heaven help the civil servant whose crystal ball happens to be out of order, because if he guesses wrong about what's going to be found subversive he is liable to a long stretch in prison. It need hardly be said that the

concept of loyalty by coercion cuts to the heart of the Bill of Rights.

At least two employees stood on principle and refused to make the compromise on July 1. Some Seattle employees, including myself, submitted the required statement, but appended our own remarks below our signatures. These varied from a simple statement, "not willingly signed," to longer, more detailed protests. Some time in August the Seattle Civil Service Commissioner turned these over to the Corporation Counsel for an opinion as to whether or not we had complied with the law. The result was an ultimatum which in effect ruled out such protest and made it clear that we could not sign unwillingly or with any reservations, but that we had to sign and *like it*. As there was not enough time allowed to put up any kind of organized resistance, it was a yes-or-no proposition. Two of us voted no, and Seattle is now minus the services of a fire department clerk and a librarian.

However slight the individual contributions which we made to the general protest against these measures, I am sure none of it is lost and that the cumulative effect of all the voices raised in defense of civil liberties will play a part in stemming the tide of witch-hunting and thought control.

Seattle

JEAN E. HUOT

The C. O. in Double Jeopardy

[In printing a condensed version of the following letter in our issue of July 28 an inadvertent editorial error changed the meaning of one sentence. We are happy to reprint Mrs. Eaton's letter in full with our apologies for the error.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Dear Sirs: I am glad to see in the current issue of *The Nation* a letter about the plight of the conscientious objector in this country. It is a disgraceful situation.

At the time of the war-criminal trials in Nürnberg, some of the accused pleaded not guilty on the ground that they were personally innocent of the atrocities they had committed because they were only obeying orders of their superiors. The American judges ruled that that did not exonerate the individual, who should have acted in accordance with the dictates of his conscience.

In this country, when a man follows his conscience and refuses to obey orders to become part of a machine organized for the purpose of murdering his fellow-men, American judges operate on a different principle and sentence him to prison.

Into the bargain, after a conscientious objector has served the sentence imposed for non-registration in Selective Service, through some legal quibbling he is often brought again to trial and again sentenced. This is obviously double jeopardy. In a recent case of a young Quaker who had served his sentence for non-registration, he was retried on such trivial counts as failing to report for physical examination (a part, of course, of the formalities of registering) and sentenced to five years on each of three counts: fifteen years—the same sentence given one of the atom-bomb traitors! The judge apparently couldn't face the outcry over this obvious miscarriage of justice and, although he refused to reduce the sentences, allowed the three of five years each to run concurrently. There are many conscientious objectors now in the same situation, and while the letter of the law against double jeopardy may be carried out, it is patent that the spirit of the law is disregarded.

HELEN S. EATON

Braintree, Mass.

FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE

The NATION

☐ with Harper's Magazine . . . \$9.50 You Save \$2.50

The NATION

☐ with Consumer Reports . . . \$10.75 You Save \$1.25

These club combinations are for one year, and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses. Remittance must accompany all combination orders.

THE NATION by itself:

☐ 1 Year \$7 ☐ 2 Years \$12 ☐ 3 Years \$17

SERVICEMEN'S RATE \$5 A YEAR

Canadian and Foreign Postage \$1 a year extra.

THE NATION, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

- I want to subscribe to *The Nation* for _____ years.
☐ Remittance enclosed. ☐ Bill me.
- I enclose my remittance for the following *Nation* combinations listed below.

NAME _____

STREET _____

CITY _____ ZONE _____ STATE _____

10/13/61

Crossword Puzzle No. 434

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1, 21 down, 9 across. Implying parts of
midget batteries should be associated
with good receiving apparatus.
(6, 8, 4, '3, 4)
9 See 1 across.
10 Goes over head or overhead. (7)
11 Eventually by the sole repair sta-
tion. (2, 4)
12 This about sums things up. (3, 2, 3)
14 Humbles. (7)
15 One might do this while pressing his
suit. (5)
17 He's an unusual sort of poet. (5)
19 This follower starts off with a pound,
and ends up with a dollar change.
(7)
21 Ground hog in its other form. (8)
23 Put away. (6)
25 A freshman is supposed to be so in-
experienced. (7)
26 Flirted, in more ways than one. (7)
27 The way to a southern university?
(3-4, 7)

DOWN

- 1 Bookkeeper? (7)
2 Language like touchwood? (7)
3 Attractive to lose and a burden to
rock. (7)
4 and 8. Such duties of the clergy are
no longer spoken. (8)

- 5 Sensitive, yet with difficulty. (10)
6 Part of Hispaniola. (5)
7 Substitute corded fabric with open-
work. (7)
8 See 4 down.
13 Dog fish going to bed with its tail
not up? (10)
15 Hamlet said the first was the last,
but just a bauble. (9)
16 Unquestionably the way Clyde died!
(9)
18 The end of an alcoholic might be to
slip over a fast argument. (4, 3)
20 13 might have such a functionless
digit. (7)
21 See 1 across.
22 Arbutus does. (5)
24 This sort of path was high at
Memphis. (4)

• • • • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 433

ACROSS:—1 CONDITIONS; 6 and 8 OVER-
RING; 10 PATIENT; 11 USHER IN; 12
COUNTING HOUSES; 14 TYPIFIED; 15
HAWAII; 16 EPARCH; 18 ARTISTIC; 22
THE TRUMP OF DOOM; 24 AMAZONS;
25 INVOICE; 26 DUTY; 27 CARTWRIGHT.

DOWN:—1 CAPACITIES; 2 NO-TRUMP; 3
and 23 IDENTIFICATION CARD; 4 IN-
TENSE; 5 NAUGHT; 7 VERBENA; 9
RHEUMATIC FEVER; 13 CIRCUMVENT;
17 ATHWART; 19 REPRINT; 20 TOOTING;
21 RUSSIA.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address
requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

RESORTS

50 MILES TO FOREST HOUSE

Near enough for easy travel, far enough for an
unforgettable vacation. Forest House achieves
new levels of gay relaxation in inspiring sur-
roundings. Superb food, fine accommodations,
cordial hospitality. Two grand lakes. All sports.

FOREST HOUSE

Lake Mahopac, N. Y. • Tel. MAhopac 8-3449

WINDY HILL

ON ORANGE LAKE

A pleasantly informal vacation in friendly atmosphere.
Books, Records, Ping-pong, a two-mile lake for boat-
ing, fishing, swimming. Food of excellent quality in
generous quantity. Rate: \$45 weekly, \$7.50 daily.

65 Miles From N. Y. C.

JANE C. ARENZ, R. D. No. 1, Walden, N. Y.

Phone: Newburgh 115 W 2



FARMS & ACREAGE

HUNTING SEASON bargains: 1-75 acres;
new lodge; fireplace with heatilator; view;
woods; small pond; spring; deer; pheasant;
grouse; near ski tow, \$3500. Terms. 1 mile
Route 22. 2 three-room lodge; 30 ft. living
room; phone; electricity, spring; view; 5
acres. \$2500. Also acreage tracts in good
locations for summer use and hunting.
Berkshire Farm Agency, East Chatham,
New York.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING analysis.
Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel.
WA 4-1575. Cooperating with doctors, psy-
chologists, schools, firms, industries. Lessons
by appointment, evenings. Marital, educa-
tional, vocational, psychological problems.
Fee, \$5.00.

PUBLISHING SERVICE

AUTHORS! Sales Department available
for your short stories, articles, books and
plays. Free booklet, write today! Mead
Agency, 419 Fourth Avenue, N. Y. 16
(OR 9-1150).

WE print, publish and distribute your non-
fiction or fiction manuscript in pamphlet or
book form. Send for free folder. WILLIAM
FREDERICK PRESS, 313 West 35th St.,
New York 1, N. Y.

PERSONALS

exit loneliness

Somewhere there is someone
you would like to know.
Somewhere there is someone
who would like to know you.
We can help you find a richer,
happier life through discreet,
dignified "social introductions."
Write for booklet, or phone
MAY RICHARDSON
Dept. TN, 111 West 72 Street
New York City EN 2-2093



WOULD YOU LIKE TO MEET, if un-
married and matrimonially minded and able
to furnish references, SOMEONE WHO
MIGHT LIKE TO MEET YOU? Method
of operation duly copyrighted and filed
with the Better Business Bureau of New
York City. Write for particulars without
obligation. Address Personal Introduction
Service, (Suite 415), 2112 Broadway, New
York 23, N. Y.



Free TO NEW MEMBERS
OF THE
American History Book Society
THE ONLY BOOK CLUB DEVOTED
ENTIRELY TO AMERICAN HISTORY

ACROSS THE WIDE MISSOURI

By BERNARD DeVOTO

Pulitzer Prize Winning Book

A 483-page, indexed volume containing a 96-page section of contemporary watercolor paintings — 32 pages in full color — by Alfred Jacob Miller and others, most of them previously unpublished. With an account of the discovery of the Miller collection by MAE REED PORTER.

The story of the Mountain Men who trapped and fought in the violent period 1833-38... the wind and the thirst of the trail, the fierce losing battle of the Indians, the merciless tactics of rival fur companies, the thrill of the buffalo hunt, the trapping of beaver, the mad Saturnalia of lone hunters in their Summer rendezvous... and the great political and economic issues that came to grips in that vast Rocky Mountain no-man's-land. Faithful and detailed watercolors, made from sketches in the field, add special interest to the exciting text.

Regular Retail Price \$10.00

FREE to new members

WHY MEMBERSHIP IN THE *American History Book Society* IS IMPORTANT TO YOU

The American History Book Society differs from any other book club in existence. It was founded to enable its members to build a library of Americana—books of permanent importance. Many of these titles are available today only at high prices. Yet the same books, in their original editions, will be offered to members only at savings as high as 40% or more.

Also, the Society will encourage publication of important new works by offering awards to outstanding writers in American history... and will reprint rare, out-of-print classics that only a few fortunate collectors now own.

It costs nothing to join this distinguished Society. Signing

and mailing the coupon enrolls you. Each month the Society's editors select an outstanding current book. You pay only for the books you want, after you receive them, at the reduced, special member's price plus a small fixed mailing charge. When you join, we send you *Across The Wide Missouri* FREE. For each additional four selections you buy, we send you a valuable Bonus Book FREE. And we also give you, FREE, a subscription to *Americana*, monthly magazine that among other features tells you about next month's selection.

If you do not want the forthcoming book, you simply return a printed form. You enroll for no fixed term, and you may buy as few as four Society selections a year.

Start your membership with
THE JEFFERSONIANS
A Study in Administrative History, 1801-1829
By LEONARD D. WHITE

With this pioneering work, Professor White continues the valuable studies in administrative history which he so brilliantly began in *The Federalists*. A wealth of illuminating detail and lively human interest tell a fascinating story of how our infant government converted "a paper constitution into a living reality."

Regular Retail Price \$6.00

Member's Price
\$4.75

\$16
WORTH OF
BOOKS FOR
\$4.75
IF YOU
JOIN NOW

Society books are books you'll be proud to own!

Send the coupon now to make sure that you reserve a membership.

This coupon makes you a member with all privileges

THE AMERICAN HISTORY
BOOK SOCIETY, Dept. N,
226 Broadway, New York 7, N. Y.



Please enroll me as a member. I am to receive, FREE as a gift upon joining, *Across The Wide Missouri*. With it, send as my first selection *The Jeffersonians* at the special, low member's price of \$4.75 plus 30¢ postage and packing charge. I will receive *Americana* FREE every month. I will receive a FREE Bonus Book for each additional four selections I buy, and my only obligation is to accept four Society selections the first year I am a member.

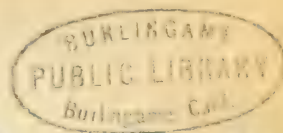
Name.....

Address.....

City.....Zone.....State.....

Around the U. S. A.—A *New Feature*

THE *Nation*



October 20, 1951

LONDON CALLING

The British Elections

BY HOWARD K. SMITH

✱

Quebec's Bitter Brew

Not for the Royal Taste

BY HENRY MONTCALM

✱

And Now Stassen

BY WILLARD SHELTON

✱

The Lobby in America

BY H. H. WILSON

AROUND THE U. S. A.

Squirrel Cage

Muncie, Ind., October 5

JUDGE WILLIAM E. STECKLER of the Federal District Court for Southern Indiana has just sentenced Amos Brokaw of Muncie to two years' imprisonment in a repeat prosecution for violation of the draft act. Brokaw's defense was the prohibition of double jeopardy in the Fifth Amendment.

Brokaw was classified under the 1940 draft act as a conscientious objector and spent eighteen months in Civilian Public Service as a laborer and as a guinea pig in pneumonia experiments. Convinced that the army was using conscript labor for civilian work not of national importance, he walked out of C. P. S. and into prison. After serving a six months' sentence he was set free, got a job, and entered college.

Upon enactment of the 1948 draft law Brokaw failed to register and for his defiance paid a \$100 fine and spent four months in Mill Point prison camp. On his release he was registered by prison officials and classified by his local board as 1-A. Even if the 1948 act had provided for alternative service, Brokaw would not have signed for non-combatant duty. He condemns stretcher-bearers as strongly as Tolstoy did, but for different reasons. To Tolstoy they were vain men, seeking social approval; to Brokaw they are necessary cogs in the military machine.

When the 1948 law was extended in 1950, the local board, of which Brokaw's college dean is chairman, was again at his heels. By this time he had a wife and children whose dependency might have prevented his call to active duty. But he still refused to serve, and his arrest followed.

For his third trial the defendant waived a jury. Judge Steckler was calm, curious, patient—in complete contrast to the fiery pinwheel of New York's Southern District, Judge Sylvester Ryan, who in 1950 sentenced Alfred Bergdoll to a five-year term.

It is easy for the individual absolutist to cut a ridiculous figure, as Bernard Shaw has demonstrated. But Shaw's old revolutionary was the perfect Trotskyite; he was left of left on every possible issue, not as in this case on ■

single paramount question. Brokaw looked no sillier in court than John Brown of Ossawatimie. Claiming no creed or church affiliation, he merely insisted that war was as impractical between nations as between members of a family. Implicit in his statement was the conclusion that the citizen must compel his government to operate without a war machine by withdrawing the only strategic material he controls—himself.

Brokaw tried in vain to convey to the court the difference between passive resistance or non-resistance and the Gandhian political tactic of coercion without violence. If he had made his religious training or beliefs his excuse he would have fared no better. In the same court on the same day Stephen Simon, a Maryland Quaker, was tried a second time for defying the draft act on strictly religious grounds and drew the same sentence—two years.

AS EXPECTED, Judge Steckler gave short shrift to the double-jeopardy claim, choosing to regard the offenses just as he would a succession of traffic violations by a driver. Distressed by the sincerity of the two pacifists before him, offered both a chance to "take advantage" of C. O. status, to cooperate with the military system and go straight. But neither had come so far to bargain for escape.

The judge was properly concerned that his decision should not encourage other men to resist conscription, which, of course, was the purpose of the defendants. After he had dwelt upon his duty to consider the effect of his decision upon society, which he seemed to identify as Congress, he permitted Brokaw to say, "While I realize I am incurring the wrath of society as represented by the United States government, I feel that for the totality of society the course I am pursuing is the best."

There is a wealth of precedent to support Judge Steckler's decision. Five-year sentences for defiance of conscription, whether on a first or repeat prosecution, are not unknown in the United States, although the average prison term for abjuring violence is rather less than that for planning to advocate it. Only after wide protest was the second term

of Robert Mitchener, a Kansas Quaker, reduced from ten years to five by Judge Delmas Hill.

A MORE severe sentence for Brokaw might have been expected after the Indianapolis *Star's* front-page "exposure" of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Prohibition Party's youth group, with both of which Brokaw was affiliated. The *Star* had accused the draft-defiers of conspiring to overthrow the United States by non-violence, and even attacked the inveterate anti-Communist A. J. Muste, for his un-American activity of refusing to pay war taxes. The Prohibitionists, dismayed to learn of their guilt by association, had read the youth group out of the party. The *Star* takes small comfort from the standard assertion that Gandhian methods will work only in a land of mysticism and intends to make sure its public is so hag-ridden by anti-communism that no one will dare experiment with new-fangled stuff from the Bhagavad Gita.

Two weeks after these newspaper "revelations" another member of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Richard Talbert of Sheridan, was arrested and indicted in Indianapolis. G. I. who had been in C. O. status, not only was not released but had put into the draft board a coldly worded appeal to the Truman Administration. He was released to return to his work with the Friends Service Committee.

The record for cat-in-the-hat is still held by Englewood, an obstinate pacifist, George, whose name, has been proposed for non-cooperation. The draft law releases a man on C. O.'s, after a year of service, no limits are set for precedent to the number of prosecutions a draft-defier may face. He will be a hopeless recidivist till his twenty-seventh year unless the Fifth Amendment gets a shot in the arm.

Meanwhile the professional veterans, lawyers, and over-age militarists who make up our draft boards should consider whether their persistent effort to force believers in non-resistance into uniform may not be alienating enough people to become in time quite self-defeating.

ELIZABETH TOOBY

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 173

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • OCTOBER 20, 1951

NUMBER 16

The Shape of Things

IN THIS SEASON OF INVESTIGATIONS WE would like to propose an investigation of Senator McCarran's investigation of the Institute of Pacific Relations. Consider, for example, the matter of the Budenz testimony. Joseph Alsop, with first-hand knowledge of the facts, directly contradicts Budenz on a vital point in three articles which are now part of the *Congressional Record*. Henry Wallace then confirms Alsop. Wallace is finally given a chance to testify but at an executive session of the committee and only after a stern warning that no statements were to be released to the press. Alsop, who is the key witness, is not called, although he has publicly invited a subpoena. In the meantime, however, the witness Budenz is recalled, with great fanfare, and repeats his former testimony, without substantial modification, at a public hearing. It is now asserted that long before his first appearance as a witness before the McCarran committee, Budenz had been shown correspondence between Mr. Wallace and Alfred Kohlberg of the China lobby which congratulated Wallace on his support for the Nationalists in China. If this is true, then the later testimony of Budenz cannot be dismissed as being merely a false "interpretation" of past events; it was false in fact. Arthur Krock, who can hardly be accused of being "soft" toward communism, gave an admirable summary of the weird witch-hunt being conducted by McCarran in the *New York Times* of October 11. "Mr. McCarran gave assurances," he points out, "that the reputations of all concerned would be protected. . . . But at this writing the subcommittee has opened the record to numerous personal attacks on individuals, largely by Mr. Budenz. And it has not yet begun the balancing process, although the publicity already given to his charges makes that process overdue, which would be served by prompt public testimony from Mr. Wallace and Mr. Alsop. On the subcommittee are Senators who vehemently agreed with Senator Lodge when he asserted that the 1950 McCarthy inquiry by the Tydings group was 'superficial, inconclusive,' often lacking 'impartiality,' 'a tangle of loose threads of witnesses who were not subpoenaed, of leads which were not followed up.' Yet some of these Senators seem to be moving in the same direction."

WE SHOULD ALSO LIKE TO SUPPLEMENT Willard Shelton's report in this issue (page 321) on Harold Stassen's participation in the hearings of the McCarran committee. Careless with the truth, Stassen has also demonstrated a willingness to injure others, for no apparent purpose, which will not add to his moral stature. His references to Andrew Roth and Lawrence Rosinger as "Communist propagandists" were false, but even if true they would not have added an iota of plausibility to his argument that the State Department had transferred its "foot-dragging" attitude from China to India. And Mr. Rosinger's subsequent refusal to be intimidated by Stassen's wild claims was most encouraging. What is surprising about Stassen's testimony, in fact, is not its phoniness and opportunism but its stupidity.

✱

ATTACKING THE "EXTRAORDINARY FATUITY that comes over the stuffed shirts in foreign offices and embassies" the Manchester *Guardian* charged on October 17 that a new Persian effort to start negotiations on a basis more favorable to Britain was needlessly rebuffed. Publishing the full text of the proposals, the *Guardian* suggested they were rejected largely because the Foreign Office and its embassy in Teheran had decided not to negotiate with Dr. Mossadegh under any conditions. British officials had also pointed out that the document was "undated, unsigned, and not on official paper." The fact that the proposals were put forward by the pro-Western Hussein Ala, who represents the Shah as Court Minister, apparently did not count with the Foreign Office. Nor did the fact that Iran had modified its claim in two important respects. It would now permit the new refinery manager to be a "foreign technician," possibly British; in fact, Mr. Ala apparently gave the British Ambassador an oral assurance that Iran intended to appoint a Briton. And it offered to allow the British government to buy its oil at half price until its compensation claims were covered. According to the *Guardian*, the Prime Minister, the Foreign Secretary, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer were away from London when the proposals were rejected, which suggests to certain Labor M. P.'s that the bungling and bad advice of Conservatives in the Foreign Office have given Mr. Churchill an effective stick with which to belabor the government.

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

- The Shape of Things 317
 Egypt: the Cause Behind the Issue
by Freda Kirchwey 318

ARTICLES

- The British Elections *by Howard K. Smith* 320
 And Now Stassen *by Willard Shelton* 321
 Rearmament: the Undebated Issue
by Keith Hutchison 322
 Peace Through Trade *by J. Alvarez del Vayo* 324
 Limit Whose Taxes? *by Norman Redlich* 326
 Quebec's Bitter Brew *by Henry Montcalm* 328

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

- The Lobby in America *by H. H. Wilson* 330
 American Comic *by Irving Howe* 330
 Literature in the U. S. S. R.
by Hubert Creekmore 331
 The Meaning of Democracy *by Saul K. Padover* 332
 Books in Brief 333
 Films *by Manny Farber* 334
 Drama *by Joseph Wood Krutch* 334
 Records *by B. H. Haggin* 335

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 336

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 435 *by Frank W. Lewis* opposite 336

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Associate Editor: Carey McWilliams

Foreign Editor J. Alvarez del Vayo *Literary Editor* Margaret Marshall

Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin

Assistant Editor: Charles R. Allen, Jr.

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside

Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting

Staff Contributors

Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: Mary Simon

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1951, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas. Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$7; Two years \$12; Three years \$17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: *The Nation* is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

Egypt: the Cause Behind the Issue

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

IF WASHINGTON really believes that the proposed inclusion of Egypt in a new Near Eastern defense system will end the trouble with Britain it is due to be disappointed. Such an offer will give the Egyptians an extensive field for expert bargaining, but agreement can be had only at a high price if at all. The fact that the abrogation of the two treaties—permitting Britain to maintain troops in the Suez Canal zone and governing the condominium over the Sudan—was announced just when the defense plan was about to be submitted to Cairo tells its own story. In effect it said that Egypt would enter any negotiations only as a nation which had cut the last threads of foreign control and done so unilaterally, not as part of a deal. That the action itself was a breach of the treaty agreements indicates the lengths to which Egypt is ready to go to assert its total independence. It seems most improbable that the question of defense, which so obviously dominates the approach of both Whitehall and the State Department, will have any moderating effect in Cairo.

On the contrary, it will only increase Egypt's already large bargaining power; for while the government of Mustafa Nahas Pasha has no oil to give or withhold and while it would probably not use force in an attempt to expel British troops from the canal zone, Egypt is still the key to the security of the Eastern Mediterranean. Its Wafdist government, strengthened rather than weakened by "opposition" parties and organizations even more chauvinist than itself, can if it wishes create an impossible situation for the Atlantic pact powers. In fact, while many details are different, the political position as a whole bears an uncomfortable likeness to that of Iran, whose bargaining strength is today being demonstrated in the United Nations. This is a moment when sheer nationalist passion, outweighing security or even apparent national interest, is the ultimate controlling force in an area of critical international concern—a fact both Britain and America have consistently underestimated ever since the war ended.

To say this is not to suggest that Egypt's present move is "correct." Certainly the 1936 treaty of alliance with Britain was dated and in need of revision; but it is not true that the treaty, as Egypt's politicians would have us believe, was forced upon a helpless and unwilling victim. On the contrary it was a long step toward the "liquidation" of British imperialism in the Middle East. It ended Britain's occupation of Egypt and established the political independence of the country. British forces were limited to the canal zone and on Britain's initiative

Egypt was unanimously voted into the League of Nations. Negotiated by the very Premier who has now announced its abrogation, the treaty was acclaimed in Egypt as a nationalist triumph. As for the condominium agreement, it has at least made possible the development of an enlightened and honest administration of the Sudan, chiefly under British control. To abolish it on the terms Egypt proposes would merely substitute Egyptian rule for British and wipe out some promising beginnings of social progress and self-government in the Sudan. This would mean not the end of imperialism but merely imperialism of a worse sort. Whether or not the Sudanese are ready for complete independence, they should certainly be consulted, under neutral auspices, before their status is altered. Principle apart, the condition of Egypt's masses is not such as to provide arguments for a shift in rulers.

Nor is Egypt's nationalism likely to prove impervious to offers. The government may be willing to join a defense system which would permit foreign troops to garrison the canal if its own preeminence is recognized and the special role of Britain is abolished. But it will certainly demand—and get—funds to build up its own armed forces, with the further purpose of establishing its dominance in the Arab League and its superiority vis-à-vis Israel. In fact the total bill Egypt will present is likely to contain other sizable items, apart from its permanent claims in the Nile Valley; almost certainly it will attempt, in the name of security, to force territorial concessions in the Negev at the expense of Israel. In fact, Egypt's denunciation of its treaties with Britain must be viewed as a continuation and expansion of its illegal blockade of the Suez Canal to cut off trade with Israel. One dispute gears into the next.

To try to stem these rising waters by arranging patchwork deals is a hopeless business, if only because no government in the position of Egypt's or Iran's or Iraq's can be counted upon to stay put. It can exact the utmost out of a dispute and then, under pressure of the forces at large in the country, repudiate its agreement and produce another crisis. It can do this without scruples, almost with a sense of virtue, because, however unjustified its behavior on any given issue, the cause behind the issue is just. The claims of the Arab states to actual rather than qualified independence cannot be compromised much longer; and the claims of the dependent areas to self-government is far over-due.

Visible links join Egypt, intent upon ousting the last vestiges of British rule, with Tunis and Morocco and Algiers. Even while Egypt pushes its case against Britain, the redoubtable Riff leader, Abd el Krim, operates from Cairo against Morocco's French and Spanish overlords. The fine talk in France at the war's end about converting the dependent areas into free members of a democratic French Union produced insignificant reforms. Nationalism and oppressive measures have increased together.

To mention Point Four sounds rather fatuous in a week when American military appropriations mounted to a \$94 billion total, and expenditures for peace dwindled almost to invisibility. It remains true, just the same, that security in the Mediterranean, or in the Arab world as a whole, cannot be had by "arrangements" with governments no matter what the price paid or the terms agreed to. Let Washington make the best possible deal with Egypt; it will be no stronger than the treaties Egypt has broken as long as the misery of the people creates enough smoldering unrest to provide a blaze any time the politicians need one to reinforce new demands.

The British Elections

BY HOWARD K. SMITH

London, October 14

ON THE surface, apathy seems to be the dominant characteristic of Britain's election campaign. Few campaign posters are to be seen on walls and fences. There have been no big mass rallies, and there will be none. All political meetings are being held in small rooms, school basements, gymnasiums, and the like. In fact, a curious visitor, if he took a holiday from the newspapers, could walk around central London all day and find little to make him aware that a campaign is on.

HOWARD K. SMITH is chief of the European bureau of the Columbia Broadcasting System.

October 20, 1951

Yet the people are not really apathetic; they simply have their own peculiar way of reaching the biggest decision a democratic electorate can make.

They have, for one thing, an equalizing elections law. Rich candidates or parties are prevented from having any advantage over poor candidates or parties. The expenditure allowed was always low, and now that the cost of everything, including politics, is soaring, candidates cannot afford to print more than a few hundred posters or to hold more than a limited number of meetings in hired halls. The big halls cannot be hired at all. One night's rental of one would exhaust any candidate's permitted campaign treasury. For another thing, the British

radio is required to be squeamishly non-partisan, and it succeeds by the simple expedient of forbidding all election news. Add to these technical obstacles the inborn British trait of liking to make serious decisions in a serious manner, and the calm surface of the campaign is accounted for.

But underneath beats a political pulse of uncommon vigor. A public-opinion poll the other day indicated that the proportion of the electorate voting may top the phenomenal figure of 84 per cent at the last general election. The reasons for the great public interest are not hard to find. While the parties have prepared for a routine campaign, world events have conspired to show that the situation is very unroutine and extraordinary. One stunning blow after another has shocked the people into an awareness that the nation's fortunes are at the lowest ebb since 1776. On Monday, Egypt announced its intention of breaking the treaty under which Britain garrisons the Suez. At midweek Iraq served notice that it wanted to renegotiate the agreement whereby Britain maintains air bases in that country. On the same day Premier Malan of South Africa demanded that Britain hand over a group of native protectorates in Africa to his anti-native government, or, to quote his words, he would take "other steps" to get them. And, finally, in New York, Iran rejected informally a Security Council proposal that might have saved Great Britain at least part of its biggest foreign investment—the oil refineries of Abadan.

The harsh truth is that the world in which Britain built its greatness has changed and that the margin of wealth and power from colonial and semi-colonial sources is fast disappearing. With characteristic historical insight, Winston Churchill summed up the situation this week in these words: "We have brought into being, through the progress of Victorian times, fifty million people on an island which grows food for only thirty million, and all the rest has to be provided for by the goods and services we can render to other countries. There never was a community of fifty million people standing at our high level of civilization on such an insecure foundation."

Other events of the week have driven home the fact that Britain's efforts to meet the situation are not proving adequate. Two days ago foreign trade figures for September were published. They showed a perilous fall in British exports. The excess of purchases over sales was three times what it was at this time last year. On top of this, coal production is not rising to meet demand.

THE outstanding feature of the campaign seems to be that seldom has such a large portion of the public had such a hard time making up its mind. Take the Gallup poll on the key question: "Whom will you vote for?" Three weeks ago the answers gave the Tories an eleven-point lead over Labor; this week the Tory lead

had been narrowed to six points. But on the subsidiary question, "Which of the two big parties do you feel will do the better by you personally?" the figures were just the opposite. Labor has a five-point lead over the Tories on this question. Ordinarily the party you think will benefit you most is the party you vote for, but in Britain, given the present state of national anxiety, people are making a sharp distinction. While the majority believe Labor would do most for them personally, they feel that the Tories are more likely to take the drastic measures necessary to meet the national crisis. The distinction reflects an admirable civic consciousness, but it is giving the pollsters a headache. The spread between the answers to these questions indicates a large potential last-minute switch. People are only half decided. There are doubtless many who, as in the American election of 1948, will enter the polling booth prepared to vote for one party but, facing the awful stare of the blank ballot, will put their cross down for the other. The best observers I know say the result cannot be predicted.

The difficulty is that the two chief parties have failed to offer distinctive programs. The Tories have moved so far toward the left, toward the welfare state, and the Laborites have moved so far to the right, away from pure socialism, that it is hard to find any sharp difference. The Tories say they detest nationalization of industries but will not denationalize coal, railways, or electricity. Laborites say they like nationalization but do not propose to nationalize any additional industries. This leaves both parties in about the same place. The Tory bias in favor of big business will not, as Churchill said last night, cause the party to take any action against the unions, any more than Labor's bias in favor of the unions has prevented Britain from accumulating considerable wealth in the last five years. Actually the scene is dominated by "liberals" opposing one another in the guise of Conservatives and Laborites. Voters are required to choose between them on the basis of personal qualities and of mere degrees of differing coloration.

The period after the elections, indeed, is likely to be more decisive for Britain than the elections themselves. The defeated party is almost certainly going to suffer a split. If Labor loses, the Bevanite left-wingers are likely to be removed, leaving the bulk of the party to Attlee, who is a liberal. If the Tories lose, Churchill—the only real Conservative—is likely to be eased into retirement, leaving the party leadership to Anthony Eden, who is also a liberal. Continuing economic crisis will make it ever harder for Eden and Attlee to maintain the artificial differences between them. Although many obstacles exist, events seem to be moving the politicians of both parties toward an expedient that most voters would probably prefer if only because it would relieve them of their indecision—namely, a political truce after the elections, and then a coalition.

And Now Stassen

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, October 10

IT STILL seems unlikely that the Wisconsin revolving Ananias, Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, will be expelled from the nation's most exclusive gentlemen's club by vote of his colleagues. Within the past few days, indeed, it has become apparent that McCarthyism is a hydra-headed monster. When the Wisconsin Senator is temporarily silenced, some superficially more respectable politician—most recently Harold E. Stassen—pops up to do his work for him. But Senator William Benton of Connecticut has delivered a blow which may prove really effective. The elections subcommittee headed by Senator Gillette of Iowa has voted a formal investigation of Benton's heavily documented charges that McCarthy is a perjurer, a habitual practitioner of deliberate deceit, and unworthy of Senate membership. If a few more key people show the courage of Benton and the members of the Gillette committee, the McCarthy blight may yet be eradicated—possibly by vote of the people of Wisconsin.

It is necessary, unfortunately, to discuss Mr. Stassen. The one-time self-designated liberal from Minnesota, who is now president of the University of Pennsylvania, upset the hearing on Philip C. Jessup by charging that two or three years ago Jessup favored recognition of Communist China. Appearing before the Sparkman committee considering Ambassador Jessup's nomination as an American delegate to the United Nations, Stassen disclaimed any sympathy for McCarthy's techniques, but after offering hearsay testimony on Jessup and China, he also flung in insinuations that Jessup was now scheming to "sell out" India to Stalin the way Formosa-first Republicans say the feeble Chiang Kai-shek was "sold out."

Stassen's evidence against Jessup on China was his memory of an oral conversation with the late Senator Vandenberg—not supported by Vandenberg's diary—and of a State Department conference in which Jessup said things that are subject to sundry interpretations as to motive and shades of meaning. To support his fantastic accusation of a current "plot" to "sell out" India Stassen claimed that the State Department had dragged its feet in granting Prime Minister Nehru's request for American wheat. The foot-dragging charge happens to be accurate: Senator Humphrey, Minnesota Democrat, tried his best for nearly a year to get the State Department to move more rapidly in meeting India's food deficiencies. But the primary reason for the delay was

that before giving or lending wheat to India the executive branch had to get the approval of Congress, which was and still is angry at Nehru. The department had to bring tremendous pressure on Congress to get the wheat loan finally voted this year, and the loan's opponents were in the main members of Stassen's Republican Party.

Some straight thinking about China is necessary. As long as Chinese armies are killing Americans and other United Nations troops in Korea, we can hardly recognize Mao Tse-tung's regime or consent to its admission into the U. N. But any American diplomat who two years ago was not "considering" recognition should have been fired as incompetent. We should still be "considering" recognition as something that may seem more advisable when the Korean fighting is over.

Recognition of a government does not imply approval of its nature. Traditionally the United States usually recognized a government that was in actual control of the territory it claimed to represent, and that is sound policy. Our long-range policy toward China must now be to try to separate any government on the Chinese mainland—Communist or non-Communist—from complete dependence upon and alliance with the Soviet Union. The issue in early 1949 was whether recognition or non-recognition offered the better approach. Rightly or wrongly, Acheson and Jessup decided, under President Truman, on non-recognition, and Stassen's belated complaints about what he thinks Jessup was "considering" are irrelevant. They tell more about Stassen than they do about Jessup, and they come with poor grace from a man who himself merely argued that the State Department should delay recognition about two years, to see how Mao Tse-tung's regime behaved.

The State Department would strengthen its position if it were less anxious to cover up, not its past sins and derelictions, but some of its occasional and half-forgotten virtues. It should not have permitted Stassen to smoke out the fact that it had once supported a proposal to withhold American aid from Chiang pending a "clarification" of the military situation. Such belated admissions will not strengthen the Administration against the political attack on its China policy which is certain to figure in next year's election. Nor does Dr. Jessup clarify either the moral or the political issue by his unapologetic admission of former participation in the America First movement.

For the record, it is not a new thing for McCarthy and Stassen to run in double harness. When McCarthy was

WILLARD SHELTON was formerly The Nation's Washington correspondent.

October 20, 1951

campaigning against Robert M. La Follette in the 1946 Republican senatorial primary, Stassen lent him a political operator as adviser, and this operator traveled to Washington as McCarthy's first administrative assistant.

To the disgrace of the Sparkman subcommittee and the Senate, Stassen's attack on Jessup has apparently had some effect. Senator Brewster, a true McCarthyite, is opposed to confirmation, and Senator H. Alexander Smith of New Jersey, a well-meaning but woolly-headed Republican, is apparently intellectually incapable of making a clean-cut decision between McCarthy and one of his victims. So there is talk that the nomination will be "passed over" until next session. This is preposterous, since the Jessup appointment was a direct challenge from Mr. Truman to the Senate to vote him up or vote him down. It would mean that Stassen—the respectable Republicans' McCarthy—had scored a minor triumph. If the Democrats and liberal Republicans tolerate this, it will simply postpone the time when honorable Senators must stand up and be counted.

As for McCarthy, he may be forced on the defensive by Benton and the Gillette-committee investigation as he has never been before. Benton's charge that McCarthy is a congenital liar unfit for Senate membership was heavily supported by the detailed recapitulation of his contradictory statements on the floor, in committee, and elsewhere. Perhaps Benton will now add another instance. After Jessup was recently cleared by the Loyalty Review Board, McCarthy told reporters that former Senator Bingham, board chairman, had told him (McCarthy) that Jessup was cleared only as a "loyalty risk," and that had it been possible to consider him as a "security risk," Jessup would have been turned down. Bingham promptly announced to the press, "I never told McCarthy any such

thing," adding that he hadn't even talked to McCarthy about Jessup.

The arrest, by the Swiss government, of Charles E. Davis on a charge of conducting "illegal political espionage" for McCarthy will not add to the Senator's popularity at home or abroad, and the trial of Davis may well turn up some interesting additional information about the strange career of Joe McCarthy.

McCarthy's present tactic is to refuse to appear before the Gillette committee. He has written Gillette that he has not read Benton's accusations and does not intend to. Naturally he hesitates to place himself in the defendant's chair and take the risks of cross-examination. But something may still be done. A report from the Gillette committee, even if it recommends merely censure, will help inform the people of Wisconsin what manner of man represents them in the Senate.

Governor Walter J. Kohler is considering running against McCarthy in the Republican senatorial primary next year. Tom Coleman, wealthy angel of Wisconsin Republicans, is trying to stop Kohler because he thinks a "party-splitting" fight would damage his own chances of delivering Wisconsin to Senator Taft as Republican Presidential nominee. No doubt he also realizes that a formal report from the Gillette committee might place Taft on a spot in the Senate. But some showdowns are coming.

Jessup's nomination invited one. Benton's attack may eventually lead to another on the moral leprosy of McCarthyism. One Republican Senator who, like most of his colleagues, despises McCarthy personally told me that Benton's hard-hitting attack through the Gillette committee offered the best chance yet to expose the gentleman from Wisconsin to the voters of his state.

Rearmament: the Undebated Issue

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

THE electoral battle in Britain is now fully joined, and until the counting of the votes on October 25 determines the complexion of the next British government, there will be no grappling with the mounting economic difficulties of the country. Nor, it appears, is there to be much realistic public discussion of the problems involved, even though the basic issue before the voters is whether they are to be solved by socialist or "free enterprise" methods. For different reasons neither Laborites nor Tories are prepared to talk frankly about the nature

and consequences of the economic crisis: neither party is ready to tell the people the harsh truth that if the rearmament program is to be carried out in full and on schedule, living standards will have to be reduced.

This is so because competing claims on the national income are too great to be met from the current output of goods and services. The arms program, which is still far from reaching its peak, must absorb an increasing proportion of Britain's resources of man-power, plant, and materials. The increased cost of imported food and raw materials must be offset by a further expansion of exports. Investment, which is currently absorbing around 20 per cent of the national income, must be maintained if greater productivity is to be achieved in the future. In

KEITH HUTCHISON, financial editor of *The Nation*, discussed the causes of Britain's economic crisis in last week's issue.

the light of these "musts" the final claim on the national income, that of domestic consumption, must be restricted. How, then, is this to be done?

If we turn to the Labor Party's manifesto, approved by the Scarborough conference, we find that this question is not even posed, let alone answered. The main theme of the document is the amelioration of the condition of the workers that has been achieved during six years of Labor government: the return of Labor to power, it implies, will make possible a steady continuation of this process. There is no suggestion that the arms program, superimposed on a fully employed economy, has created a critical situation, apart from a statement that the shortage of raw materials has caused "great difficulties" and that "rising world prices have increased the cost of living, but much less in Britain than in most other countries." To check any further rise, Labor, we are told, will continue its efforts to secure by international action a fairer distribution of raw materials and a reduction in world prices, while instituting at home stronger controls and more drastic action against monopolies.

However, the manifesto ignores the major cause of domestic inflation—the rise in the total of money incomes in the face of prospective decline in the volume of goods available for the home market. True, it refers briefly to increased taxation of great fortunes and large unearned incomes, and proposes measures to prevent large capital gains. On the other hand, it promises to reduce taxation on small incomes, when "possible," and to equalize the pay of men and women in the public service—a long overdue act of justice but one which will swell the total of money chasing scarce goods.

THE Tory program does recognize the existence of a crisis but fails to relate it to rearmament, which, it declares, would be carried out in full by a Conservative government. Instead, it ascribes Britain's economic and financial troubles wholly to the extravagance and incompetence of the Labor government and its attempts "to impose a doctrinaire socialism on an island that has grown great and famous by free enterprise." Once the Tories are returned to office, the voters are told, this situation will rapidly be remedied by relaxing controls and giving free enterprise incentives to produce more.

If elected, the Tories will "cut all unnecessary expenditure . . . and prune waste and extravagance in every department." Possibly a few millions can be saved by administrative economies, although historically the Tories have not proved very provident housekeepers. But any really significant reductions in expenditure, outside the field of defense, can be obtained only by changes in social policy. The Tories, however, are assuring the voters that they have no designs against the welfare state. They promise "to give housing a priority second only to national defense" and to set up "a target" of 300,000

houses a year—50 per cent more than the total for which man-power and materials are now being found. Moreover, an undertaking to provide better education and health services "for the money now being spent" is hardly compatible with a reduction of total costs in these departments. Nor is a proposal to review the position of pensioners to insure that "the hardest cases are met first" likely to produce savings. In view of the impact of rising prices on pensioners such a review should lead to an increase in total disbursement. Finally, the Tories admit that food subsidies, the abolition of which has long been a primary aim of advocates of disinflation, "cannot be radically changed in present circumstances."

None of these pronouncements suggest that a Tory administration would employ fiscal means to bring about that cut in consumption which the relief of inflationary pressures requires. But there seems to be a discrepancy between the Tories' public and private thinking on this question, and it would not be surprising if, back in office, they discovered that circumstances forced them to renege on their election promises. In a recent article in the *Manchester Guardian*, Colin Clark, the distinguished economist and statistician, recalled the way in which the Tories misled the electorate in 1931 with warnings against the danger of inflation, warnings which in the circumstances of that time were either "foolish or dishonest." "I get the impression," he adds, "that the same vein of dishonesty runs through their propaganda to this day. 'Of course we must cut food subsidies and social services and work longer hours, but it is no use saying so. We must win the election on some other line of talk and then proceed to do these things.'"

Reading the rival pronouncements of the two leading British parties it is hard to avoid the conclusion that both are offering the voters soothing syrup instead of the harsh medicine that the economic situation demands. Both breathe a spirit of easy optimism: neither faces the fact that if rearmament is to go ahead at its present pace, total supplies of food, clothing, and consumer goods of all kinds will have to be diminished and an even greater degree of austerity imposed on the country. The alternative is inflation, which in the long run—and not such a very long one at that—will undercut living standards still more drastically.

I fear, therefore, that whichever side wins on October 25 Britons are going to experience a series of rude shocks. The first duty of the new government will be to take steps to reduce the volume of exports and to divert domestic resources from the production of goods for the home market to the manufacture of arms and goods for export. Simultaneously, it will be necessary to curb the flow of cash incomes so as to lessen the pressure of purchasing power on a shrinking supply of goods.

If Labor wins, we can expect that the requisite sacrifices will be spread as equitably as possible and the

heaviest burdens placed on the strongest backs. But it is no use pretending that the whole load can be carried by the rich; until the hump of rearmament is negotiated and total national production increased, living standards of all but the very poor are likely to be adversely affected.

Thus, however wrong Mr. Bevan and his followers may be in their assertion that the rearmament program is larger than international dangers warrant, their fore-

cast of its social and economic consequences is being proved right. It would be better if both Labor and Tory leaders publicly recognized this fact and told the country frankly what the real costs of rearmament will be and how they propose to meet them. By failing in candor they are insulting the character and intelligence of the electorate in a way that could cause real harm to democratic morale in Britain.

Peace Through Trade

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Geneva, September 29

ANYONE who judged the international situation from the tone of the final meeting of the United Nations Economic and Social Council (Ecosoc) would have supposed this the best of all possible worlds. For more than an hour spokesmen of the two hostile blocs joined in praising the way in which President Hernan Santa Cruz had directed the council's work. The atmosphere of Geneva was undoubtedly favorable to harmony, and this was the principal reason why the French delegate, Georges Boris, proposed that the 1952 summer session also be held here instead of in New York, though he politely declared he was thinking of the weather. However, since the Latin American delegates had received strict instructions to vote with the United States, New York won by a narrow vote.

An issue closely connected with the question of site had been debated on the preceding day. This was whether a state had the right to refuse to allow a person accredited to the U. N.—as a delegate, an expert, a representative of an unofficial organization, or a journalist—to enter the country in order to attend a meeting of any U. N. agency. A majority of the council held that a state did not have this right, no matter what the political affiliation, ideology, or sympathies of the person seeking entrance. The discussion visibly irritated Isador Lubin, United States delegate; from his remarks one might have thought that the Justice Department's restrictions and the McCarran law were no more than figments of *The Nation's* imagination. The speeches of the Eastern European delegates on this matter were curiously reserved. Their caution strengthened the belief that Foreign Minister Vishinsky might offer formally a suggestion casually thrown out in the last Assembly—that the next session of the Assembly be held in Moscow.

In his farewell speech Señor Santa Cruz struck the balance of Ecosoc's successes and failures. He justly praised the work of the International Children's Emergency Fund in providing food, clothing, and medical care for millions of children in all parts of the world.

He mentioned the accomplishments of the commission for the control of the drug traffic—the part it played, for example, in the recent seizure of 239 kilograms of raw opium at Marseilles.* Unfortunately, much of the progress made has been counterbalanced by the failure to set up a system of international control of the manufacture and sale of narcotics. At a conference of the principal drug-manufacturing countries held at Geneva in 1950 the creation of an international non-profit opium monopoly with powers of inspection and control was proposed. This would have been a great step forward, but it was checked by the fear of establishing a precedent which could be invoked for other purposes. When agreement seemed hopeless, the conference decided to submit the question to the governments concerned before November 1 and to ask the Narcotics Division of the U. N. to urge the advantage of international control.

Señor Santa Cruz had the courage to admit that "in social matters the results achieved by the council at this session are somewhat disappointing." He referred to its delay in tackling the problem of over-population in certain parts of the world, and to its "timid and feeble action" in the narrower field of financing European emigration to Latin America. Outspoken though he was, Señor Santa Cruz refrained from bluntly recognizing that the West's rearmament policy has relegated to second place the famous Point Four program and other schemes to aid underdeveloped regions. Just as in individual countries rearmament has held up social reform, new housing, educational advances, old-age assistance, and efforts to raise wages or lower the cost of living, so on the international plane it has reduced Point Four to a mere rhetorical abstraction. Priority everywhere is given to expenditures for defense.

"I cannot but regret," said the conservative Señor Santa Cruz, "that the council has failed to fulfil the express recommendation of the General Assembly that it should propose practical methods to obtain an in-

*I described the work of these organizations in *The Nation* of June 23, 1951.

creased flow of capital for financing the development programs of the underdeveloped countries." The president of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Eugene Black, Jr., feels differently. Members of Ecosoc were scandalized when Mr. Black told his Board of Governors on September 10 that he did not approve of the program the bank was charged with carrying out. In the six years of its existence the Bank for Reconstruction and Development has lent only \$545,000,000 for economic-development projects; the funds available under Point Four amount to less than \$200,000,000 a year. This is only half the supplemental appropriation of \$400,000,000 requested by President Truman for the South Carolina hydrogen-bomb plant. Yet people in the United States who ought to know better still talk as if Point Four were being made a reality.

A SERIOUS development program would be a tremendous undertaking requiring much more than just money. The multiple aspects of the problem could be barely touched on by Ecosoc. The idea that the United States, by placing its wealth and its technical know-how at the service of countries which had neither, could assure the happiness of hundreds of millions of underfed human beings is too simple to fit the facts. The success of the undertaking would call for the cooperation of the countries to be helped, the development of teams of native technicians who could continue the work begun by the Americans, and above all the realization that any profound change in a country's working techniques brings revolutionary changes in its social structure. From some quarters came warnings that the introduction of machines would develop a proletariat and open the way to communism. This possibility was enough to chill the enthusiasm of those who had thought of Point Four primarily as a means of obtaining needed raw materials, opening new markets, and countering Soviet influence in regions with feudal social conditions and sharp contrasts between classes.

And yet if Point Four had been inspired by the noble ideal of international reconciliation and peace, it might have offered a real way out of a situation which threatens a new world conflagration. That at least is the opinion of the men who for the last four years have been attending the sessions of Ecosoc.

The field of action is immense. One opportunity was indicated by the report on the food crisis submitted by the Food and Agriculture Organization, another agency of Ecosoc. Two-thirds of the people in the world, the report showed, are undernourished. In the last ten years the production of foodstuffs has increased only 1 per cent while the world's population has increased 13 per cent; during the same period per capita consumption in terms both of calories and of proteins has declined in most

countries. When a grave emergency arises, like the famine this year in India, no international machinery exists for coping with it.

Other aspects of the world's economy appear no more encouraging. In one of his speeches before the council Mr. Lubin expressed his satisfaction with conditions in the United States, where production was going full blast, unemployment was at a minimum, and national wealth was increasing. But Britain, according to an interesting monograph by the English statistician, Colin Clark, on the Three Economic Illusions—cheap food, taxable capacity, and increasing productivity—is headed toward a big inflation, despite its admirable spirit of discipline and sacrifice. And a recent report of the French Minister of Commerce tells us that French exports have markedly decreased. The latest statistics on the cost of living in every country in Europe are horrifying.

Even those who place economic preparation for war above social welfare will finally realize that the difficulties of financing a global war are much greater than they think. The gravity of the problem was made clear at the Ottawa conference. And in the opinion of the economists with whom I have talked it will be stressed still more strongly at the next meeting of the Atlantic Council. No one here envies the committee of experts appointed at Ottawa to study ways and means of paying for the new armies being raised for Atlantic defense—if the United States will not foot the bill.

IN THESE circumstances it is no wonder that some of the best men in the Economic and Social Council support Gunnar Myrdal's proposal to tackle the two-fold problem of preventing war and restoring prosperity by liberalizing world trade and especially by reducing the barriers to trade between the Soviet and Western blocs. Myrdal has his enemies but he also has devoted friends. At the plenary meeting of the council on September 15 a resolution was adopted stating that "the programs of the Economic Commission for Europe [of which Mr. Myrdal is the chairman and leading spirit] and its committees continue to be of primary importance for the maintenance of sound economic relations among European nations and for their economic progress," and asking the General Assembly to "consider favorably the financial requirements for a satisfactory implementation of the 1951-52 work program." The passage of this resolution was a rebuke to those who have tried to discredit the far-sighted Swedish economist chiefly because he is the one man who can get Russians, Americans, Britons, Frenchmen, Indians, and others to work together around a council table.

Myrdal's position has been strengthened by the alacrity with which every country of Western Europe has entered into negotiations with the Soviet satellites looking toward

the resumption of trade. Encouraged by the success of a trial meeting which he recently arranged between representatives of East and West, Mr. Myrdal quietly continues his efforts. He has not given up the idea of a world economic conference, although he knows that Washington's attitude toward Russia would first have to undergo a great change. The Kremlin's call for an economic conference in Moscow will hardly receive enough response in the West to assure a new approach to the problem of liberalizing world trade. Among some European business leaders, however, it has won surprisingly favorable consideration. In this connection I learned from

a most dependable source that Stalin is prepared to offer a very tempting program of trade relations with the Western European countries. Important French industrialists have been approached by an organization that has always favored a negotiated settlement with the U. S. S. R.—L'Union Nationale des Ingénieurs, Techniciens, et Cadres—and although the powerful Conseil National du Patronat Français is maintaining an attitude of reserve, lest the move be only a part of the propaganda surrounding Moscow's "peace offensive," individual industrialists are responding to the prospect of increased sales.

Limit Whose Taxes?

BY NORMAN REDLICH

FOR fifteen years diehard remnants of the groups that equate income taxes with state socialism have been waging a campaign to undermine the federal tax structure and place an unbearable burden on the low-income masses. Their gimmick is an amendment to the Constitution which would prevent Congress, except in war time, from imposing an income tax that would take more than 25 per cent of a person's income.

Given the necessities of government spending, one would think that most taxpayers would be opposed to the measure. But a Gallup poll of September 27 shows that nearly six out of every ten adults favor it—doubtless without realizing its implications. After failing to push the amendment through Congress in 1936, its backers decided to try the other method of changing the Constitution. This is to induce two-thirds of the state legislatures to request an amendment, whereupon Congress must convene as a constitutional convention and present the proposal to the states; upon ratification by three-fourths of the states the amendment is adopted.

Although this procedure presents special problems, it enables advocates of an amendment to operate away from the spotlight of Washington. By strenuous work the tax-limitation forces have slowly gathered the approving votes of twenty-two states—ten short of the two-thirds necessary. But seven states have rescinded their approval, and if the validity of their rescissions is established, seventeen more states must be won over.

A glance at the list of organizations supporting the amendment will discover its real purpose. The Committee for Constitutional Government was of course in the

forefront of the fight against the New Deal and equates the Fair Deal with socialism. The Small Business Economic Foundation, which represents business "small" in name only, is a well-financed group closely allied with the Committee for Constitutional Government. The same can be said of the Western Tax Council and the American Taxpayers' Association. To put it bluntly, these groups support the amendment for two reasons: they want to cut the tax bills of their members regardless of the consequences to the nation's economy; and they want to prevent further social-welfare legislation by drastically reducing federal revenues.

The underlying argument for the amendment is the old "trickle-down" theory of prosperity. Lower corporate and individual taxes, it is said, will increase investment, thus leading to more employment, higher incomes, and in the long run more tax revenue, even though the rates are reduced. This argument is usually coupled with the unsound proposition that high corporate taxes bring high prices. Reduce taxes, the sponsors of the amendment claim, and prices will come down, consumers will buy more, business will prosper, and corporations will be able to pay more taxes at lower rates. If the tax yield drops, the government will have to economize.

Actually the chief factor limiting investment is not high taxes but the ability of the public to consume. The advocates of lower taxes prefer to forget that the 1929 crash came at the end of nearly a decade in which Republican administrations had adhered faithfully to the tax theories of the business community. In the past six years we have experienced one of the greatest investment booms in our history despite the highest peace-time taxes we have ever known.

Nor is there any economic foundation for the contention that lower taxes would reduce prices and thereby

NORMAN REDLICH, a graduate of Williams College and the Yale Law School, has written articles on tax matters for various law reviews.

increase purchasing power. Business men set prices at the point of maximum earnings. The mere fact that the government would take a smaller percentage of these earnings would not induce corporations to lower prices already calculated to achieve maximum profits. Lower taxes would simply enable business to retain a larger share of the profits.

THERE is little doubt that the amendment would greatly reduce revenues. Representative Wright Patman estimates it would cause a federal deficit of ten billion dollars even in prosperous times. Stanley H. Ruttenberg, director of education and research for the C. I. O., says the amendment would reduce revenues for the fiscal year 1952 by fifteen billion dollars.

At best these figures are intelligent guesses, since the Treasury Department's last statement on the contribution of various income groups to the total revenue is for the year 1947. If the rates of 1950 had been applied to the 1947 group of non-corporate taxpayers, slightly less than 2 per cent of those filing returns would have paid taxes greater than 25 per cent of their net income. But these taxpayers as a group would have saved 2.2 billion dollars if they had been taxed at the 25 per cent rate. Since inflation has probably brought a larger number of taxpayers into this category since 1947, the loss to the government today from a 25 per cent ceiling on personal income taxes would run closer to three billion dollars.

It is in the corporate field, however, that the government would suffer its greatest loss. With rates what they are today, every corporation earning more than \$25,000 would benefit from the amendment. In 1945, a good year for comparison because of the excess-profits tax, 16 per cent of corporations earned more than \$25,000 and paid 95 per cent of all corporate taxes. Had the proposed ceiling been in effect then, these corporations would have saved more than five billion dollars—at current rates. Today many more corporations would be included in the over-\$25,000 earnings category; in fact, it is estimated that the revenue from corporate taxes this year will be almost double that of 1944. It would be fair, therefore, to estimate that the amendment would cost the government about ten billion dollars in corporate taxes. If it is intended to apply also to estate and gift taxes, which is not clear, the total estimated loss of revenue to the government, at today's rates, would be between thirteen and fourteen billion dollars.

Although the amendment allows the tax ceiling to be pierced in time of war, it makes no exception for a situation like the present, when a state of undeclared war exists. The government would therefore have to find some way to make up for the revenue lost. To impose a federal sales tax or to increase excise taxes would place an additional burden on the poorer classes. To increase

the level of taxation among all groups to the 25 per cent limit would destroy the principle of progressive taxation. Another alternative might be to lower exemptions from the present \$500 figure. None of these courses, however, would raise the required revenue, and none would be politically feasible. Any attempt to obtain funds by the sale of government bonds would create enormous inflationary pressure.

Even in peace time the amendment would cripple the ability of the government to finance a wide range of important programs. For example, under the Employment Act of 1946 the federal government must take measures to maintain employment in a depression. But it would not be able to finance the necessary projects if it could not draw money from high-income groups. Only by continuously adding to the national debt could it fulfil this and similar obligations. The expansion of other federal responsibilities would also be prevented. The people might demand health insurance, aid to education, or regional developments, but the amendment would act as a permanent guardian of the status quo.

Charitable and educational institutions would feel the pinch, for since the amendment would undoubtedly place the ceiling on *net* income, the government in self-defense would restrict or eliminate deductions now allowed for charitable contributions. Similarly the government would seek to curtail deductions based on expenses, such as business corporations now claim in computing net taxable income.

Although the amendment has been defended as a means of returning power to the states, it would actually saddle them with additional financial obligations. For example, federal grants-in-aid would be reduced, and the states would have to raise money by taxing personal and corporate incomes. No one familiar with the present chaotic legal situation caused by differing state personal-property and sales taxes would want to see the states obliged to adopt income taxes.

BUT perhaps the most important objection is that placing a constitutional limit on the ability of Congress to tax a person's income represents a complete departure from American principles. The Constitution sets up a political framework within which day-to-day legislative decisions can be made; it does not embody any particular economic dogma. Taxation is one of these day-to-day decisions. Since no one can foretell the future obligations of the federal government, it would be foolhardy in the extreme to restrict ourselves for all time to the tax program that the Committee for Constitutional Government thinks proper in the year 1951.

Despite the feverish activity of its sponsors, the amendment is fortunately a long way from adoption. At least ten more states must approve it, and its sponsors can no longer operate in the secrecy that has protected

their efforts up to now. Moreover, even if Congress should present the amendment to the states, it is doubtful that the requisite number would ratify it. The real danger of the movement is that it may convince Congress that public opinion is opposed to heavy taxes on corporations and on high-income groups. If this should happen, the sponsors of the amendment would have

achieved their real objective: the reduction of their own taxes and the curtailment of the federal government's welfare program. In order to defeat these forces, the amendment must be exposed for what it is—an undemocratic measure sponsored by reactionary elements who hope to slip it quietly through state legislatures before the people are aware of its dangers.

Quebec's Bitter Brew

Quebec, October 10

AMERICAN visitors to Quebec this fall, delighting in the city's Old World atmosphere, have not noticed the opening guns of a bitter political campaign preparatory to next year's election. Nor have they been aware that their government and their corporations are the leading issues. Yet every attack on Premier Duplessis by the Quebec Liberal leader, Georges Lapalme, is essentially an attack on him as an instrument of American domination. Duplessis, according to Lapalme, has kept French Canadians working for lower wages than other Canadians and for far less than American workers are paid, sent his police to beat up strikers at the Johns-Manville plants, handed over the vast Ungava iron-ore deposits to the Hanna interests of Cleveland for whatever they deigned to pay, arranged tax exemptions for the Aluminum Company, divided the forest lands between International Paper and Colonel McCormick, and secured the cooperation of the Catholic hierarchy by eliminating the rebellious and rewarding the faithful with bishoprics or even the red hat.

In 1936 Duplessis pasted together his National Union Party out of Conservative remnants, a few Liberals, and a lot of nationalists. His slogans were, and are, provincial autonomy and anti-communism. He has held office ever since, except from 1939 to 1944, when the Liberals gave the province a reasonably decent administration—Quebec does not know what reform means. In 1944, though the Liberals had a popular majority, Duplessis was able to come back because he held the rural districts. Gaspé Nord with 3,000 voters has the same representation in the Assembly as Montreal Jeanne Nance with 35,000. He then strengthened his hold on the cities, and in 1948, with a bare popular majority, won all but ten seats in the Assembly. Political genius, tight organization, fear, and money are the bases of his power. Lapalme charges that if a man is reported to listen to Liberal broadcasts, his hotel-keeper nephew may be

refused a liquor license, his civil-servant cousin may lose his job. Duplessis appoints most of the Montreal and Quebec school commissions; the Labor Relations Board, which may deprive the teachers' union, or any other union that is out of favor, of its bargaining rights; the Municipal Commission, which keeps a strangle-hold on the cities' finances. He lectures newspaper editors, tells companies how to run their business. As attorney general, he commands the dreaded provincial police. He drives the Assembly like a mule team.

Quebec's taxes are the heaviest in Canada—a 5 per cent sales tax in the cities, a gasoline tax of 13 cents a gallon, levies on tractors and trailers, on restaurant meals costing more than 60 cents, on tobacco, making cigarettes cost 41 cents a package. There are school fees for children, license fees for grocery stores and cafes which are passed on to the customer, and there is the inevitable rake-off for the local boss. Lapalme asserts that 10 per cent of the money voted for roads goes into the party chest, that Cabinet members have grown rich in seven years, that commissions multiply and commissioners go on expensive jaunts. But a widow with ten children gets \$52 a month in Quebec, as against \$140 in Ontario.

Lapalme's greatest asset is the sullen discontent of the French Canadian workers, tired of the constant adulation which *le cheuf* requires of his followers. When the Catholic Farmers' Union presented its annual address last spring, the Premier angrily told the leaders of the delegation that not enough gratitude was shown for what the administration had done. The deficiency was not made up. The Montreal teachers are defying school commission and archbishop in their fight for union security. The A. F. of L. textile workers have stuck by their leaders through denunciations, court action, and jail terms. The Catholic syndicates got almost 50,000 signatures on a petition to release their organizer, who was being kept in solitary confinement in Bordeaux jail for his part in the asbestos strike.

Lapalme's greatest handicap is the cynicism of French Canadians, their firm belief that every politician is

HENRY MONTCALM is the pseudonym of a Canadian journalist.

venal. After all, they reckon, Duplessis has built roads and bridges, even if some of them collapse because of "too much grease in the cement." And men and women are now busy making machine-guns and airplanes, whereas eighteen months ago unemployment was a specter. The cost of living has nearly doubled since 1939, but wages have risen too—and a job is a job. Who knows whether the Liberals would do any better?

IN THE past year a new, perhaps catalytic ingredient has been added to the explosive mixture which is Quebec politics: this is the formation of the St. Laurent-Duplessis axis. By long tradition the provincial Liberals have leaned heavily on the federal Liberals for money and aid, and in return have seen to it that Quebec voted Liberal in national elections. Indeed, Quebec was the key to Mackenzie King's power. Now the Liberal Prime Minister St. Laurent has chosen to throw this key away by making a display of his friendship for Duplessis. Last spring the British governor-general made a special trip to Quebec to bestow on an ecstatic Premier a knighthood of the Order of St. John. After President Auriol of France visited Canada, the Prime Minister wrote Duplessis thanking him for the courtesy he had shown the guest. Duplessis was commended by the Prime Minister in the House of Commons for his handling of the Ungava concessions on the very evening that he was accused of selling Quebec's birthright for a mess of pottage by a Liberal speaker in Montreal. In a bitter radio speech Lapalme replied to the head of his party that Ungava was a provincial concern and that the federal government's "international relations are not always in agreement with provincial requirements."

There is the crux of the matter. Quebec wants no war. Duplessis' role in the axis is to insure that the French Canadians submit to conscription, to heavy taxation, and if necessary to foreign war. Yet other men in other days have led Quebec to this bitter brew and failed to make it drink.

The policy of the Ottawa Liberals is not fundamentally different from that of National Union in Quebec. Both want Canada's resources developed by American capital, with dividends in American dollars flowing over the border and the hired man's share for Canadian capitalists and the party funds. A billion American dollars was invested in Canada in 1950. Copper, oil, iron, nickel, titanium, gold, cobalt, aluminum, chemicals, electric power, and the automobile industry are largely American owned. Quebec is Canada's greatest industrial province and has vast natural resources, but the French Canadian is little better off for all that. A French journalist wrote home last winter that the public-relations man at an Aluminum Company plant said to him, "French Canadians work harder, last longer, cost less. Of course all the administrative staff is English-speaking."

The chief mover in this happy meeting of minds between the Canadian Prime Minister and the Quebec Premier is understood to have been Clarence Decatur Howe, Minister of Trade and Commerce and of Defense Production. An elderly, irritable, American-born engineer, Howe is known to the cynical as "our American Gauleiter." Under legislation rushed through Parliament by the Liberal government he has complete control of the Canadian economy. He can tell a manufacturer to stop making stoves and begin making guns; he can cut off supplies from one factory and allot them to another; he can jockey prices to enrich one man and ruin another. If the opposition questions his acts, he retorts, "Who's going to stop us?" One Tory M. P. exploded, "I don't like dictators, whether they be named Stalin or Howe."



Premier Duplessis

Much scandal has been caused by the revelation that the C. D. Howe Company, from which the Minister dissociated himself when he took office in 1935, has been awarded fat contracts, without competitive bidding, by the departments he heads. But such improprieties are of small account compared to the fact that all Mr. Howe's bias, all his connections, make him the spokesman and agent of big business. Naturally he wants to have Quebec's iron and titanium and other raw materials go to the American plants; naturally he sees only blessings in close cooperation with Duplessis, who knows how to handle the French Canadians!

Lapalme talks of social justice, of better education, of the rights of labor, of corruption and waste in public office, and is getting considerable support at his meetings. He feels that he is better off since his break with the federal party, for he can now declare himself independent of Ottawa and appeal to the nationalist vote in Quebec, always a sizable factor. *Le Devoir*, organ of the Catholic intellectual group, shows signs of swinging toward him. All winter it has slashed at Canadian subservience to the State Department, at the idiocy of war. It calls the United States "the most bellicose nation on earth" and asserts, "It is not a question of a war already lost by all who participated in it, but of whether we now go toward war or peace." Lapalme's opponents have the money, the organization, the strong-arm men at the polls, the telegraphers who vote the dead and absent; but if the international sky grows darker, if Quebec becomes convinced that Duplessis is hand in glove with the Ottawa bosses who would lead it to war, a sullen people may surprise its masters.

BOOKS and the ARTS

The Lobby in America

THE LOBBYISTS. The Art and Business of Influencing Lawmakers. By Karl Schriftgiesser. An Atlantic Monthly Press Book. Little, Brown and Company. \$3.50.

PRESSURE groups and lobbyists began operating in American politics even before the Constitutional Convention convened in Philadelphia. They are an integral aspect of our political process and perhaps a more "natural" development for this country than political parties. The fact is that our political institutions are peculiarly susceptible to pressure-groups tactics. And there is no way to abolish lobbies short of revoking the First Amendment. Yet they are a continuous source of strife, confusion, and discord, while only the most optimistic would care to argue that their net impact has been to further national well-being.

In sprightly style Karl Schriftgiesser has summarized the earlier history of pressure groups and their tactics, presented the findings of the Buchanan committee in 1950, and suggested ways in which the more disastrous results of lobbying might be minimized. He has made a useful contribution by stressing the inevitability of lobbying and emphasizing the neutral nature of the pressure process. Thus his final chapter recounts the brilliant campaign of atomic scientists to defeat the May-Johnson bill and, at least temporarily, to deny control of atomic energy to the military and their big-business allies. This success was possible because for once a lobby concerned with public welfare moved first. For "had the business interests of this country fully appreciated the significance of the provisions for the control of private activity in the field of atomic energy they would undoubtedly have mobilized all their strength in 1946 to prevent their enactment."

In a democratic society freedom of speech and the right "to petition the government for a redress of grievances" inevitably encourage minority groups to pressure legislatures for particular interests. Schriftgiesser recognizes that this

right of petition and the right to be heard is not the same as "pressure." He makes clear that the "grass roots" manipulation by national advertising and mass pamphleteering utilized by the Edward A. Rumelys and Merwin K. Harts, and by the N. A. M., the National Association of Real Estate Boards, the A and P, and the A. M. A. is a perversion of a constitutional right designed to protect individual citizens against arbitrary government.

Since it is almost impossible to legislate against pressure while preserving the right to petition, Schriftgiesser accepts the provisions for registration and publicity of the federal Lobbying Act as minimum requirements. This act, which went into effect on August 2, 1946, puts no restriction on the activities of pressure groups but merely requires registration of the lobbyist, the name of his employers, the terms of his employment, and the size of his expense account. Mild as its provisions were, pressure groups fought it bitterly, and in the first year only a fraction of the Washington lobbyists registered. Despite criticism of the existing act by such astute political scientists as Professors Belle Zeller and Stephen K. Bailey, the Buchanan committee recommended only minor changes. It was satisfied that "Congress and the people can evaluate group pressures properly, provided they know the identity and financial participation of those who support such operations." This conclusion seems somewhat naive when Elmo Roper reports that the N. A. M. was known to only 49 per cent of the population, after that organization had spent \$3,000,000 in 1946 to defeat the Office of Price Administration.

Mr. Schriftgiesser has rendered a service by revealing the power of pressure groups to render impotent representative government. He emphasizes that only strong executive leadership and disciplined party government can protect democracy from corruption by privilege-seeking special interests. That lobbying is most dangerous when the executive is weak and the political parties are decentralized is illustrated

by historical accounts of the Armstrong investigation of life-insurance companies, the railroad and patent-medicine lobbies, and the N. A. M. campaign to destroy price control. Implicit is the warning that intensive lobbying may be expected when the stakes are high, for example, off-shore oil reserves, tax concessions, veterans' pensions, and seventy-billion-dollar armament funds.

That we have not progressed beyond the work of A. F. Bentley ("The Process of Government," 1908) in our understanding of how group pressures distort the democratic process is no reflection on Mr. Schriftgiesser's contribution. It is remarkable that an area of political behavior so frequently investigated and so ably reported by many astute Washington and state-capital correspondents should be so little understood. It is revealing that as late as 1949 the American Institute of Public Opinion could report that 45 per cent of the public could not explain the term "lobbying." But more significant is the paucity of theoretical analysis by professional students of politics, as distinct from factual reporting of tactics and suggestions for institutional controls. As in other areas of research, it may be that fundamental analysis is inhibited by the necessity to examine basic assumptions and institutions of liberal democracy, the existing power structure, and the pervasiveness of class stratification in American society.

H. H. WILSON

American Comic

SCHNOZZOLA, THE STORY OF JIMMY DURANTE. By Gene Fowler. The Viking Press. \$3.

READING the Sunday *Times* review of "Schnozzola," I wondered: who's crazy? "A great book," wrote Mr. McNulty, one of those jolly *New Yorker* chaps the *Times* uses for light reviews. But was he talking about the same book I had read? So I looked again. Conclusion: no, I'm not crazy and, alas, neither is he. It is just, as Molotov used to say, a matter of taste.

For only by courtesy can "Schnozzola" be called a book at all. Everything

one expects from even a routine biography—ordered sequence, economy, some critical spirit—is lacking. The style is a rare example of courtly Broadwayese: "In the days of the Great Sleigh Ride," runs the opening sentence, "which is to say the hurly-burly 1920's. . . ." One never knows whether an anecdote comes from Durante the man, Durante the actor, or his press agent. And everything goes: funny stories about Durante, pointless stories about Durante, stories about friends, relatives, and acquaintances—whatever Fowler happened to pick up.

On the most interesting Durante problem—the extent to which his malapropisms are spontaneous—Fowler is useless. He insists they are not contrived, yet quotes Durante as saying, "If I learned how to pronounce the big words, sixty of my pals would be out of work next day, includin' myself." Like the authors of recent books on W. C. Fields and the Marx Brothers, Fowler presents piles of unsorted information but seems determined not to let one know anything. Not, of course, that one does not want to have the legend of a Durante or a Fields—the legend is more important than the facts; but one would like to know where fact ends and legend begins.

And yet "Schnozzola" is worth reading. If you brush away the Fowlerisms, you get a great deal of raw material about a first-rate comic. There are excellent photographs: Durante as a young man, such a sweet Italian boy; Durante as an old man, the same sweetness. Fowler is no fool, and when he does occasionally try to think, he comes up with some shrewd though entirely undeveloped perceptions. Durante's humor, he says, stems from an overwhelming need to be loved by everyone. He is a notorious soft touch, is hurt if his show is disliked by strangers, and will go to pathetic lengths to please people.

Until we have more reliable information, we must suppose that Durante's public appeal is related to a personal sweetness, and similarly with Fields's public misanthropy. The audience seems to feel a need to believe that the comedian, at least, is genuine; that he, unlike the ordinary Hollywood actor, releases his true feelings in his work. Where so much popular entertainment

is patently false, the audience may unconsciously be insisting that the comedian continue to be himself—or what we are led to believe is himself.

It is a pity that such biographies are not undertaken by serious writers. The failure of our best critical minds to write about popular culture is understandable when the material is cheap and dull: who cares to analyze comic books when he can spend the time reading Tolstoy? But Fields, Durante, and the Marx Brothers are not dull; they are artists of considerable worth who have managed to survive the stereotyping pressures of the entertainment industry; and it would be rewarding for some of our critics to think and write about them. "What!" I hear a groan of protest, "you want our marvelous comics subjected to the kind of dreary and pretentious critiques that fill the literary magazines?" Of course not; dreary and pretentious critiques of Durante are not desirable, but neither are they desirable of Kafka or of anyone else. Behind such protests against serious discussion of popular culture

one always finds a leading assumption of the American middle-brow mind, the assumption that some things prosper only if untouched by intelligence.

IRVING HOWE

Literature in the U. S. S. R.

SOVIET RUSSIAN LITERATURE: 1917-50. By Gleb Struve. University of Oklahoma Press. \$5.

CRITICAL surveys of Soviet writing almost inevitably suffer from the matter with which they deal, as if the progressive dehumanizing of the literature projected over the criticism a creeping apathy and a mechanical method. Gleb Struve's study, newly revised and expanded from the English editions of 1935 and 1944, in spite of its many merits suffers no less than others from these defects—for which the critic should not be too severely blamed. He can do little more than analyze the evidence of how an art was polluted by politics and by political apologetics and propaganda.

The process of exterminating literature in the Soviet Union reached its

HAVELOCK ELLIS

PSYCHOLOGY of

SEX



HIS LATEST BOOK on the SEXUAL LIFE Crystallizes the FINDINGS of a LIFE-TIME

THE NATION says:

"There is probably no better introduction to contemporary knowledge and contemporary theories about the physiology, psychology and hygiene of sex."

NEW REPUBLIC says:

"Has all the qualities of a scientific text except dullness."

BERTRAND RUSSELL says:

"Few books on the subject of sex can be so confidently recommended as this truly admirable volume."

— Authorized —
Unabridged

New Edition
COMPLETE IN ONE VOL.
389 Pages
READ FIRST—Then decide!
5-Day Money-back Guarantee



PART OF CONTENTS

The Nature of the Sexual Impulse
The Sexual Zones
The Sexual Impulse in Youth
Masturbation
Frigidity
Impotence
First Intercourse
Secondary Sexual Characters
The "Under-sexed"; the "Over-sexed"; Exhibitionism
The Sexual Criminal
Analysis of Courtship
Sadism and Masochism
Woman's Change of Life
The Dangerous Age in Men
Homosexuality
Cruelty and Pain in Relations to Sex
Hermaphroditism
Sexual Abstinence
Sex Intercourse & Health
The Choice of a Mate
Preparation for Marriage
Fertility and Sterility
Divorce
Monogamy: Polygamy
The Nature of Birth Control
The Question of Abortion
Frequency of Coitus
The Sexual Athlete: Satyriasis; Nymphomania
Jealousy
Married Love

Sex Life of Unmarried Adults
Dreams: Their Significance
Sexual Fetiches & Symbols
Sexual Adjustments
Sexual Happiness
Age and the Sexual Impulse
The Sexual Impulse and Love
Love Rights of Women: of Men
Esthetics of Coitus
Expression and Repression
Substitutes for Sex
Psychoanalytic Concepts of Sex
Pre-marital Knowledge and Experience
Modesty: Nudism
Childbirth: Sex Life During Pregnancy: Immediately After
Sexual Feelings in Women
Sex Practice in Marriage
Methods and Technique of Coitus
Sexual Pleasure and Conception
Position in Coitus
Sex Life and Nervous Disorders
Sexual Difficulties
Freud's "Unconscious"
"Libido"
The Art of Love
Glossary of Sexual Terms
Index

"THE BEST OF ALL AVAILABLE BOOKS ON THE SUBJECT."

—The American Medical Association's Hygeia

Send this coupon NOW to:

Emerson Books, Inc., Dept. 979-F, 251 W. 11 St., N.Y. 11

I am sending you this portion of advertisement with my name and address in margin to take advantage of your offer of **PSYCHOLOGY OF SEX** by Havelock Ellis. I will pay \$3 and few cents delivery charge upon arrival of book. I have the right to return book within 5 days, for full refund of purchase price, if not entirely delighted. (If you wish to save delivery charges send only \$3. Same money-back guarantee, of course.) I am over 21.

peak when Zhdanov in 1946 established the heresy of free, individual art. During the previous twenty-nine years of the Revolution, the writer had been permitted, though with diminishing scope, to consider himself an artist rather than a machine. Mr. Struve, who is a professor of Russian literature at the University of California, has made the most of his wide reading in untranslated books and periodicals to examine the authors in these years, which he has divided into six periods, each inaugurated by a social-political event affecting literature.

The 1917 Revolution ushered in a transitional period, in which Blok, Mayakovsky, Esenin, and Bedny sought to accommodate their art to the new regime. In 1921 the New Economic Policy further affected the literary tone, with Pilnyak, Zamyatin, Gorky, and Babel among the prominent figures. In both these periods the European influence of symbolism was notable, and the European custom of literary "schools"—such as the Cosmists, Futurists, LEF, Constructivists, and On Guardists—stimulated authors to discussion of literary criteria.

With the affirming of relative artistic freedom in the 1925 resolution of the

Central Committee, a brief respite was won against proletarian domination and "Communist snobbery," as the committee then put it. Many important writers, interpreting life and Soviet life with only slight hindrance, appeared at this time—Fedin, Leonov, Olesha, Sholokhov, Zoshchenko, Pasternak, and Akhmatova. The precursory harness fell over writers in 1929 when the "social command" required their glorification of the Five-Year Plan and provoked extensive controversies and the first major revision of art and history to conform with the state's policy. This was followed by the banning of literary groups and the enrolment of all authors in the Union of Soviet Writers, whose first congress announced through Zhdanov the definition of socialist realism: writers must be "engineers of human minds," that is, they must combine "truthfulness and historical concreteness of artistic depiction . . . with the task of ideological remolding and re-education of the toiling people in the spirit of socialism."

After this few new works or authors of any enduring interest appeared. Humanity, personality, emotion, and variety vanished in favor of dictated attitudes, characters, and structure; and satire, except of the West, was forbidden. Instead, accounts of collectivized "progress" and paeans to Stalin were encouraged. The war years of 1941-46 allowed some expansion of range; but after them all the slowly tested and united forces of repression fell upon the writer, already reduced to numb fear by the contradictory quirks of Soviet dogma. The gag was enforced by purges and demands for hatred of everything Western, and to rationalize it, a distortion of all fact in what one writer called the "concretely historical, scholarly approach which we are wont to describe as the party spirit."

This latest cataleptic state of literature fleetingly revealed two not unsuspected elements in Soviet power: the hint of anti-Semitism's use as a weapon (in the purges of authors); and the beatification of the OGPU (in the purifying, analogously, of Ivan the Terrible's purging police, the *Oprichniki*, kissing kin of the KKK). More than that, by the renunciation of the doctrines of Marx and Lenin it emphasized the determination of leaders that their revo-

lution must be final, that further revolutions, being unprogressive and unnecessary, should never menace the status quo.

In organizing his study to follow these periods chronologically Mr. Struve has encountered problems not easy to solve. Where politics is so inextricably woven into literature it is hard to conceive of any other structure that might give more lucidity to his examinations. As presented here, his account, while stressing the tragedy of state control over the artist, gives in many brief essays diffused interpretations of writers and writing, which seldom indicate more than their general qualities. With frequent awkwardness the critique of a single author may be split into three sections, separated by a hundred or more pages devoted to politics, other authors, and summaries of their work. Soviet drama is granted such slight attention that it almost does not figure in the book, though it must be noted that the field is not abundant.

Aside from such reservations, Mr. Struve's unprejudiced study is of great value as a work of historical reference, especially for its analyses of the impact of politics on literature and of the battles of the critics and theorists; and for the long bibliography, including an all but complete book list of Soviet writing translated into English.

HUBERT CREEKMORE

The Meaning of Democracy

PHILOSOPHY OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT. By Yves R. Simon. The University of Chicago Press. \$3.50.

THIS is the second volume of the Charles R. Walgreen Foundation's series devoted to the "basic principles on which democracy rests." The author, formerly professor of philosophy at Notre Dame, is now professor of the philosophy of social thought at the University of Chicago. The book admirably reflects the virtues and defects both of Professor Simon's specialty and of the intellectual trend of the University of Chicago—once described wittily as a Baptist University where Jewish professors teach Catholic theology to Protestant students.

"Philosophy of Democratic Government" is a treatise on the meaning of

BOOKS AND PERIODICALS
Just Arrived!

from the
U S S R
V. G. BELINSKY'S

Selected Philosophical Works
In English — 552 pp. — \$2.50

Latest Soviet Records, Sheet Music, Handicrafts
1941 SUBSCRIPTION OPEN FOR ALL
SOVIET NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS
Ask for Complete Catalogue P-51
FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.
11 W. 56 Street, N. Y. 19 Murray Hill 8-2880

Buy Your Books through *THE Nation*

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C. O. D. No C. O. D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to
Miss Le Pach

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
11 Vesey Street New York 7, N. Y.

democracy by a Catholic liberal, or, to be more precise, by a liberal mind operating in the Catholic tradition. As such, it is certainly a welcome addition to American political literature. It should help to dispel some of the unease which secular democrats feel vis-à-vis Catholic thought and action.

For this is a book by a man of goodwill whose aims and orientation are fundamentally democratic. In his carefully reasoned chapters Professor Simon analyzes the meaning of authority, freedom, equality, the common good, sovereignty, majority rule, and so on, and his conclusions generally remain within a framework that would be acceptable to a Jefferson or a Madison. He refutes the idea, so often advanced by conservatives and fascists, that government is in itself a necessary evil, pointing out that it is inherently neither evil nor good but only a function of society designed for the common good. He firmly rejects the whole notion of paternal or élite rule as undemocratic and undesirable.

If society [he writes] is ruled by an upper class—by an élite socially recognized, socially organized, having its own schools, its own books, its own leaders, its own manners—inevitably and in spite of all the wisdom used in the training of such an élite, rulers will not realize, except occasionally and in short-lived flashes, the suffering aspirations of the common man. . . . So far as the common man is concerned, government by this élite is government by outsiders.

Despite its many wise and pertinent comments on the nature of government, "Philosophy of Democratic Government" leaves one with a feeling of inadequacy. Its fine logical reasoning and its learned footnote quotations from such famous writers as Aristotle, Aquinas, and Maritain somehow do not compensate for the curious lack of reality which the book conveys. Possibly the whole subject is too immediate and too down-to-earth to lend itself easily to a cool, detached, philosophic approach. Possibly Professor Simon has not clarified in his own mind the audience for which his book is intended. Totalitarians, obviously, will not read it; democrats do not need to be persuaded of the generalized virtues of democracy. Finally, it seems to me, the book suffers from what Harold Lasswell calls "terms of ambiguous reference," which, while still conceivably accept-

able in philosophic writings, are now beginning to be hopelessly out of date in the social sciences. The recent refinements of concepts in the social sciences, as well as the findings of anthropologists, social psychologists, sociologists, communication specialists, and the like, tend to put old-fashioned verbal theorizings about society in a position to be regarded as mere exercises of the imagination.

SAUL K. PADOVER

Books in Brief

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF WILLIAM CARLOS WILLIAMS. Random House. \$3.75. From one point of view this is no autobiography at all. An autobiography is "an account of a person's life written by himself," an "account" which ought to be precisely and economically organized, if not according to the terms of some genuine problem of thought or personality, at least according to a chronology of events. One thinks of Henry Adams or Lincoln Steffens. But Dr. Williams's book is nothing like this; indeed, there is a question whether or not it has any kind of organization. The reader will be hard pressed to derive from these pages an ordered idea of the author's life, and although Dr. Williams skirts the riddles of his own artistic temperament, he

does not come close to a reason for the books he has written or the way he has written them. Instead, we have a collection of haphazard memories and opinions, jumbled together, mixed with bursts of anger and laughter, interspersed with literary lectures, medical discourses, studies of nature—in short, gossip. The result is probably more illuminating, and certainly more entertaining, than any formal biography could have been. One ends with a mixed view of the man, on one hand as citizen (physician, householder, member of the community), and on the other as artist (poet, editor, amateur actor, traveler). And one's response also is mixed—often delight, sometimes astonishment, occasionally disgust. This, one guesses, is exactly what Dr. Williams had in mind.

JOHN C. CALHOUN, SECTIONALIST. 1840-1850. By Charles M. Wiltse. Bobbs-Merrill. \$6. The third and final volume of this excellent biography covers the last ten years of Calhoun's life—perhaps the most dramatic decade of American political history, opening with the inauguration of Harrison and closing with the great debate of March, 1850, when Calhoun, Clay and Webster met for the last time in an attempt, already too late, to find a common ground for the peaceable preservation of the

PAUL BLANSHARD SAYS:

❑ No journal in America has been more consistently uncompromising than *The Churchman* in saying the things that need to be said about the encroachments of Roman Catholic power upon American democracy.

❑ **AND ROGER BALDWIN DECLARES:** *The Churchman* runs no risk except that of being too lively for the comfort of a lot of folks.

❑ There are no ecclesiastical screens through which writers for *The Churchman* are forced to take a restricted view of today's world. As WILLIAM L. SHRER says of this 147-year-old independent paper: "The fact that it has . . . always spoken out for democracy, liberalism, and tolerance gives one encouragement in these intolerant times."

■ Trial subscription for only \$2.00, starting with Reformation Issue ■

CLIP AND MAIL

THE CHURCHMAN, 425 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N. Y.

Please send me *The Churchman* for 8 months. Check for \$2.00 enclosed.

MY NAME _____

ADDRESS _____



Union. This is historical biography on a grand scale; every detail marshaled and organized to present a complete and definitive picture, but a picture in sober black and white lacking the color and zest of style that excites as well as informs.

Films

MANNY
FARBER

EVERYTHING that kept the Broadway "Streetcar" from spinning off into ridiculous melodrama—everything thoughtful, muted, three-dimensional—has been raped, along with poor Blanche Dubois, in the Hollywood wood version, so that the drama takes place completely in the foreground—all clamor, climax, and Kazan. The movie opens characteristically with cabs zooming in an arc toward the camera and then cutting sharply into the New Orleans depot. With "impact" thus established, Warner Brothers takes us into the station for an artistic tip-off on what's to follow: ■ herd of crinolined bridesmaids jounce gaily off the Seaboard Limited while away to the side the shabby-genteel figure of Blanche (Vivien Leigh) emerges through ■ cloud of engine steam. A chirpy sailor interrupts his whistling long enough to give Miss Dubois directions to her sister's house. A streetcar named DESIRE, in white block letters a mile high, lunges in another vicious arc before our eyes, and there we are in Stanley Kowalski's serene, sexful, squalid little flat in the French Quarter. From here on, the story proceeds as Tennessee Williams first wrote it, except that all the frankest—and most crucial—dialogue has been excised and the last scene has been churned disastrously to satisfy the Johnson office but confound the spectator. These changes bothered me less than the fact that screen writer Williams thought he could turn his play into a movie by merely running the cast "outdoors" to a bowling alley or waterfront cafe whenever the dramatic structure of the original work permitted such a maneuver.

However, if the author surrendered without firing ■ shot, the actors and directors certainly did not. Marlon Brando, who on the stage gave a revo-

lutionary head-on portrait of the rough-and-ready, second-generation American Joe, has upped the voltage of every eccentricity by several thousand watts. The performance is now more cinematic and flexible, but the addition of a lush physicality and a show-off's flamboyance to the character of Stanley makes him seem like a muscular version of a petulant, crazily egotistical homosexual. Brando, having fallen hard for the critics' idea that Stanley is simply animal and slob, now screams and postures and sweeps plates off the table with an ape-like emphasis that unfortunately becomes predictable.

As the ex-school-teacher-harlot-belle in this study of social-sexual disintegration, Miss Leigh injects a bitter-sweet fragrance and acrobatic excitement into the role, but the effects are freakish, too ambitious and endless. All this inchoate electricity helps sustain Kazan's record of directing nothing that is boring or insipid. The morning bed scene with wholesome Mrs. Kowalski (Kim Hunter) shows her as smug and contented as movie wives usually are in that situation. But Kazan gives the audience a rough shove with his candid view of the lady's legs widely spread under a disheveled sheet that never saw the inside of a laundry. Still, by activating all the characters to a pitch where they seem one comic-opera step away from lunacy Kazan has obliterated Williams's more delicate gradual revelation of the fact that Blanche is a rotten old Dixie apple fated for squashing by that raw, instinctual, 100 per cent industrial American, Stanley Kowalski.

Among the less arty but more enjoyable movies I have seen are "The Case Against O'Hara," "The Day the Earth Stood Still," and "The Red Badge of Courage."

Drama

JOSEPH
WOOD
KRUTCH

MANY years ago the Messrs. Lindsay and Crouse were responsible for a distressing concoction called "Strip for Action." It dealt sentimentally with the ambitions of ■ young girl who hoped to become a great strip-teaser like her mother and who, as I remember, thought it her duty to bring color into

otherwise drab lives by the practice of this Dionysian art. No doubt the authors will feel that all this should be forgotten by now, but the point is simply that if they had remembered it themselves they might have reconsidered their determination to go ahead with "Remains to Be Seen" (Morosco Theater).

The heroine of this work is a vocalist with ■ barnstorming dance band; the hero is a timid male virgin who exercises his libido by playing the drums in the basement; both are involved, through accidents not necessary to specify, in the murder of a wealthy crusader for purity who conducts a lurid private life in a library composed exclusively of erotica. In all fairness it must be admitted that there is somewhat less stress on blowsy sentiment in this offering than in the previous one, but prospective customers should be warned that it is a good deal more like "Strip for Action" than like "Life with Father." Technically it is to be classed as a comedy-mystery-melodrama, which means that it is ■ collection of gags sometimes gruesome and sometimes mildly bawdy but never very funny.

The most distressing thing about such ■ production is the simple fact that the authors, who have previously demonstrated that they are men of talent and taste, cannot possibly have taken much pleasure in it themselves. It is obviously the product neither of joy nor even of exuberance but of desperate calculation, and the result, therefore, bears about the same relation to comedy as the deliberations in the smoke-filled room bear to statesmanship.

One can easily imagine the two authors at many ■ midnight session, the ashtrays piled high with cigarette butts and the ice cubes melting drearily in the empty glasses, reviewing the script once more and trying to galvanize it into some semblance of life. Perhaps the order of events is wrong. Perhaps the incident of the fiend with the poisoned syringe should come after rather than before the bit where the policeman who is trying to sneak out an obscene book in the dark gets tangled up with the hero's xylophone. Perhaps at some other moment the audience could be intrigued by a glimpse of the heroine in black-lace panties. Or have the possibilities of this last device been exhausted in the preceding act? If we could just think of

one more gag, the whole thing couldn't help seeming funny. After all, people don't expect to be really amused at a comedy-mystery-melodrama. A sort of hysterical giggle is all that should even be aimed at. Let's try to make them giggle again before they have time to realize that there was no very good reason why they should have giggled before.

As assets—and it needs them—the production has Janis Paige, a young night-club singer shrewdly cast as a night-club singer, who is good-looking and who radiates a good deal of raucous charm; also Jackie Cooper, once a child actor in the "Our Gang" comedies and now, among other things, quite expert with the drums. Finally, it has Mr. Lindsay himself, who does very well with a stick of a role but must be wishing that he could be playing Father again. Now that *Variety* no longer publishes its box score, I can add, sadly but without being suspected of trying to improve my rating, that the audience reaction, though not all that it might be, seemed good enough to suggest that "Remains to Be Seen" may please some tastes.

Records

B. H.
HAGGIN

THE productions of "The Dybbuk" by the Neighborhood Playhouse and the Habima Theater in the mid-twenties have remained in my memory as two of the great occasions of that great period; and rereading Stark Young's comment on the Habima performance I find this statement: "We see now and again in the theater great décor, great acting, great drama, but only two or three times in our lives do we see a quality expressed down to the last element in the theater art, a perfect unity in idea, plot, and every other medium of theatrical expression, the music, the setting, make-ups, costumes, voice, gesture, and group movement." The Habima performance, for Young, was one of those rare instances of the unified, complete work of art; the operatic version now produced at the City Center is, for me, one of the too frequent instances of the opposite.

In this version, by its very nature,

music was the major expressive element; and I did not hear one vocal phrase in David Tamkin's music that heightened the sense of the words, one detail of the huge clutter of orchestral complication that had any point in relation to the dramatic situation (except of course the dance music for the dancers). What the music did achieve in the first two acts was to obscure the words (those English words that are insisted on in the face of realities), and thus to deprive the play of its own inherent dramatic force for anyone who depended on them to know what was going on. In addition there was, in those first two acts, an oil-and-water mixture of realism and stylization in the production: the realistic setting, make-up, gesture, and movement of the first act in the synagogue; the grotesquely stylized make-up, gesture, and movement of the beggars, side by side with the nondescript make-up and movements of the other characters, in the second act. It was only in the third act that dramatic power was achieved—the power of the play itself, which it could exercise because for the climax Tamkin didn't even attempt vocal expression of the words but allowed them to be spoken and understood, and which was heightened by the superb dramatic performances of Mack Harrell and Patricia Neway and by the setting, make-up, and action in one effective realistic style—with the loud-speaker magnification of the voice of the unseen Robert Rounseville as the only disturbing detail.

One of the greatest of Mozart's piano concertos, K.482, with its profusion of wonderfully beautiful and varied invention and its powerful slow movement, is on an Oceanic record with K.449, a lesser work, though one with occasional exquisite details. Badura-Skoda's playing in K.482 is fluent but without color and life in its phrasing; his work in K.449 is a little better. The Vienna Symphony plays well under Jonathan Sternberg's direction; and the recording allows its detail to be heard as clearly as the piano's. Violins sound edged, the piano dull; surfaces crackle.

Another of the greatest of the series, K.466, is on a Columbia record, with the dramatic power of its first movement superbly achieved by the Phila-

delphia Orchestra under Ormandy, but with Serkin's playing throughout lacking musical vitality and interest. The orchestra seems nearer than the piano, which sounds shallow; treble must be stepped up; surfaces are gritty. (The Decca record of this work offers a poor-sounding dubbing of an old recording of good playing by Kempff with the Dresden Philharmonic under Van Kempen.)

The solo part of the Horn Concerto K.447, a charming lesser work with its quota of wonderful dramatic modulations in the first movement, is played with his characteristic refinement of tone and phrasing by the great Mason Jones; and the National Gallery Orchestra plays well under Richard Bales. On the same WCFM record the lovely aria *Ruhe sanft* from "Zaide" and the less consequential Motet "Exultate, Jubilate" K.165 are sung by Barbara Troxell with a fresh soprano voice that is excessively tremulous in the first piece. Bass and treble must be stepped up; surfaces are not quiet.

An excellent performance of the Symphony K.504 ("Prague") by the Hamburg NWDR Symphony under Schmidt-Isserstadt is well reproduced, with treble stepped up, on a Decca record which also offers a poor-sounding dubbing of an old recording of the Rondo K.382 played by Kempff and the Dresden Philharmonic under Van Kempen. Surfaces sputter.

And a good performance of the Symphony K.385 ("Haffner") by the Turin Radio Symphony under Von Karajan is poorly reproduced on a Decca record which offers good repro-

PULITZER PRIZE and CRITICS' AWARD
RICHARD RODGERS & OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd
 present in association with
LELAND HAYWARD & JOSHUA LOGAN

ROGER RICO
MARTHA WRIGHT

South Pacific

Music by **RICHARD RODGERS**
 Lyrics by **OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd**
 Book by
OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd & JOSHUA LOGAN
 Adapted from **JAMES A. MICHAEL'S** Pulitzer
 Prize Winning "TALES OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC"
 Directed by **LELAND HAYWARD**

Scenery & Lighting by **Jo Mielziner**
 with **Myron McCORMICK** - **Diosa COSTELLO**
MAJESTIC, 44 St. W. of B'way • Air-Cond.
 Evenings 8:30. Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:30

duction of an overloaded performance of "Eine kleine Nachtmusik" by the Bavarian Radio Chamber Orchestra under Eugen Jochum. Surfaces are poor.

The Symphonies K.199 and 202, satisfactorily performed on an Oiseau Lyre record by the Bamberg Symphony under G. L. Jochum, I find uninteresting. The sound is compressed and a little sharp; surfaces are not quiet.

Haydn's Symphonies Nos. 43 and 50, well played on a Haydn Society record by the Danish State Radio Chamber Orchestra under Mogens Wöldike, I also find uninteresting. And I have never cared much for his Cello Concerto, which is played intelligently but with little tonal beauty by Maurice Gendron with the Vienna State Opera Orchestra under Sternberg. On the same Oceanic record is the Saint-Saëns concerto.

One of Bach's greatest instrumental works, his Concerto in D minor for harpsichord, exciting in the momentum of its endless invention, is played by Frank Pelleg with strings of the Israel Philharmonic under David Grünschlag. Pelleg's playing seems sensitive; but in this dubbing (with bad breaks) it doesn't make itself heard with clarity and force. The sound is compressed; surfaces crackle. On the same Period record Pelleg's playing of the uninteresting Four Duets for solo harpsichord has more force.

Bach's Concerto in D minor for three harpsichords, played without clarity on a Columbia record by Robert, Gaby, and Jean Casadesus with the New York Philharmonic under Mitropoulos, is one of his dullest works; and the French Suite No. 6, played fluently by Robert on the same record, isn't much more interesting.

CONTRIBUTORS

H. H. WILSON, a member of the Department of Politics of Princeton University, is the author of "Congress: Corruption and Compromise."

IRVING HOWE is the author of a critical biography of Sherwood Anderson.

HUBERT CREEKMORE, author of a novel "The Welcome," has made a special study of Russian literature.

SAUL K. PADOVER is dean of the School of Politics at the New School for Social Research.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Labor and Wage Controls

Dear Sirs: Although your recent article Wage Controls Are No Bargain, by Sid Lens of the A. F. of L. (issue of September 22), very well expressed some long overdue criticism about the wage-control program, I should like to make two comments on it.

First, it is utterly naive and unrealistic to ask the Wage Stabilization Board to follow a policy based on "humanitarian social criteria." As Mr. Lens notes, reduction of living standards is considered under the Economic Stabilization Program to be a positive gain. Wage controls, together with high taxes and prices, are deliberately designed to reduce the living standards of the American people in adjustment to the burden of a \$70 billion military budget. This is the real object of the wage freeze, and to miss its war-economy foundation is to miss the basic point of the wage-control program. If the purpose were "humanitarian and social," there would be no wage-control program in the first place.

Secondly, I wonder how such an article could fail to mention the fact that official representatives of the A. F. of L. and C. I. O. support and participate in this "no bargain" program for labor. The A. F. of L. and C. I. O. continue to underwrite this plan to reduce living standards on the utterly false premise that "excess purchasing power" is the cause of inflation. Isn't it about time some courageous writer acknowledged that from labor's viewpoint the United Electrical Workers' opposition to the wage freeze has considerable merit?

RUSS NIXON,
U. E. Washington Representative
New York

Are Vacations Bad?

Dear Sirs: I saw the editorial paragraph on page 163 of your September 1 issue referring to my comments about retirement plans and vacations. I rarely consider myself misquoted by reporters, but one or two words were omitted by the young man who picked up this talk which changed the sense of it considerably.

What I said was that *for some people* the intense desire for rest, a vacation, idleness, etc., represented a symptom of

maladjustment in work satisfaction. You will see how this fits into the fragment quoted by you (and by the United Press).

I would not wish to appear as one opposed to any and all vacations for any and all people. As Bernard DeVoto says in the current issue of *Harper's*,

The United States contains millions of people who will drive from Hartford to Seattle and back by way of Los Angeles in three weeks, with a nine-year-old and a six-year-old in the rear seat, and at the end will be in practically as good condition as their car. . . . Three weeks at a popular summer resort are hardly more destructive to their health and morale than divorce, bankruptcy, or a nervous breakdown; they take the experience in their stride, shrug it off, and in a few months are completely restored.

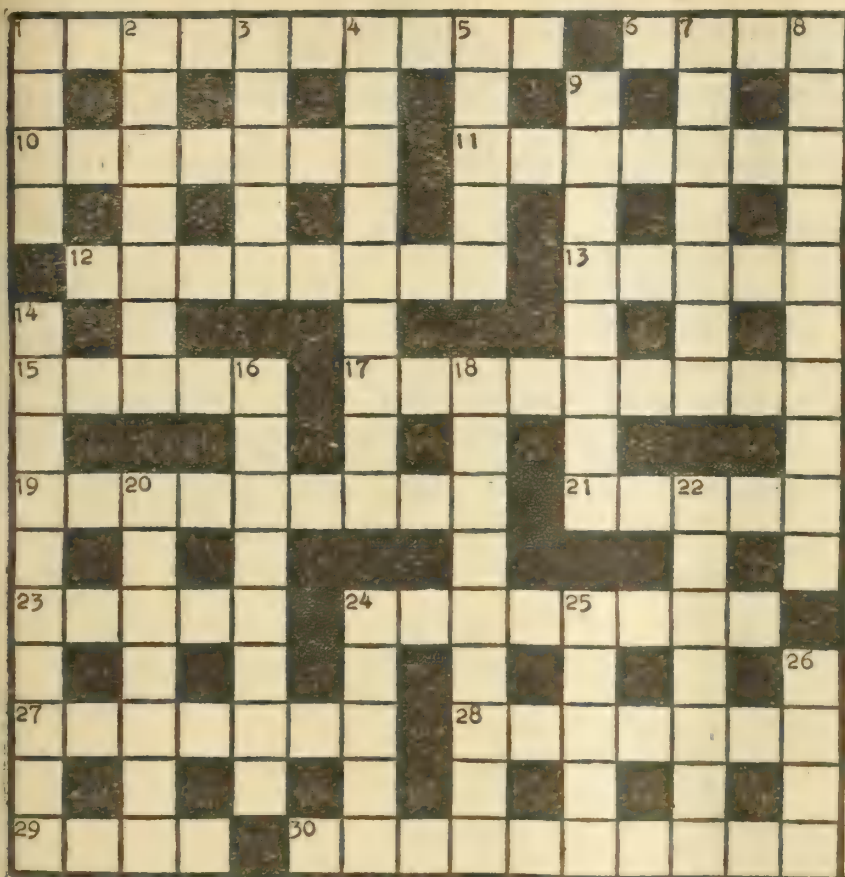
Seriously, I was attempting to present the fact that most people don't know how to use leisure time. A friend of a friend of mine used to get up at 5 a.m. on Sunday in order to have a longer day in which to loaf. Loafing may have a limited value for invalids; I can't see any value in it for healthy people. In Chautauqua, where I made these remarks, there are thousands of people from all walks of life spending their vacation time trying to learn new things about China, economics, Shakespeare, Beethoven, Exigetics, Lepidoptera, and Degas. I was trying to encourage them. I realize that there are other people who would rather play with marbles, golf balls, or worms.

In regard to forced retirement at sixty-five, I said nothing about unions. I was thinking about the executives and others who are automatically retired in order that younger men may take their jobs. However good this may be for the business organization, I said, it is not an unmitigated blessing for the persons discharged because their greatest satisfactions have probably been in the work which they are now no longer permitted to do. This tends to increase problems of old-age adjustment which are already great enough. Older people cannot easily shift their techniques of working, and working is a psychological necessity for all of us.

KARL A. MENNINGER, M.D.
Topeka, Kansas

Crossword Puzzle No. 435

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 Bunker's neighbor raises a heap of it. (6, 4)
- 6 One's acquaintances or friends. (4)
- 10 A-1 meringue? (7)
- 11 Ingrave with acid solution. (7)
- 12 Complies with arguments. (8)
- 13 Find yours in 21. (5)
- 15 Looks like Little Albert would never be called "Skinny"! (5)
- 17 Proving that flirting is little more than friendly association. (9)
- 19 You need it from the first to last. (9)
- 21 This ground could be 15 to you. (5)
- 23 X, not off the joint! (5)
- 24 Fido's dinner? (4, 4)
- 27 It'll make a G.I. yell quickly enough! (7)
- 28 Man is, it proves, a faulty follower of a doctrine. (7)
- 29 See 5 down.
- 30 Only a dude? That's good enough! (4, 2, 4)

DOWN

- 1 Denizens of night clubs. (4)
- 2 Paradoxically, it's a heroic act to take advantage of others. (7)
- 4 An urge for fund-raising. (5)
- 4 Worn out like they used to think a broom might be. (9)

- 5 and 29 across. The lad referred to in 15 does, but they're built for two. (4, 5)
- 7 Fix, as the wheat farmer's so rich. (7)
- 8 The best are well broken when it comes to such an animal. (10)
- 9 The sirens were but Ulysses didn't respond. (8)
- 14 Highfalutin "do." (10)
- 16 Their offices are necessary if you want to sound well. (8)
- 18 It might be termed falsehood in an old caroler. (3, 2, 4)
- 20 Likely to fill an aching void. (7)
- 22 Would one be barely human? (7)
- 24 A buoy gets wrecked in the water. (5)
- 25 Oceans might be full of water. (5)
- 26 Certainly not an early riser with this and others. (2, 2)

• • • • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 434

ACROSS:—1, 21 down, 9 LITTLE PITCHERS HAVE BIG EARS; 10 CLIPPER; 11 AT LAST; 12 ALL IN ALL; 14 GROVELS; 15 PLEAD; 17 NASHE; 19 LOLLARD; 21 HOISTING; 23 STOWED; 25 VERDANT; 27 TRIFLED; 27 TWO-LANE HIGHWAY.

DOWN:—1 LIBRARIAN; 2 TAGALOG; 3 LOADSTONE; 4 and 8 PASTORAL; 5 TICKLISHLY; 6 HAITI; 7 REPLACE; 13 BEDLINGTON; 15 PLAYTHING; 16 DECIDEDLY; 18 SKID ROW; 20 DEWCRAW; 22 TRAIL; 24 PTAH.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

RESORTS

50 MILES TO FOREST HOUSE

Near enough for easy travel, far enough for an unforgettable vacation. Forest House achieves new levels of gay relaxation in inspiring surroundings. Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality. Two grand lakes. All sports.

FOREST HOUSE

Lake Mahopac, N. Y. • Tel. MAhopac 8-3449



FARMS & ACREAGE

EIGHT-ROOM colonial; new bath; freshly decorated; 15 acres truck land and woodlot; maple shade; garage; view. \$8750. Berkshire Farm Agency, East Chatham, New York.

PUBLISHING SERVICE

AUTHORS! Sales Department available for your short stories, articles, books and plays. Free booklet, write today! Mead Agency, 419 Fourth Avenue, N. Y. 16 (OR 9-1150).

PERSONALS

exit loneliness

Somewhere there is someone you would like to know. Somewhere there is someone who would like to know you. We can help you find a richer, happier life through discreet, dignified "social introductions." Write for booklet, or phone MAY RICHARDSON Dept. TN, 111 West 72 Street New York City EN 2-2033



AGENTS WANTED, capable of establishing and managing, under a license agreement and copyrighted system, branch of reputable introduction service. Method of operation also filed with Better Business Bureau of New York City. Minimum of \$750 investment required. Write for particulars without obligation. Address Personal Introduction Service, (Suite 415), 2112 Broadway, New York 23, N. Y.

BOOK

FREE! "STOP SLANDERING GOD," Antidote for Bible worshipping. Greatest array of proofs ever assembled in one volume. (Leatherette cover.) Also, "Dark Deeds of David" (Did God approve or was there forgery?) For mailing both, 4¢. Bays, 327 S. E. 46, Oklahoma City 9, Okla.

Advertising Rates

CLASSIFIED

74¢ a line (6 words)

Three-line minimum

CLASSIFIED DISPLAY

\$7.42 per inch (minimum)

Remittance must accompany all orders

The NATION

Twenty Vesey Street
New York 7, New York
BARclay 7-1066

Beginning Next Week in ^{THE} *Nation*

BATTLE FOR FREE SCHOOLS

A SERIES OF EIGHT ARTICLES EDITED BY

Dr. Theodore Brameld

Professor of Educational Philosophy
at New York University

These stimulating articles by outstanding authorities in the field of education describe the serious crisis faced by our schools. The authors show that the influence of special interests is increasing to an alarming extent and discuss other problems vital to teachers, parents, and school boards. The series presents one of the most provocative accounts of educational goals and methods yet to appear in print.

I. FEVER SPOTS IN AMERICAN EDUCATION

By MORRIS MITCHELL, director of the Putney (Vermont) Graduate School of Teacher Education.

II. TEACHERS AND THE "THING"

By GOODWIN WATSON, professor of education at Teachers College, Columbia University, author of "Action for Unity," and other books.

III. BIG BUSINESS AND THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

By J. AUSTIN BURKHART, teacher of political science at Stephens College, Columbia, Missouri.

**IV. THE FOOT IN THE DOOR—ORGANIZED RELIGION
IN AMERICAN SCHOOLS**

By JEROME NATHANSON, leader at the Ethical Cultural Society, chairman of Federal Aid to Education, and author of "John Dewey: The Reconstruction of Democratic Life."

V. MINORITIES IN EDUCATION

By HORACE MANN BOND, president of Lincoln University, and MORTON PUNER, former editor of *Reader's Scope*, free-lance writer now with the Anti-Defamation League.

VI. MONEY, CHILDREN, AND EDUCATION

By FREDERICK C. McLAUGHLIN, author of the recently published book "Fiscal and Administrative Control of City School Systems."

VII. DIRECTIONS FOR EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS

By KENNETH D. BENNE, professor of education at the University of Illinois, president of the American Education Fellowship, author of "A Concept of Authority" and other books.

VIII. A WORKING AGENDA FOR SCHOOLS OF THE PEOPLE

By THEODORE BRAMELD, editor of this series, author of "Patterns of Educational Philosophy" and other books.

Use This Convenient Order Form

The NATION

Twenty Vesey Street

New York 7, N. Y.

Please enter my subscription for the period indicated below. I enclose \$_____ or bill me. ☐

☐ 1 Year \$7 ☐ 2 Years \$12 ☐ 3 Years \$17

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ Zone _____ State _____

Canadian and Foreign Postage—\$1 per year extra.

10/20/51

These articles are a must for every
parent and teacher in the country and
for all who are concerned with the fight
for the mind of the younger generation.

Don't miss a single issue!

Mr. Truman and the Collectors—*An Editorial*

THE *Nation*



October 27, 1951

BATTLE FOR FREE SCHOOLS Fever Spots in Education

BY MORRIS MITCHELL

✧

The Dilemma of Reform *Boston and Philadelphia*

BY JOHN P. MALLAN AND CHARLES R. ALLEN, JR.

✧

he Aluminum Squeeze - - - - - *Richard L. Neuberger*
icide by Oil - - - - - *Marcelle Michelin*
ays of Destiny for France - - - - - *Alexander Werth*
otes by the Way - - - - - *Margaret Marshall*

AROUND THE U. S. A.

Radio Wisconsin

New Richmond, Wisconsin

IN 1918 the United States government ordered all radio and wireless stations to tear down their installations and stop operating. The reason was the danger that radio might be used to give information to our enemies. But just before the University of Wisconsin's experimental station, WHA, began to dismantle its equipment, the navy stepped in and ordered it to carry on experimental work in cooperation with the navy at the Great Lakes Naval Training Station. Beginning with WHA, the oldest radio station in the United States, Wisconsin has continuously used radio in the service of its people.

Today the state operates seven stations and has plans for two more. What they offer is not duplicated by any other station anywhere. The programs are planned to appeal to special groups rather than to almost everybody—something that only stations which are not compelled to hold a mass audience can afford to do.

The average broadcast day begins at 7 a. m. with a program for farmers, followed by a news broadcast and weather information for fliers and travelers. Day and evening time is allotted to adult courses from the university classrooms. A Home Service feature is on every morning, dealing with such varied topics as Keys to Good Food Buys, Questions About Your Baby, Invitation to Reading, Outdoor Food and Fun, and so on. Throughout the day and evening there are concerts and recitals, readings, and theatrical productions. The broadcast day ends at 11 p. m. In the early period of radio Wisconsin pioneered in technical developments; today it is still pioneering but in the matter of programs. It is recognized nationally as a leader in the field of educational broadcasting.

Many of the programs originate at Radio Hall, the campus home of WHA, and are broadcast simultaneously over the seven state-controlled stations. Provision is made for special features of regional interest over the local stations. Radio Hall is also working

laboratory, giving students at the university varied opportunities for training and experience under the supervision of the regular staff members.

WHA in Madison and WLBL in Auburndale are AM stations; the other stations are FM, carrying the program service to the boundaries of Wisconsin. WHA serves the south-central part of the state; WHAD in Delafield, the southeastern part; WHKW in Chilton, the eastern; WHRM in Rib Mountain, the central; and WHLA in Holman and WHWC in Colfax, the western. A station for the Ashland-Superior region and one for the southwestern part of the state are planned.

These stations do not compete with private stations or networks since they do not sell time and use frequencies set aside for educational use. Their programs, moreover, are of a type and length not attractive to commercial stations or advertisers. Commercial networks, however, may rebroadcast without charge any state-station feature. There are more than fifty privately owned AM stations in Wisconsin and more than twenty-five FM stations.

The State Radio Council was created by the Wisconsin legislature to plan, construct, and develop the state system of radio broadcasting for the presentation of public-service programs. Its members are the governor, the president of the University of Wisconsin, and nine other educators and professional men. Wisconsin feels that radio is an instantaneous, efficient, and economical mass-communications medium, and that a modern state, to keep pace with the times, must use all available modern devices.

When compared with other services people buy, the cost of programming and operating the state-wide network for a full year is estimated at about ten cents per person; five thousand hours of good-quality radio service cost no more than the tax on two packages of cigarettes. To build a complete transmitting station in the network costs less than to build one mile of modern highway.

"Where," asks Wisconsin, "can we buy education at a lower cost?"

A. L. LINDELL

Catholic-Baiting: Cowboy Style

Denver, Colorado

HARVEY SPRINGER, the cowboy evangelist who used to bait the Jews, now gives top billing on the huge marquee of his tabernacle in a suburb of Denver to the "papists." Under the name of the American Protestant League, Springer is busily exporting a hate-the-Catholics virus thinly coated with sex, sensationalism, and religion.

Currently Springer's best-selling pamphlets are those ancient thrillers "My Life in the Convent" and "I was a Priest," the first describing in 258 "burning pages the terrible experiences of helpless and defenseless girls within the high stone walls of the convent." The forged "Knights of Columbus Oath" which he now peddles is every bit as discredited as the Protocols of the Elders of Zion. Branded as "fake and libelous and spurious" by a Congressional committee as long ago as 1913, the oath states "I, a member of the Knights of Columbus, do hereby swear, waste, boil, flay alive . . . infamously and Masons." A minister distributed a reprint of the contents from the Knights of Columbus for libel, and guilty. Springer "spineless . . ."

In his appearance the stereotype of the drawling cowboy has taken off his fringed vest, he is a raging bigot. He keeps the distance between the front row of seats in a frenzied leap. Standing on two chairs, hands on hips, he likes to boom his favorite accusation that all President Truman's important appointees are Catholics.

Harvey Springer is riding high in the saddle these days. The "anti-Catholic" line of sermons and pamphlets is moving briskly, and the audiences at the tabernacle are noisy and generous.

NATHAN PERLMUTTER

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 173

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • OCTOBER 27, 1951

NUMBER 17

The Shape of Things

ALTHOUGH THE TIMING OF THE PRESIDENT'S appointment of General Mark W. Clark, an Episcopalian and a Thirty-third Degree Mason, as this country's first ambassador to the Vatican since 1868 was unexpected, the decision had apparently been made some months back. (The announcement came as a surprise even to Joseph Short, the President's press secretary, having been made by one of the President's assistants.) The omniscient Walter Winchell had predicted the appointment late in August. In fact, the decision seems to date from the President's disappointment over the results of Myron Taylor's visit to England in June. Mr. Taylor, it is reported, had conferred with a number of prominent Anglican spokesmen over a pet project of the President's—the issuance of a joint statement against communism which would be signed by the leaders of Protestantism and Judaism and by the Pope; well aware that the Pope had not agreed to sign such a statement, the Anglican leaders had showed little enthusiasm. *

BUT THE IMMEDIATE REASONS FOR THE appointment, and its timing, are largely political. By making an interim appointment the President has thrown the issue of confirmation into 1952; knowing that Senators who might want to oppose it will hesitate to do so in 1952. The President's action is a clear bid for Catholic support in 1952—a device by which Republicans who draw most of their support from middle-class Protestants can be placed in an embarrassing position in certain key areas and by which the impact of McCarthyism on Catholics can be offset. Mr. Truman's political advisers made careful note of Senator Tydings's failure to hold the allegiance of Baltimore Catholics in 1950. The appointment raises issues of great importance which we will deal with later. Here we would merely call attention to the cynicism with which the President, for reasons substantially political, has injected a religious issue which can arouse great bitterness into the 1952 election. The attempt to conceal this motivation by a casual phrase about "combating communism" will deceive no one. Whether he realizes it or not, Mr. Truman has invited the vigorous opposition of the leaders of

American Protestantism, who cannot permit the appointment to go unchallenged, particularly in view of the President's solemn assurances to these leaders, within the last year, that it would not be made. The President's strategy, however, failed to anticipate a basic point: General Clark does not want to resign his army commission, and a bill to exempt him from legislation prohibiting acceptance of an appointment of this character by a commissioned officer was not passed. Hence, there is little likelihood of a recess appointment unless the President can induce General Clark to resign his commission. This will hold up the appointment until the Senate acts, thereby giving those who are opposed to sending an ambassador to the Vatican a chance to be heard.

✱

SOME PEOPLE CONTINUE TO FEAR PEACE AS though it were a special scourge or disaster. According to Emperor Bao Dai of Indo-China, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, and top Franco-British officials in Hongkong, a Korean peace would release Chinese Communist armies for a thrust at Indo-China. These recurrent "fears of peace" are relevant to the grinding U. N. fall offensive in Korea and General Ridgway's recent statement. In clear contradiction of his statement of March 12—that a conclusion of the war at the Thirty-eighth Parallel would be acceptable—the General recently told newsmen that the truce line must be the line of battle when a cease-fire is approved. At the same press conference General Ridgway underscored the fact that his present tactics of pinning down a larger army with a smaller one had been so effective that General Bradley's October 4 assessment of the situation was now confirmed. On that day Bradley had remarked that "there is a chance of winning a military decision in Korea." By way of explaining what this might mean, Ridgway added, "We certainly will have ground we can defend"—a clear reference to the mountainous regions of North Korea.

✱

IT IS NO SECRET THAT "SECRET" PLANS ARE being pushed at the Pentagon to end the war. These plans, which have been commented upon in the press, call for amphibious landings at Korea's narrow neck on the scale of the Inchon landing last year and a swift

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things	337
Time to Parley?	340
Mr. Truman and the Collectors	341

ARTICLES

The Aluminum Squeeze by Richard L. Neuberger	342
The Battle for Free Schools: Fever Spots in American Education by Morris Mitchell	344
Days of Destiny for France by Alexander Werth	348
The Dilemma of Reform: Boston's Curley Bows Out by John P. Mallan	350
Philadelphia Story by Charles R. Allen, Jr.	351
Suicide by Oil by Marcelle Michelin	353

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Notes by the Way by Margaret Marshall	355
Departure and Return by Perry Miller	356
House of Nightmare by Frances Keene	357
How to Make Friends by Oscar Handlin	358
"The Mechanism of Necessity" by Charles Spielberger	359
Books in Brief	360
Drama by Joseph Wood Krutch	360
Records by B. H. Haggin	361

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 436

by Frank W. Lewis

opposite 364

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Associate Editor: Carey McWilliams

Foreign Editor
J. Alvarez del Vayo

Literary Editor
Margaret Marshall

Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch

Music: B. H. Haggin

Assistant Editor: Charles R. Allen, Jr.

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside

Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting

Staff Contributors

Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: Mary Simon

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1951, in the U. S. A.
by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office
of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising
and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.
Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$7; Two years \$12; Three
years \$17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of
address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as
the new.

Information to Libraries: *The Nation* is indexed in Readers' Guide
to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor
Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

mopping-up operation which would leave the U. N. in
control of all but the wild northeastern part of the
peninsula. This is doubtless what General Bradley meant
by "a military victory." If so, then the cease-fire nego-
tiations will continue to be stalled until this objective has
been realized. The Administration would like to see the
war over before next year's election, but it wants to
end it on a note of triumph that will seal the lips of
those who would otherwise shout "appeasement." This
strategy may be "realistic," but it is hardly consistent
with the declared objectives of the United Nations.

★

SUPPOSE A LEADING RUSSIAN MAGAZINE
devoted a whole issue to a preview of a coming war with
the West and its aftermath—occupation and sovietization
of the United States. It is not hard to imagine the reac-
tion in this country to such a journalistic stunt. We ought
not to be surprised, therefore, if the indulgence of
Collier's in just such a flight of fancy appears to people
behind the iron curtain, and to some in front of it, as
evidence of American "warmongering." Of course, the
editors try to forestall such accusations. In their intro-
duction, they declare that they are "emphatically op-
posed to any suggestion of a 'preventive' war," and that
whether or not the world is plunged into catastrophe
depends entirely on the Soviet government. In their
imaginary history World War III starts in May, 1952,
with the attempted assassination of Marshall Tito and the
invasion of Yugoslavia by the satellite states aided by the
Red Army. The United Nations intervenes, both Russia
and the West are heavily atom-bombed, and after fear-
ful losses Russia is invaded and its oppressed peoples
rise in revolt. There follows an account of the birth of
freedom and democracy in the liberated territories as-
sisted by such midwives as Russian editions of *Collier's*,
Life, the *Reader's Digest*, and "Little Orphan Annie."
This idyllic epilogue has its humorous moments, but the
effect of the whole magazine, with its lurid pictures of
atom bombing, is fairly nauseating, and we regret that
such men as Robert Sherwood, Allan Nevins, Edward
R. Murrow, and J. B. Priestley should have aided in its
production. Probably it will sell like hot cakes—sensa-
tionalism is a great fillip to circulation—but as propa-
ganda it is likely to prove far more helpful to Moscow
than to Washington.

★

"CONTRARY TO THE INTERESTS OF THE
United States" is the reason the State Department has
given for denying a passport to Corliss Lamont. There
is no bill of particulars. Evidently the department be-
lieves it has discretionary power to withhold credentials
without which citizenship is incomplete and to do so
arbitrarily. But no law sanctions this assumption of
power. The intent of the Constitution is to protect

citizens against just such arbitrary exercise of administrative functions. In an open letter to President Truman, Dr. Lamont aptly described the State Department's action as "a kind of house arrest for no ascertainable crime." Discussing causes and effects, he says, "From my extended correspondence with government officials and from inquiries others have made on my behalf, it is evident that a primary reason for the State Department rejecting my passport application was that I have publicly expressed disagreement with certain aspects of United States foreign policy. In truth, I make no secret of the fact that I so dissent, and vigorously. But for the State Department to penalize me for exercising my right of dissent is to nullify the basic principles of our Constitution. The penalty is particularly heavy in the case of teachers, scholars, and writers like myself since travel abroad is of such importance for our regular work." The words "penalize" and "penalty" give the key to the whole business. Depriving citizens of the right to travel is another of the many means which are being employed to silence dissent and force conformity.

★

MOBILIZATION CHIEF CHARLES E. WILSON, in response to public protest, announced on August 18 a sixty-day moratorium on the granting of certificates of necessity on new plant construction entitling the holders to take advantage of the tax-amortization provisions of the Revenue Act of 1950. The reason for the "moratorium" is now clear. The Revenue Act of 1950 provided that projects would lose their eligibility for accelerated tax amortization unless certificates of necessity were issued within a year after the passage of the act. This made September 23, 1951, the deadline. Hence the declaration of a "moratorium" diverted attention from the program for a strategic interval, during which the mad rush to secure certificates before the deadline passed could be conducted under cover of public indifference. Defense Production Administration officials now contend that, in any case, the "moratorium" was a misnomer. They merely wanted a "breathing space" in which they could process the back log of applications. There can be little doubt that these officials have been working overtime: between September 20 and September 22 some 456 applications were approved. During the last sixty days, in fact, a total of 1,483 certificates have been issued—more than for any comparable period since the program was launched a year ago.

★

ADD ANOTHER COMMUNITY TO THE LIST OF "fever spots" in American education compiled by Morris Mitchell on page 344. Falls Church, Virginia, is a community of 7,500 people. Critics of the school administration complained about many things, but mostly about a pupil-exchange agreement and the fact that two

new schools were not completed on schedule. Fifteen minutes after taking office, a new City Council voted to investigate charges of maladministration filed by six citizens, although the schools were not an issue in the campaign, and gave the school board twenty-four hours in which to reply to the charges. When the board members returned with a twenty-two-page detailed answer to the charges, they were told that the reply would be discussed in a closed session, although the charges against them had been widely aired at an open meeting. Then the familiar razzle-dazzle campaign began, with an advertisement in the local newspaper extolling the notorious Pasadena school inquisition. After putting up with this harassment for a time, the six members of the board finally resigned as a group, and Falls Church was left without a school board. Shocked by this dramatic action, over a thousand residents signed petitions to the City Council urging it to discontinue the investigation and to reject the resignations. Out of this protest has come an emergency committee of citizens determined to protect the schools of Falls Church. As in all similar situations, the issue is not whether a school board should be criticized but whether the public-school system is to be undermined. Criticism is one thing; an organized assault on the school system is quite another matter.

★

AN IMPASSE HAS BEEN REACHED IN THE negotiations which began late in September between the R. F. C. and representatives of the Bolivian government on a long-term contract governing the price of tin. When the R. F. C. suspended purchases of Bolivian tin last May because of alleged price gouging, only the assumption of power by a military junta forestalled a coup d'état by Victor Paz Estenssoro, who had been exploiting the tin workers' discontent. Currently the R. F. C. has been purchasing tin on a month-to-month basis at \$1.12 a pound, pending negotiations for a new contract. The price of tin is, of course, a crucial factor in the economy of Bolivia as that economy is now organized. Some 59 per cent of Bolivia's taxes and 89 per cent of its foreign exchange come from tin. The Bolivian negotiators contend that the counter-measures taken by the R. F. C. when England devalued the pound in the first half of 1950 artificially depressed the price of tin and that averages for this period should not be used in determining a new price. They also call attention to the fact that smelting charges assessed against Bolivian producers at the refinery at Longhorn, Texas, have increased more than 300 per cent since the initial contract to supply concentrates was signed. On the other hand, the R. F. C. negotiators refer to the Senate tin report, which contains some unkind references to price-fixing, and point out that "the battle against inflation is also part of the fight against communism."

IT WOULD BE MOST UNFORTUNATE IF THE negotiations were to be terminated. The United Nations has just released a preliminary report outlining a long-range plan for the development of Bolivia's economy which, if realized, would greatly reduce its dependence on tin. The report points out that Bolivians describe their country as "a beggar sitting on a chair of gold" and that the description approximates the facts. Few countries in the world have a greater diversity of raw materials than Bolivia; yet the per capita income remains extremely low. The political consequences of the dependence on tin have been as grave as the economic. No legally elected President of Bolivia has served out his normal term during the last twenty-five years, and Bolivia has experienced 175 revolutions since its liberation from Spain. Should the present negotiations fail or should we succeed in forcing the Bolivians to accept a price dictated by American can companies, the consequences might well include the rise to power of Victor Paz Estenssoro and the disruption of the work of the four-man U. N. economic mission to Bolivia. A higher price for tin would not solve Bolivia's economic problem any more than an increase in the price of copper would remedy every social evil in Chile (see Carleton Beals's article, Copper, Chile, and Communism, *The Nation*, October 13). Almost as important as the price is the manner in which the price is determined. On this score we should be able to profit from the British experience in Iran. Certainly the negotiations have not been furthered by such pressure tactics as the suggestion that a usable substitute for the tin can, made of aluminum and plastic, is now available.

Time to Parley?

BEFORE his recent departure from Moscow, the American Ambassador, Alan G. Kirk, asked the Soviet government to assist in the achievement of a Korean armistice as an essential first step toward the improvement of international relations. In his reply Foreign Minister Vishinsky asked how it was possible to take seriously suggestions of better relations between the Soviet Union and the United States after Mr. Truman's declaration on September 17 that agreements with the Soviet Union were not worth the paper they were written on.

This may be just a debating point, but followed as it was by an offer to discuss all unsettled questions, it is one that illuminates the folly of Mr. Truman's off-the-cuff diplomacy, which has once again put the State Department on the spot. How now, asks the *Wall Street Journal* of October 19, "can we accept the proposal to negotiate when our position is that any agreement is worthless? Yet how can we turn it down without giving the world

the impression that we are, as Mr. Vishinsky charges, not interested in negotiated settlements?"

Actually the President does not seem to have abandoned all hopes of reaching agreement with Moscow. In a speech at Wake Forest College on October 16 he said: "Once we have defenses strong enough to prevent the sneaking, creeping kind of aggression that Hitler practiced—what is the next step? Must we then have a showdown, and a war until one side or another is completely victorious? I think not. . . . As our strength increases, we should be able to negotiate settlements that the Soviet Union will respect and live up to." The same idea was expressed more succinctly by Mr. Churchill in one of his election speeches: "I do not hold that we should rearm in order to fight. I hold that we should rearm in order to parley."

Does this mean that the Western nations should refuse to negotiate until the completion of their arms programs gives them overwhelming superiority over the Soviet bloc? That might seem to imply, as some European commentators have suggested, a desire not to parley but to dictate terms. Even the London *Economist*, which is very pro-American and strongly supports rearmament, noted in a recent issue that "in large measure the present American program is designed for fighting Russia, not for staying at peace by deterring a Russian aggression." Agreeing that there was need for greater arms production in the near future, this journal suggested that the long-term program was being "over-done" and should be cut back before it created too much dislocation. "Moreover," it added, "it is not safe for the world for either side to be overwhelmingly stronger than the other—even if it is our side and inspired by the most pacific of intentions. Good men are not exempt from temptation."

The world will certainly be more impressed with our good intentions if at every stage in our defense building we show ourselves ready to negotiate and to compromise in so far as this can be done without sacrificing basic democratic principles. That appears to be Mr. Churchill's view, for he has committed himself to attempting to organize a big-power meeting "on the highest level" should he win the election. Nor has Mr. Truman ruled out negotiation. In the same Wake Forest address he declared: "We are ready now as we have always been to sit down with the Soviet Union and work together for lifting the burden of armaments."

In the light of that statement the worth of Mr. Vishinsky's suggestion of four-power negotiations should certainly be tested, skeptical as we may be about its sincerity. Apart from any moral considerations, that would be practical diplomacy. For we cannot be sure that time is on our side. True, we and our allies in N. A. T. O. are fairly steadily increasing our military strength, but the economic cost is beginning to sap the strength of the Western world. Britain, as Keith Hutchison showed in

two recent articles, and France, as Alexander Werth notes in this issue, are both approaching inflationary crises. And this country, strong as it is, is not altogether immune from economic difficulties. The tax bill just signed by the President is inadequate as a counter-inflationary measure; yet even so it will prove painful to all income groups. And we are nearing the moment when the diversion of resources to arms manufacture is really going to pinch civilian consumption, the moment when we shall have to face the choice of "guns or butter" with all its social, economic, and political implications. We must not, therefore, allow either pride or overconfidence to prevent us from seizing even the slenderest chance of reaching an agreement with our adversary.

Mr. Truman and the Collectors

WITHIN the last seven months three regional collectors for the Bureau of Internal Revenue have either resigned under fire or have been replaced; Commissioner George J. Schoeneman has resigned "for reasons of health"; Assistant Commissioner Daniel A. Bolich has requested reassignment for the same reason; the collector in the San Francisco office and eight top assistants have been suspended; seven employees of the Bureau in Wisconsin have also been suspended; the chief field agent in northern California is under indictment; James P. Finnegan, formerly the Bureau's collector in St. Louis, is under indictment; Denis W. Delaney, formerly collector for Massachusetts, has been indicted for accepting bribes; and serious charges have been made against officials of the Alcohol Tax Unit in New York and New Jersey. Officials of the bureau have been charged with participating in shake-downs, conniving with racketeers, accepting bribes, and failing to prosecute fraud cases. Indeed, the simplest conclusion to be drawn would seem to be that if the bureau's collectors had been half as energetic in collecting taxes as some of them were in collecting personal pay-offs, receipts last year would have been considerably more than fifty billion dollars.

Several aspects of the current investigations are of special interest. When the St. Louis grand jury, in its first investigation, failed to indict Finnegan, Judge George H. Moore charged that "certain parties in official quarters did not show much zeal in giving the jury or the United States Attorney's office all the assistance to which they were entitled." In fact, Finnegan would not have been indicted if Senator John H. Williams had not insisted that the Treasury Department produce a mysterious "missing file" which contained the vital evidence. In both St. Louis and San Francisco the Department of Justice sought to discourage investigations. It is apparent, however, that Senator Williams has received substantial aid from the lower echelons of the bureau.

Not only have various federal agencies sought to cover

up for the bureau, but still other agencies have apparently cooperated splendidly with the extra-curricular activities of the more ambitious collectors. Senator Williams has shown, for example, how Dan M. Nee, then collector for the Western District of Missouri, and the Kansas City business man Ardeis M. Myers managed to lease grain-storage facilities from a government agency for the "ridiculously low" rental of less than \$1,000 a month, and four days later subleased these facilities to still another government agency under an agreement which paid them \$382,201.11 in the next twenty months. The file on a claim for delinquent taxes against Myers in the amount of \$675,344 gathered dust in Nee's office during the period he was collector. Mr. Nee now represents Mr. Myers.

Then there is the issue of whether collectorships should be merit or patronage appointments. Not only are collectorships ideally suited for merit appointment under civil service, as the Hoover Commission recommended two years ago, but the current investigations overwhelmingly confirm the fact that patronage appointees are likely to be incompetent. Mr. Finnegan, a close friend of the President, complained that his duties as collector at a salary of \$10,000 sometimes required him to spend as much as two or three days a week in his office. The salary was so low, in fact, that he had to scrounge around "on the outside" to pick up \$40,000 a year just to make ends meet. On the score of competence, his own income-tax returns were defective for a three-year period. Incidentally, Finnegan's 1949 return showed deductions of \$4,689 for entertainment, \$3,093 for transportation, and \$3,212 for hotel bills.

These issues are more important than the question of partisan responsibility or the degree to which the entire mess can be laid at the door of Mr. Truman. "Collecting on the side" is a bi-partisan shortcoming; indeed it is an aspect of the functioning of our society. What corrupt collectors have managed to pick up "on the side," in any case, is a meager tip by comparison, for example, with what private corporations have collected under the accelerated tax-amortization program. Or consider the report of Comptroller General Lindsay C. Warren, last spring, charging that the Maritime Commission had failed to account for two billion dollars. Among the items to which Mr. Warren took exception were \$394,806,000 paid to shipowners and shipbuilders in the guise of "construction-differential subsidies"; an item of \$28,013,144 improperly paid for so-called "defense features"; and a huge sum paid in 1950 to private shipowners who actually leased to the government for trans-Pacific service ships which in fact belonged to the government.

Nevertheless, Mr. Truman's handling of the issue to date has shown political ineptness and a familiar willingness to enshrine personal friendships. Almost in the act

of accepting the resignation of William Boyle as chairman of the Democratic National Committee, the President expressed confidence in Mr. Boyle and denied that his resignation had been requested. While admitting that collectors should not hold outside jobs, Mr. Truman still disapproves of merit appointments. This general attitude creates an unfortunate impression that the President shares the same conception of public service as that exemplified in the careers of Boyle and Finnegan. By not meeting the moral issue squarely the President has placed himself in a vulnerable political position. Tax evaders are still a minority, and taxes are high and going higher. Those who pay their taxes—and most people are old-fashioned enough to think that they should—will not

relish these stories about corrupt tax collectors when they can read, in a parallel column, that this year's tax increase on individual incomes may be 11 per cent or higher. The issue of the collectors is not one that can be met by fighting headlines with headlines. Without further delay Mr. Truman should repudiate the conception of public service implicit in the conduct of these conniving collectors; he should indorse the principle of merit appointments; and he should issue strong directives to the Justice and Treasury departments to press all pending investigations. This will not safeguard the public against corruption in government, but it may help to scotch the widespread impression that anyone who pays taxes is a sucker.

The Aluminum Squeeze

BY RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

Seattle, October 18

IN A region where not an ounce of aluminum was produced before 1940, this strategic light metal has suddenly become red-hot politically. Timber was once the key to the Northwest's great political controversies. Now it is aluminum.

More than 43 per cent of the hydroelectric power produced by the federal government on the Columbia River is sold to aluminum plants. An argument is going on all the way from the Continental Divide to the Pacific coast over whether this is responsible for the most serious power shortage in the history of the Northwest. Many private-utility spokesmen say too much electricity has been allocated to aluminum production. Economists of the Bonneville Power Administration, on the other hand, insist there would be plenty of kilowatts for aluminum plants and all other users if the power companies had not discouraged construction of additional federal dams several years ago.

Few people in the Northwest took seriously Charles E. Wilson's suggestion that some of the aluminum plants now located in Washington and Oregon be moved elsewhere. Several newspapers declared that the usually astute Wilson had been handed a lemon he ought never to have squeezed in public. It was obvious immediately that nowhere else in the country was there a surplus store of electricity such as the plants would require. Furthermore, the Columbia River rate is exceptionally low—two mills a kilowatt-hour. In many areas the industrial rate is at least four mills. Would the aluminum industry risk setting up plants which would have to pay four mills

for power, particularly when the Aluminum Company of Canada is constructing the vast Kitimat project in British Columbia, where the rate may be only one mill?

Last year the government collected \$35,702,461 for power from Bonneville and Grand Coulee dams. Aluminum companies paid nearly 44 per cent of this sum. The "Big Three" divided the output in approximately this fashion: Henry J. Kaiser got 393,000 kilowatts; Reynolds Metals, 236,000; the Aluminum Company of America, 175,000. Alcoa's share will be practically doubled when its new factory at Wenatchee is completed, probably within the next twelve months.

The Northwest has desperately needed industrial employment and permanent pay rolls. For decades it has survived economically by exploiting its natural resources—timber, fish, grazing land, and minerals. But because aluminum charges about 70 per cent of its total production cost to power, some economists have feared that too much of the Bonneville-Coulee generating capacity was allocated to its manufacture. These men see the region's hydroelectric riches being exported in the shape of aluminum ingots.

However, the amount of employment resulting from the new aluminum industry is fairly impressive. Some 4,000 men operate the potlines where the raw aluminum is smelted. The Kaiser rolling mill at Spokane employs 2,500 men, and the Alcoa rod and wire factory at Vancouver, Washington, 300. In addition the several hundred small fabrication plants of the region employ a total of 5,000 men and women. These plants, nearly all owned by local business men, take the ingots produced with Columbia River power and make such finished articles as truck and trailer bodies, kitchen cabinets, and irrigation pipe.

RICHARD L. NEUBERGER is an Oregon state senator and a well-known journalist.

Furthermore, as Bernard Goldhammer, economist for the Bonneville Power Administration, points out, it is probable that the Northwest's largest single industrial pay roll would not exist without the Columbia River aluminum plants. This is Boeing Aircraft of Seattle, which employs 28,000 people. Aluminum goes into nearly all aircraft parts.

In 1952 the first large expanse of arid land near Grand Coulee will be irrigated—a sprawling upland of 87,000 acres. As the sagebrush is replaced by fields of alfalfa and rows of beets and honeydews, enormous quantities of aluminum sprinkler pipe will be needed. Since eventually 1,100,000 acres will be irrigated from Grand Coulee, Goldhammer believes that the manufacture of equipment could become a major regional industry for the next two decades.

Aluminum production in the Northwest is entirely the result of President Roosevelt's power program for the Columbia River, first announced at Portland during the campaign of 1932. The states of Washington and Oregon account today for 46 per cent of the national total, and the proportion would be substantially larger if more power were available.

WHY is the Northwest short of power? For years Americans have been hearing that 42 per cent of the latent energy in the nation lurks in the Columbia River and its turbulent tributaries. This is true, but too much of the energy is still latent. In the 1930's the late Governor Charles H. Martin of Oregon told a Congressional committee that "we have power running out of our ears." He argued against the establishment of the Bonneville Power Administration, saying it was not needed. Last year the Bonneville Administration, operating only two dams, sold nearly as much power as the entire TVA, and serviced industries at the lowest factory rates in the country.

The power shortage has been aggravated by the fact that the water flow this year has been one of the lowest ever recorded for the Columbia Basin. An "intertie" between Bonneville Dam and such California projects as Shasta might have enabled some surplus energy to surge northward to alleviate the crisis in the Northwest. Utah also, according to Dr. Paul Raver, chief of the Bonneville Power Administration, possesses extra kilowatts in the autumn which could be transmitted to the Northwest if connecting transmission lines had been erected. Ironically, an intertie between California and the Northwest has been prevented by certain Pacific Northwest politicians in both parties who believe that California-baiting may pay dividends at the next election. The Northwest has a curious inferiority complex regarding the colossus of 11,000,000 people on its border. "California's trying to steal our power!" has become a political rallying cry. A pole line from Klamath Falls,

Oregon, to Redding, California, which would have cost only \$6,000,000, has never been built because of the hysterical opposition to an intertie.

Western Montana, one of the most neglected areas in the country, is disturbed by reports that power from the Hungry Horse Dam now being built by the Bureau of Reclamation on the Flathead River will be transmitted to existing light-metal plants in Oregon and Washington. This would block the plans of the Harvey Machine Company to erect an aluminum plant near Kalispell. Harvey has been allocated 111,000 kilowatts by Bonneville, which will have charge of the power generated by the new dam. It expects to hire 600 men. An industry of that size would be a godsend to a region that has struggled along on ranching, tourists, some logging, and a few railroad division points. Montana will resist determinedly any move to divert its power to other states. In fact, the law would have to be changed before that could be done.

The Northwest is teeming with rumors about why the Harvey organization has been attacked and why Charles E. Wilson proposed that aluminum plants be moved out of the region. Alice F. Johnson, Washington correspondent of the *Seattle Times*, has suggested that the competitive position of Kaiser and Reynolds would be improved if Harvey were kept out of the Northwest and Alcoa prevented from going ahead with its new Wenatchee plant.

The tempestuous personality of C. Girard Davidson, an ex-Assistant Secretary of the Interior now an attorney for the Harvey Machine Company, enters into the tangled controversy. When Drew Pearson assailed the war-time record of Harvey as a supplier of navy shells, Davidson threatened a number of papers with libel suits if the columns were run. Tom Humphrey, editor of the *Oregon Daily Journal* and a leading fighter for civil liberties, said Davidson convinced him that the Pearson columns were not fair to the Harvey Company and so he would not publish them. Other editors took umbrage at Davidson's complaints and were prejudiced against the entire Harvey case. Davidson has enemies in the Interior Department who have been blamed for the RFC's delay in granting a \$46,000,000 loan to Harvey. He has a good reputation in the Northwest, however, and Oregon Democrats may some day run him for the United States Senate. Yet when a former federal official represents a company seeking government favors, a situation is created which has explosive possibilities.

Wilson's statement about the possible curtailment of aluminum production in the Northwest is said to have been drafted by Clay Bedford, long identified with the Kaiser interests. Reynolds and Kaiser, who got their first plants from the government for around 33 cents on the dollar, with a negligible down payment, would naturally like to keep Harvey from entering the field.

Fever Spots in American Education

BY MORRIS MITCHELL

THE FIRST of this series of articles on education in a time of turmoil goes to press just as the trustees of Ohio State University announce that hereafter "the facilities of the university will not be made available to known Communists or members of other groups who seek to undermine basic liberties in America." The president of Ohio State is authorized to determine who shall or shall not be denied permission to speak from the university rostrum, the faculty being left only advisory rights. As the kind of person to bar, the trustees doubtless have in mind Dr. Cecil E. Hinshaw, a Quaker pacifist, who has already been kept from speaking, and Dr. Harold Rugg, professor emeritus of education at Teachers College, Columbia University, whose recent appearance drew criticism from two Columbus newspapers and precipitated the ruling.

Ten years ago, when the American Legion, the National Association of Manufacturers, and similar organizations forced Dr. Rugg's mildly liberal social-studies textbooks from hundreds of junior high schools, the evidence was already substantial that the enemies of academic freedom would spend millions of dollars, spread epidemics of lies and innuendo, and even resort to strong-arm tactics to attain their goal of an intimidated and strait-jacketed teaching profession. Their success is now becoming bitterly apparent. The battle for free schools, like the battle on other fronts, is moving from the cold to the hot stage.

The eight articles of this series will attempt to assess not only the present unprecedented threats to honest education in America but its considerable resources of vitality and promise. Obviously such a survey must select from the huge complex of problems and programs, of theories and practices. Obviously, also, the several authors cannot be expected to see eye to eye on every detail. My colleagues and I are agreed, however, that we should emphasize the attack on "progressive education" and intellectual liberty, the growing pressures upon the schools by organized religion and business, the struggle of minority groups for educational equality, the financial crisis confronting both private and public institutions, and the prospect of building a counter-attack. These will be our major themes. They center in the further agreement among all of us that education, properly conceived, is still the strongest bastion of any democracy that expects to live by deed instead of shibboleth.

THEODORE BRAMELD

FEVER spots in education have broken out all over the United States. Some have developed into ugly sores that betray an infection lying deep in the body of society. Pasadena, California; Minneapolis, Minnesota; Englewood, New Jersey; Eugene, Oregon; Denver, Colorado; Los Angeles, California, have bad cases; less severe ones have been reported at Upper Arlington, Ohio; Montgomery County, Maryland; Antelope Valley and San Diego, California; Scarsdale, New York; Springfield, Missouri. Countless other towns and cities are fighting the infection, with results varying from highly satisfactory to complete failure.

The teacher's fear of misrepresentation breeds a caution that verges here and there on the social sickness of totalitarianism. Boards of education spend precious hours defending themselves against little local McCarthys. In a score of communities around New York City alone, school boards have been forced to call special meetings to discuss attacks on textbooks which have been in use from six to ten years with the approval of students, teachers, administrators, and parents. Excellent superintendents are being fired or quietly "let out." Most tragic of all, the seeming calm in thousands of other communities is actually retreat: experimental courses and controversial library books have been renounced; reduced appropriations for buildings, equipment, and salaries have been accepted.

What forces are behind an onslaught that led ex-Superintendent Willard Goslin of Pasadena to conclude that not a superintendency in the nation is worth holding? They consist of four related groups—real-estate conservatives, super-patriots, dogma peddlers, and race haters. Let us see how each works.

REAL-ESTATE CONSERVATIVES. Autoocratic, teacher-and-textbook-dominated education is cheaper than democratic, child-and-community-centered education. Semi-skilled labor could "teach" under the old scheme. Costly professional training is a prerequisite of sound modern teaching. That is why business interests call for a return of the good old days "that never were."

MORRIS MITCHELL is director of the Putney (Vermont) Graduate School of Teacher Education. His article is the first of a series of eight on the crisis faced by our schools. THEODORE BRAMELD, editor of the series, is professor of educational philosophy at New York University.

In 1933 the United States Chamber of Commerce made twenty recommendations to local chambers. These included salary reductions for teachers, a shorter school year and longer school day, suspension of automatic salary increases, larger classes, reduction of the elementary-school time from seven to six years and of high-school time from four to three years, introduction of a fee system for high schools, discontinuance of free textbooks and of kindergartens, curtailment of building programs, economy in school repairs, curtailed curriculum with elimination of special subjects. Those were depression days. Now inflation prompts economy at a critical juncture. War babies have become school children. The war-caused delay in new construction forces double use of buildings condemned twenty years ago.

Real-estate interests are touchy about redistricting if property values are threatened. Often racial considerations are involved. This was the case in California, where Goslin proposed to redraw five school districts when two new ones were established. The story of his firing has been well told by David Hulburd in "This Happened in Pasadena." Actually all four groups of the enemy joined to dislodge this eminent and able school administrator.

New Hampshire's reactionary legislature recently abolished the office of Commissioner of Education—at the same time that it threw out the State Planning and Development Commission. This "irresponsible and suicidal" action was compared in the *Manchester Union Leader* to "the behavior of a bunch of kids who had got to the stone-throwing stage at a picnic, or [of] a group of adults after drinks in the corner saloon." It was actually based on the fact that New Hampshire is not industrialized and that tax funds are derived largely from property.

SUPER-PATRIOTS. Drawing on conservative capital and using local fanatics, the typical super-patriotic front organizations exploit present insecurities and hostilities and the accompanying fear of change.

The National Council for American Education in New York City is spark-plugged by Allen A. Zoll, its "executive vice-president." It publishes pamphlets with titles like "Progressive Education Breeds Juvenile Delinquency," and a house-organ called the *Educational Guardian*. Zoll was founder and national commander of American Patriots, Inc., which used as speakers Elizabeth Dilling, thrice indicted for sedition; John Eogan Kelly, unregistered agent of Franco; "I-am-one-hundred-percent-for-Hitler" Joseph McWilliams; and anti-Semite Gerald L. K. Smith. As one of Father Coughlin's ardent Christian Front supporters, Zoll was arrested on a charge of attempted extortion of \$7,500, but the case was nolleprossed. Arthur D. Morse in the September issue of *McCall's* tells how Zoll obtained his "doctorate":

Temple Hall College and Seminary (now defunct) was a one-man diploma mill operated by a man named D. Scott Swain. Swain's qualifications as an educator included the serving of a six-year prison term on six charges, including running a confidence game, obtaining property under false pretenses, and passing bad checks. While running his "college" Swain conferred upon himself the title "Archbishop Primate." Probably the high point of his career was reached at a meeting in New York City, when the "Bishop" got roaring drunk and in a burst of expansiveness passed out Temple Hall Ph.D.'s to his entire audience. The exact moment when Zoll was awarded his doctorate is unknown.

Friends of the Public Schools of America, Washington, D. C., is headed by Major General Amos Fries and Mrs. Claud I. Palmer. It publishes a sheet called *Friends of the Public Schools*, which is distributed to school officials all over the country. This paper constantly attacks federal aid to education, academic freedom, and the welfare state. A typical issue was devoted to "proving" the thesis: "The Southern States Are Able to Finance Their Education."

The American Education Association, New York, is inspired by the slogan "Keep Our American Schools American." It publishes *Signposts*. Milo F. McDonald is executive director. The Church League of America, Chicago, publishes *News and Views*. George Washington Robnett is executive secretary.

The Committee on Education of the Conference of American Small Business Organizations, Chicago, is primarily concerned to evaluate, according to its own "objective" standards, "textbooks and supplementary material in public schools, especially those dealing with American history and social sciences." It publishes the *Educational Reviewer*, of which Lucille Cardin Crain is editor. George D. Hawkins is chairman.

The Employers' Association of Chicago is headed by John T. Beatty and Gordon L. Hostetter. A sample of its propaganda is the widely read pamphlet "How Red Is the Little Red Schoolhouse?" On the cover a brutish soldier, bayonet over one shoulder, cartridge belt over the other, sickle and hammer on helmet, sinister expression on face, is reaching over the curve of the earth to inject a hypodermic of bright red fluid into a red schoolhouse. Children, oblivious to danger, are happily at play. A typical paragraph runs:

A prominent American educator said in a magazine article recently that we can be sure of one thing: *there are thousands of Reds in our educational system. . . .* Many of these undercover Reds claim to be "liberals" and "progressives." Always remember you can't "try" communism. Anymore than you can try cyanide. Or leprosy.

The National Association of Pro-America, Seattle, with local chapters known as "Pro-America," includes

among its self-appointed activities the exposure of the "subversive" content of school textbooks. Rated subversive, of course, is any sort of critical study of the capitalist system.

Each "super-patriot" organization has its own methods. Some concentrate on textbooks; some spy upon teachers, even an entire school faculty. After attacking the "Red-ucators" of Harvard, Zoll moved on to charge Communist influence at the University of California, Stanford University, California Institute of Technology, Columbia University, and the University of Minnesota. The press is of course kept informed of such charges and often—particularly, the Hearst press—prints them willingly.

This propaganda has proved effective. A single pamphlet, "Treason in the Textbooks" by O. L. Armstrong, went into a million homes through the channels of Merwin K. Hart's National Economic Council and the American Legion. One of its cartoons depicted a teacher grinning wickedly down at frightened boys and girls, with slime dripping from his scrawny hands upon four books labeled Constitution, Religion, U. S. Heroes, and U. S. History. Another showed the same teacher fitting black glasses on the eyes of a boy and girl reading a book called "The American Way of Life." The caption was: "The Frontier Thinkers are trying to sell our youth the idea that the American Way of Life has failed." The accompanying article blacklisted a score of authors, books, and magazines, including the magazine *Scholastic*. Within two weeks from the time the article appeared *Scholastic* received 400 letters canceling orders for 16,000 subscriptions.

Of course these super-patriots are promoters of bigger and better oaths of allegiance. In Pasadena the so-called "School Development Council" challenged the teachers to sign an oath which identified opposition to capitalism with overthrowing the government:

I do further swear (or affirm) that I have not attempted, nor will I attempt, to effect such overthrow, openly or secretly, or attack the American way of life based upon the ideals conceived by our Founding Fathers, who created this Republic to guarantee inalienable rights of the individual and the system of competitive free enterprise.

DOGMA PEDDLERS. Fearing the whole concept of public education, the dogma peddlers are the would-be authorities behind an authoritarian scheme of education. Their aim is to lead children to believe in the doctrines chosen for them and to prevent any awareness of alternatives. They pay for special schools where they must, but they work chiefly for a share of public funds for their own schools.

Dogma peddlers raise cries of "godlessness." They censor texts, library books, and movies. They attack

"progressive education." They oppose pragmatism because pragmatism opposes dogmatism. They fight such protagonists of the Yankee way of thinking as John Dewey and William Heard Kilpatrick. They have their own front organizations and consort with other reactionaries. Whether they are church dogmatists (Protestant, Catholic, Jewish) or political dogmatists (Communists, fascists, or N. A. M. monopoly capitalists), they are the enemy, for children should study freely *about* all major creeds and have none imposed on them through propaganda methods.

RACE HATERS. There are the sufferers from inner conflicts due to self-conceit and personal insecurity. They violate American values by violating the universality of human dignity. They are not easily reasoned out of their prejudices because they were never reasoned into them. They join the economic royalists in gerrymandering school districts to protect real-estate interests. They join the super-patriots to fight foreigners and "foreign ideas." They have helped spread racial segregation far beyond the borders of the South.

There the fever spots merge into a blotch with the appearance of a gigantic birthmark. Governor Talmage of Georgia has declared: "As long as I am governor, Negroes will not be admitted to white schools." He has also said that abolition of segregation in Southern elementary and secondary schools "would create more confusion, disorder, riots, and bloodshed than anything since the War Between the States." Governor Byrnes of South Carolina has affirmed: "We will, if it is possible, live within the law, preserve the public-school system, and at the same time maintain segregation. If that is not possible, reluctantly, we will abandon the public-school system. To do that would be choosing the lesser of two great evils."

Anti-Semitism, while not, strictly speaking, a phenomenon of race-baiting, is closely associated with it. For example, the *Free Press* of Redmont, Oregon, publishes "Judaic-Communism Versus Christian-Americanism," by Marilyn R. Allen, an eighty-page book with chapter titles like Judaism Versus Christianity, Communists Robbing U. S. Mail, Vulture Vinchell, Jews in the U. S. Senate, and The "Benevolent" B'nai B'rith. It offers free copies of the brochure, "Un-American Teaching in Many of Our Schools," illustrated by a picture of the hand of communism overshadowing the public school. You may receive the *Free Press*, which "rides the devil (communism and its pappy) a-straddle without a saddle, and spurs him at every lope," twice a month for only \$1.50 a year.

How fare the schools in your bailiwick? Are they under attack from any or all of these forces? If not, is it because your superintendent has done a job of community-wide education for and through gradual

change? Because parent and citizen groups have long taken an active interest in school affairs? Or is it because there has been no effective demand for plant, equipment, and teachers commensurate with the challenge of America's greatest enterprise in transition?

THESE things we can do:

1. Watch for signs of organized opposition. Know the enemy. Get his literature and study it.

2. Know your schools and help them with honest criticism as well as with moral and financial support. The more than a million devoted teachers deserve this cooperation.

3. Join your local parent-teacher association or council for the public schools, and through study and participation help make them constructive forces for good public education.

4. Study the meaning of truly modern education, including the major conflicting theories. Decide where you stand.

5. Support the National Education Association, Washington, D. C.; the American Federation of Teachers, Chicago; The American Education Fellowship, Champaign, Ill. (which, incidentally, will honor Kilpatrick, whose name has figured in many of these attacks, in

New York City on November 17); the National School Boards Association, Chicago; the Rural Editorial Service, Chicago; the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, Chicago; the Association for Childhood Education, New York; and the Public Education Association, New York. (The list is suggestive, not exclusive.)

6. Give prompt answer to the destroyers. They are few in number, but they make a disproportionate noise. (In Scarsdale an aroused citizenry cast 1,084 votes out of 1,090 for one citizens' committee nominee, 1,081 for another, and 1,085 for the third—a punishing rout for the enemy.)

7. Invite leaders of the hostile organizations to address public meetings. There they can be exposed for what they are. Let's not wait again until the damage has been done.

8. Since there are at present no funds for fighting directly this insidious form of community disintegration, a march-of-dimes campaign should be instituted. These attacks are, truly, a kind of "infantile paralysis"—an infection which paralyzes the mind instead of the body. Large donations as well as small might be obtained, for many rich persons are wise enough to recognize the danger. But the dimes of the people could quiet this fever by attacking it at its source.



WE WANT A STRONG NATIONAL DEFENSE—BUT . . .

Days of Destiny for France

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Paris, October 15

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S proposal that in the coming year the North Atlantic Treaty countries be given \$2,500,000,000 in economic aid was whittled down by Congress to less than half, and American aid will take the form chiefly of ready-made armaments. Meanwhile the European countries are expected to step up their own rearmament in a big way. How much will France be expected to spend? 800,000 million francs, a trillion, or more? Nobody can yet say. The cost of the war in Indo-China alone is reckoned to be close to a billion francs a day. And prices in France are going up and up and up. M. Courant, the Minister of the Budget, announced the other day in a moment of indiscretion that France's expenditures in 1952 would total at least 3,500 billion francs, and that it therefore faced a deficit of 1,400 billion francs! A current wisecrack is that a French Finance Minister can qualify only by graduating in astronomy and astrology.

These troubles are not confined to France; the French press seems to feel a certain melancholy satisfaction in bemoaning similar, or worse, trouble in Britain—"We're in a damnable mess, but just look at the English!" The common view is that if Mr. Attlee decided on an election, it was because for Britain too "days of destiny" were in the offing, as René Mayer said they were for France when he returned from Ottawa. There's this difference: France had its election in June, and the Parliament that resulted has proved so unmanageable that no major decisions at all could be taken during its September session.

Only two significant votes were taken—one granting state subsidies to religious schools, which had the immediate effect of smashing the precarious "Third Force" majority that had emerged from the election and creating an ad hoc majority including the Gaullists; and another adopting by the overwhelming majority of 410 votes to 200 the application of the sliding scale to wages. At this point the government gave up. It asked that it be given time to reflect, and that the National Assembly go on holiday till the first week in November. M. Edgar Faure, the Minister of Justice, declared the sliding scale "a piece of insanity" and the vote instituting it an example of the worst type of party demagoguery. "We can't turn inflation into a permanent institution!" he exclaimed. Having sent the bill to the Senate, the govern-

ment hopes to kill it when it comes up for its second reading.

But whether "permanent" or not, inflation has become an institution. To keep general discontent within reasonable limits, at least during the present period of "waiting" and "reflection," the government consented to raise the minimum wage 15 per cent, to 20,000 francs a month. Government employees' wages have been stepped up 12 per cent, at the cost of 135,000 million francs a year, and practically all through French industry in the last month wages have been raised between 12 and 15 per cent, in some cases even more.

In terms of real wages this means very little. How much the cost of living has really gone up in the last six months is almost impossible to say—the employers', the government's, and the trade unions' figures are all different—but 15 per cent seems a conservative estimate. Only the matter does not end there. The readiness with which the employers increased wages was of course largely due to their knowledge that they were not losing much, since prices on everything were going up very rapidly. (This readiness, it is true, was also stimulated by clear signs that all the trade unions were getting together for "united action," a matter on which we are likely to hear a good deal more in coming weeks.) Indeed, no sooner had the new wages been fixed than the government announced a 22 per cent increase in the price of steel and a 20 per cent increase in the price of French coal. Gas and electricity have gone up; the price of cars will be put up; the prices of all basic foodstuffs are rapidly rising. Few are the people in Paris who have managed to buy a pound of sugar in the last week; shops and wholesalers have "frozen" their stocks in anticipation of a 15 or 20 per cent rise. For the third time in little more than a year newspapers have raised their prices—an ordinary paper now costs 15 francs, the *Monde* 18 francs, and the *Paris Herald Tribune* 30 francs! Especially among publishers of the smaller *journaux d'opinion*, which stand for real intellectual freedom in France but are threatened with bankruptcy owing to the exorbitant cost of newsprint, feeling is strong against the government, whose "subsidies" to the paper manufacturers have done the newspapers no good, and against the United States, whose "anti-social" waste of newsprint is held responsible for throttling those European papers which have no big financial interests behind them to see them through.

When it is argued that France's salvation will be in expanding production and exports, the obvious an-

ALEXANDER WERTH is one of The Nation's European correspondents.

swer is that exports are not all that easy to expand, and that dollars are needed for raw materials. The million tons of coal recently "granted" to French industry by the United States will have to be paid for in dollars, and more dearly than French coal. Many besides Communists have been led to wonder whether East-West trade, now almost at a standstill, cannot be developed.

"Decisions" will have to be taken when the Assembly meets again in November. There is vague talk about all sorts of things that may, or may not, be decided. Even rationing is talked of—a word inseparable in the French mind from "black market." It is also rumored that conscription may be put up from eighteen months to two years.

But what majority and what government will take these decisions? Above all, who is going to take the decisions which would wipe out, or at any rate greatly reduce, the budget deficit of 1,400 billion francs? The general political trend in Europe may be of decisive importance. The result of the British election is bound to have the most far-reaching repercussions here: a Tory victory would create a "climate" eminently suitable to a Gaullist or near-Gaullist government. Whatever party is in power, it is generally felt that nothing can provide a lasting solution to France's—and Europe's—ills short of a real East-West *détente*, a slowing down of rearmament, and a revival of some degree of confidence.

In theory, some of the deficit might be wiped out by drastic financial and fiscal reforms—raising the rates of existing taxes, stricter fiscal control, and above all an extension of heavy taxation to the peasantry. But the peasants are largely the clients of the rightist parties; and there are many other snags of the same kind. Politically there are three possibilities: (1) a center-right coalition, complete with the Gaullists—which would, sooner or later, lead to a quasi-dictatorial regime, economically not very different from Franco's, if the French working class allowed it; (2) the reconstitution of a Third Force majority, through the burying, by the M. R. P. and the Socialists, of their respective clerical and *laissez-faire* hatchets; (3) a new election. This last has been talked about as a serious possibility. But if French democracy is to survive, the second solution seems at the moment the most promising. Only, as the Socialists, through M. Christian Pineau, put it, it is no use squeezing France too hard:

To demand from France an effort which, if brought about, would make her more vulnerable even than if she refused to do anything is shortsighted. I don't think Frenchmen should quarrel about the choice of solutions all of which are impossible. They must do their best in every field [rearmament as well as economic revival and financial reform], but their partners must realize with what terrible dangers France will be threatened if reasonable limits are exceeded.

One question is worrying a great many Frenchmen today, and that is whether the United States—by its present "squeeze"—is not knowingly helping the right and the Gaullists to power. A Tory victory in Britain will make that easier. But what kind of Europe shall we have then?

ON ALL levels in Paris discussions are continuing round the problem of German unity, raised with such "brutality"—as the French would say—by the Grotewohl proposal, and kept alive by the inevitable controversies raging round it in Germany itself. In French opinion, it is more important that Iran or Egypt—though the "revolt of Islam" is not something France can treat with indifference, with French North Africa "next." But Germany is even nearer home, and what is happening there has shaken the French more than anything else for a long time. Not that all reactions to German unity are the same: far from it. Fundamentally, everybody in France who remembers the division of France into two "zones" agrees that the drift toward German unity is entirely natural. Having accepted this, many also consider that France's policy should be to derive the greatest possible benefit from German unity. This is the view forcefully expressed by M. Robert Borel in the *Monde* and shared, it seems, by far more French political leaders than would like to admit to it openly.

At the other extreme is the view, expounded, for example, by M. Servan Schreiber in the pro-American *Paris-Presse*, that whether German unity is natural or not, it must be prevented at any price. German unity, to Schreiber, means German neutrality. This in itself would deal a death blow to the European army and the Schuman Plan: without a substantial West German contribution, a European army will be out of the question; France will inevitably also become neutral, and the whole of Western Europe will consequently be thrown open to a Soviet invasion, with America washing its hands of it in disgust. Therefore, whatever the private hankerings of the German people, France must impose on West Germany the acceptance of a West European Federation, complete with a federal army, a federal Parliament, and so on; Schreiber claims that if there were a referendum on the subject in France, the majority of the French people would "probably" be in favor.

M. Borel, on the other hand, starts with a point conveniently overlooked by M. Schreiber—namely, that West Germany is infinitely more interested in joining up with East Germany than with France and Benelux. Also, the two writers' arguments have different premises: M. Schreiber assumes that the Russians want to invade Western Europe and will certainly do it if they have enough atom bombs by 1953 or 1954 and if there is no adequate land army in the West to stop them. M. Borel, on the contrary, assumes—and in this comes closer than

M. Schreiber to the official French view—that Russia does not want a world war either now or later, and that, moreover, the United States, whether it likes it or not, must inevitably consider a Russian attack on Western Europe as a *casus belli*. He therefore sees the possibility of a lasting peace between the United States and the Soviet Union in the creation of a neutral belt in Europe stretching from Sweden to Yugoslavia and taking in Germany, Austria, and Switzerland, and in the subsequent extension of this "neutral zone" to include the whole of Western Europe. As long as the Red Army is halfway across Germany, he says, one must be extremely doubtful about French "neutralism"; with the establishment of a neutral belt—its status to be surrounded, of course, by a number of international safeguards—neutralism becomes a much more plausible policy.

Since German unity will, in M. Borel's view, quite inevitably be attained, and Bonn is therefore most unlikely to commit itself to the European army, the whole American idea of building up forty-five divisions in Western Europe by 1953 is based on false assumptions and must be drastically revised. Why not, then, simply return to a national French army, and abandon the idea

of a French-Italian-Benelux army, which is all that the "European army" would now amount to? Borel also sees in the neutrality of Germany and the "semi-neutralization" of Western Europe—presumably not necessarily excluding American bases as a "guaranty of West European neutrality"—a means of cutting the financial knot which today is strangling Western Europe.

In Washington all this must sound like a dangerous heresy. In France, however, the prospect of a united Germany has raised a multitude of questions which the French public are in no mood to dismiss lightly. With West German participation in the defense of the West becoming more and more problematical, the French public is less sure than ever that an all-out rearmament effort by the Western democracies is the best means of avoiding a war. (As for "winning" it, France isn't really interested.)

The main snag to accepting the unity of Germany is the question whether adequate guaranties could be obtained against its "spontaneous" rearmament later; American unwillingness to enter into such an arrangement would naturally jeopardize any solution of the German problem through neutrality.

The Dilemma of Reform

Boston's Curley Bows Out

BY JOHN P. MALLAN

Boston, October 17

ON SEPTEMBER 26 the city of Boston held the first "preliminary" election in its history—and the results were surprising to Boston and to the nation. The "preliminary" is a new device, the result of a 1949 change in the charter which makes it impossible for the mayor to be elected by a simple plurality vote, as has happened so often in the past.

James M. Curley, former mayor and former governor, twice in his long career a prison inmate, and frequently defeated for office, received the worst beating of his life. Mayor John Hynes, a political newcomer who defeated Curley by a small margin in 1949, won easily, receiving 107,000 votes to Curley's 76,000.

Curley will be seventy-seven this month; yet he campaigned well, and observers were not only surprised by his defeat but by his announcement a few days later that he was withdrawing from the election. City Hall gossips believe that his withdrawal is merely a feint, since he refuses to remove his name from the ballot; but he has

closed his headquarters, and the morale of his many faithful workers has sagged badly. Hynes, who has done a reasonably competent if quiet job as mayor, seems a certainty for a full four-year term.

Of much greater interest now is the fight for membership on the City Council and the School Committee. Under the new charter a nine-man council elected from the city at large will replace the old twenty-two-ward arrangement, and a School Committee of five will be elected in the same way. Ten were nominated for the School Committee and eighteen for City Council in the preliminary election.

Two years ago a young Harvard Law School graduate named Jerome L. Rappaport explained to this writer the way in which a permanent winning organization could be built in Boston. Rappaport, a brilliant organizer and strategist, was then twenty-two years old. At Harvard he had founded the nationally known Law School Forum and dabbled in radio and publicity work. In 1949 he was head of the youth section of the Hynes-for-Mayor campaign; since then he has been a City Hall secretary and assistant corporation counsel for Boston. He is the founder and chief organizer of the phenomenally successful New Boston Committee, which nominated an entire slate in the primary.

The Rappaport formula is simple, and it has been used with great success by Maurice Tobin and others in

JOHN P. MALLAN is teaching at Northeastern University while completing work for a Ph. D. at Harvard. Last year he served as vice-chairman of the New Boston Committee.

Boston. The city's elections are non-partisan, and while Republicans are outnumbered at least two to one, they constitute a hard core of 80,000 to 100,000 votes. Added to the normal dissident Democratic, good-government, and floating vote, this is enough to elect any candidate in Boston who is himself a respectable Democrat and an Irishman.

The appeal of the Curleys has been primarily to the working-class wards—Roxbury, South Boston, Charlestown, the North End. The outlying, middle-class wards, while Democratic, are essentially conservative and today are "respectable" to an almost appalling degree. Both Maurice Tobin and John Hynes have been elected by carrying these wards, plus what remains of the Yankee Republican vote in Back Bay. This year a final blow was struck at Curleyism when every ward in working-class Dorchester went "lace curtain" (and Hynes) for the first time.

The New Boston Committee has been organized to appeal to the same groups. Its first funds came from wealthy civic leaders like Henry Shattuck, a liberal Republican; in the beginning most of its members were Republicans or genteel Democrats, though an effort was made to include representatives of every ward and social group in the city. Many politically weak labor leaders and liberals have joined, but are disturbed to find themselves allied with conservative business elements against the very groups from which future liberal-labor support must come.

"Good government" in Boston as elsewhere has usually meant the swallowing up of liberals in a group which stresses both efficiency and low taxes at the expense of welfare programs. The New Boston Committee is no exception. In general its members are sincere idealists and its candidates—like civic leader Frank Ahearn and Mary Fitzgerald—outstanding. But the internal structure of the organization is both conservative and autocratic. Actual decisions are made by a very small group and usually reflect a great respect for wealth and power. City Hall patronage has also been used when needed to keep young "idealists" at work.

The more conventional political leaders of Boston campaigned before the primary as they always had campaigned, appealing for votes on a basis of personal friendship rather than issues. They refused to take the N. B. C. seriously, and most of them were swamped by its solid-slate vote of 25,000 or 35,000 in a greatly dispersed field—105 in all ran for 30 positions.

Among the politicians who survived are some popular and able people. They are now reorganizing for a bitter campaign which will concentrate on the N. B. C.—with Curley's open assistance—and use every charge from big business to communism. (Rappaport is not only a Harvard man but was a New Yorker till 1949; both facts spell "communism" to many a Boston Irishman.)

At this point it is difficult to say whether the "friends and neighbors" of the working-class ward politicians will bury the "State Street carpetbaggers" or vice versa on November 6. But for the liberal, the dilemma of conservatism versus Curleyism will remain—and it has ramifications far beyond the borders of Boston or Massachusetts.

Philadelphia Story

BY CHARLES R. ALLEN, JR.

Philadelphia, October 18

WHEN a minor office-holder hanged himself in the basement of his Philadelphia home on May 22, 1948, the exposés which followed dealt a heavy blow to the Republican machine. Since then the Republicans have failed to win a single election in a city in which their dominance had been proverbial: Truman carried the city in the 1948 Presidential election; in 1949 the Democrats, though out-registered nearly three to one, defeated the "City Hall gang"; the next year the Democratic candidate for governor won comfortably in Philadelphia, narrowly missing election; and in 1951 the city adopted a new charter over the opposition of the G. O. P. machine. The adoption of the charter, even more than the previous defeats, showed that the electorate had come to the end of its patience. It was then that the Republican bosses realized their desperate plight.

The night the city charter was adopted, Morton Witkin, acknowledged "brains" of the City Hall machine and one of the country's ablest ward leaders, seemed to accept the defeat with extraordinary detachment. "Boys," he is said to have remarked, "that does it. The Old Guard's got to take a back seat. From here on the independents are flying the Republican kite. They lead; we should follow. Let the Charterites call the tune. Who do they want for mayor and D. A.? I'll take them. I'm a Republican first and a machine man second." On another occasion he chided one of his lieutenants: "We took a licking, yes, but if only you guys would learn how to take a licking." The first step in the learning process was, of course, to select a man of impeccable character and outstanding achievement as the Republican candidate for mayor.

The inspiration came at a cocktail party. William Morrow, a former deputy sheriff, now chairman of the Republican City Committee, was chatting with a group of doctors. "You fellows get around," he said, "you get to know people. Why don't you give me the name of a good man to run for mayor?" One of the group replied, "That's easy—Dan Poling."

"Dan" Poling is the Reverend Daniel Alfred Poling,

CHARLES R. ALLEN, JR., a member of The Nation's staff, is a native Philadelphian.



Daniel Poling

an internationally known Baptist clergyman. Now sixty-six, Poling has the energy of a man half his age. In addition to having served as pastor of the two largest Baptist churches in the United States—the three-hundred-year-old Marble Collegiate Church in New York and the Grace Baptist Temple in Philadelphia—he has been president of the World Christian Endeavor Union. He edits the money-making *Christian Herald*, financed with the help of J. C. Penney's millions, and directs

the activities of numerous charities—all debt free, as the Republicans like to point out. No newcomer to politics, Dr. Poling was candidate for governor of Ohio on the Prohibition ticket in 1912. He is chairman of the All-American Conference to Combat Communism.

Poling was obviously the answer to Mort Witkin's problem; the only question was how best to improvise a draft. The formal proposal that Poling should run came from the Republican Citizens' Committee, which was supposed to be quite independent of the Republican City Committee. The Citizens' Committee was headed by John R. Diemand, president of the Insurance Company of North America, and William A. Schnader, former attorney general of Pennsylvania, known to many Philadelphians through the ribbing of the *Inquirer* as "King William the First." Under the committee's prompting Dr. Poling announced that he intended to file for the nomination but could be "stopped." No one stopped him, and he was welcomed by the Republican City Committee as the man who "assented to become the candidate for the mayoralty of this great city." Dr. Poling then strengthened the illusion of spontaneity by declaring, "I did not seek your invitation but I cannot find it in my conscience to refuse."

But the machine now encountered resistance within its ranks. Walter P. Miller, a local manufacturer and former chairman of the reform Committee of 70, announced that he would file too, charging that a thoroughly discredited organization was taking refuge behind the robes of a clergyman. "He's a fine man," said Miller, "but underneath Dr. Poling you have an absolutely machine-dominated slate—the same old machine control." Mort Witkin argued that the Republican machine had been "improperly" smeared and that in any case Dr. Poling's name on the slate was insurance against a recurrence of objectionable practices. Dr.

Poling described the situation somewhat differently: "The Republican city administration is not, never has been, and never will be an administration 'rotten through and through' . . . but there have been flagrant delinquencies on the part of certain city officers." The fact that profane deeds had been committed "by venal men," he added, should not be permitted to "obscure our sight."

Witkin insisted that a new day had dawned for the G. O. P., but some of the ward leaders began to mutter. Then—in a dramatic move—the high command asked the leaders of the Thirty-second and Fifty-first wards to hand in their resignations. Both leaders, who incidentally had been arrested but later cleared of graft charges, complied forthwith. Enthusiasm ran high for Poling as the primaries approached, and when the votes were counted, the Republican nomination was his by a plurality of 130,000.

Dr. Poling's candidacy is being carefully watched for its bearing on the 1952 election. The Grundy machine was supposed to have been hopelessly vanquished during Senator Duff's tenure as governor, but while it has lost a measure of power, it has a chance to come back next year. The present governor, John S. Fine, is a Grundy man, and Dr. Poling's candidacy is being directed by the Grundy machine. His campaign manager, William J. Hamilton, Jr., ward leader in the Twenty-first District, is a dependable member of the Grundy faction, and William A. Schnader, who was one of his earliest supporters, is close to the Grundy clique. With one exception, the members of the Grundy-bossed City Committee are all for Dr. Poling. Harold E. Stassen, known in Philadelphia as a Grundy man, has also endorsed him.

Some independent observers in Philadelphia hesitate to believe that Dr. Poling is simply a "front" for the discredited City Hall machine and are inclined to think that if elected he might possibly clean house. They wonder, however, whether the price for this type of "good government" might not be the curtailment of social services. Others say that Dr. Poling would be forced to work with the machine if elected. While Witkin's strategy of turning a "licking" to good account, may bring the Republicans back to power, the Democrats have an able candidate for mayor in Joseph S. Clark, Jr., and for district attorney in Richardson W. Dilworth. The election on November



Morton Witkin

6 will therefore in all probability be extremely close.

Back in 1903 Lincoln Steffens described Philadelphia as "corrupt and contented." He also pointed out that the exposure of corruption often made it possible for a dis-

credited machine to ride back to power in another guise. Ward politics have changed little in Philadelphia from that day to this. Should Dr. Poling be elected, he will have a chance to prove that Steffens was wrong.

Suicide by Oil

Caracas, October 17

ALMOST at the moment that Prime Minister Mossadegh arrived in New York to plead Iran's case before the Security Council, an attempt to overthrow the military junta that governs Venezuela was suppressed with seven killed, ten wounded, and hundreds arrested. The American newspapers that announced the failure of the *putsch* also reported the State Department's anxiety lest any formula used to settle the Iran dispute might set a precedent for the settlement of some future dispute with Venezuela (see the comments by James Reston in the *New York Times* of October 16). Editorials in the same papers discussed "the explosive brew" upon which the army clique sits in Venezuela. Oil, of course, is the principal ingredient of this brew.

Foremost oil exporter and second-largest oil producer in the world after the United States, with seemingly inexhaustible subsoil riches of iron, copper, nickel, coal, asphalt, bauxite, gold, industrial diamonds, and asbestos, Venezuela, while flooded with American dollars, is paradoxically undergoing a major economic crisis. In fact, its economic well-being is threatened by the very petroleum production that finances two-thirds of its national budget and pays for more than five hundred million dollars' worth of annual imports from the United States. Venezuelan economists, foremost among them Arturo Uslar-Pietri, are warning that the nation is living on borrowed time and that unless it divorces its destiny from oil it will be committing economic suicide.

Since 1917, the first year of oil production, Venezuela has been deluged by a flood of easy money. But instead of transmuting the windfall into a permanent source of economic wealth, it has been flinging its unexpected riches to the winds. While oil for Western Hemisphere defense has gushed out of Lake Maracaibo, Guárico, Monagas, and Anzoátequi, the American dollars received for it have evaporated in prodigal waste. Few of them have gone into projects to diversify the economy or into

BY MARCELLE MICHELIN

the construction of schools, housing, railroads, or highways into the interior.

Before the oil era Venezuela was a self-sufficient agricultural nation with a population of 2,000,000—cattle-raising Indios on the level plains, fisherfolk along the strip of coast, and warring Caciques in the Andes. The soil was poor, but living standards were low and primitive wants easily satisfied. Exports of coffee, cocoa, indigo, and hides, amounting to \$20,000,000 annually, more than paid for the limited imports.

More than thirty years later, this land still produces food for only 2,000,000; but the population has more than doubled, and the national budget has been multiplied by twenty. Imports soared to \$668,958,500 in 1949—mostly consumers' goods and luxury items. Venezuela is now a nation of modern cities, skyscrapers, and Cadillacs. Exports totaled \$1,003,130,600 in 1949, but industries other than oil accounted for only \$20,000,000 of this staggering sum. Thus it is painfully clear that once its wells run dry Venezuela will lose approximately 95 per cent of its annual income.

When a nation is suddenly rocketed into a fabulously high standard of living—even if this standard is by no means uniform—and its productive capacity fails to keep pace with its increasing demands, a dangerous imbalance is created. There is an illusion of well-being, a surface prosperity without foundations to sustain the future. Such a nation does not develop in a normal rhythm; it is pressured by an outer force into an expansion beyond its potential. Venezuela's whole economy is a parasite on oil, with its artificial prices, artificial markets, artificial purchasing power. Prices have soared beyond all reason. In December, 1950, forty-nine commodities were quoted in Caracas as being 76 per cent higher than in December, 1938, and thirty-seven commodities as being 104 per cent higher. Inflation is in full swing—witness the fact that the bolívar has been devaluated as much as 40 per cent.

From 1941 to 1945 the cost of imported items naturally exceeded that of native articles. But since 1946 the entire economy has been so dislocated that importing has become more remunerative than producing on the spot. Freighters arrive full and return almost empty. Because of rising costs national products like coffee,

MARCELLE MICHELIN, born in Buenos Aires of French parents, has lived in Venezuela for three years. She has been Paris correspondent for *France-Amérique* (New York) and has published several works of fiction.

October 27, 1951

sugar, textiles are no longer able to compete with foreign products either in Venezuela or on the world market. Many local industries must be subsidized by the government, with the result that the crippled economy leans more and more on petroleum dollars. And the more these dollars are wasted on imports, the less the land is cultivated, the less is manufactured, and the greater the paralysis of every activity but oil production.

Venezuela appears extravagantly wealthy. Caracas, the magnificent capital, has a pulse-quickenning "get-rich-quick" atmosphere. But the Venezuelans to whom black gold has meant a better way of life are the fortunate minority of the cities and oil camps—landowners, business men, factory hands, government employees, corporation bureaucrats. The people of the pueblos and fishing villages go on laboriously wresting what sustenance they can from earth and water.

And petroleum has been a demoralizing factor even there. It has distorted the scale of values and bred instability, social inequality, and political unrest. The "something for nothing" gambling spirit of the speculators and opportunists has infected even the peasants. The wholesale importation of foodstuffs is ruining agriculture—indigo has disappeared, coffee production has fallen off by two-thirds—and driving impoverished rural elements into the cities.

AFTER the oil boom is over what will there be to fall back on? Of Venezuela's 1,000,000 square kilometers, only 177,000 square kilometers are fertile, and these are overpopulated. The immense plains in the interior, the low-lying *llanos*, are not only arid but often submerged; the flood season lasts from May till August. The vast jungle stretches of the Gran Sabana south of the Orinoco River are as yet inaccessible. Even the limited fertile area, moreover, is being destroyed by erosion. And while the nourishing earth is gradually being laid waste, the country's 5,500,000 inhabitants are proliferating at an annual rate of 70-80,000. Today Venezuela produces only one-fourth of the rice it consumes, only half of the sugar, and only two-thirds of the meat. The situation grows constantly worse: an *aftosa* epidemic is decimating the once famous cattle herds; deforestation is hastening the process of erosion. Given these factors, will the standard of living plummet to Asiatic depths once the oil boom has ended?

A reserve of nine billion barrels—at 612,000,000 barrels a year—will last only fifteen or sixteen years. But whether fifteen years or fifty, this is not the only fact to be considered. World markets may fluctuate or disappear. Synthetic oil derivatives can now be extracted from carbon. Shale deposits offer another alternative supply. Atomic energy will eventually be released for industrial purposes. Financed by American capital, Europe's refineries are being converted to process the

less expensive Arabian oil. Competition from the Near East would be deadly were it not for the cold war.

While the time is short, there is surely enough left for Venezuela to channel oil revenues into some permanent economic improvements—communication and transportation systems, power plants, irrigation projects, a revitalized agriculture, an expanded industrial base. President Gomez's shrewd 1918 oil law fully protected the country's rights while welcoming foreign exploitation. But he should have drawn up another law protecting Venezuela against itself and forcing it to anchor oil profits firmly in the Venezuelan earth. Venezuelans are the first to admit that they were totally unprepared for their overnight emergence as an oil-rich nation. Like lottery winners, they went on a spending spree, light-heartedly making the mistakes that led them into the financial morass in which they now flounder.

They are finally inaugurating a number of basic reforms. On June 30, 1949, an agrarian law was passed which is designed to put the nation back on a self-sustaining basis. Experimental stations and agricultural colonies are being established. Immigrants are being sought in Central and Western Europe to replace native labor that has drifted into the cities. Mechanization is being introduced. Soil-conservation techniques and cooperative methods are being taught. The expansion of coffee, cocoa, sugar, and hempen-cord production may alleviate the dollar shortage that will exist after the oil boom bursts. A new sugar refinery is being built in Cumanacoa. The sisal and hemp cultivated in Lara state are finding outlets in the United States, the Dutch West Indies, Peru, and Europe. Fresh- and salt-water fishing industries offer another field for economic expansion. A program has been launched to save the once prosperous cattle industry. Ten million dollars more than last year has been allocated to improving communications in the coming year. Táchira asphalt mines are paving thousands of miles of highways. The foundations are being laid, also, for industrialization. For all these undertakings, Venezuela needs foreign capital and technicians. It may not solve its problems overnight, but it is at least making plans which if realized will enable it to survive the eventual exhaustion of its oil resources.

World developments will, of course, affect these plans. The curtailment of production in Iran has invested Venezuela's oil with new strategic importance. This was quite clearly evident in the world-wide attention devoted to the recent meeting of the National Petroleum Convention in Caracas. The importance of Venezuela's production was a major theme in convention addresses. But there is little indication that the government will change its policy of attempting to decrease dependence on oil or that it will grant additional concessions to foreign companies—a matter of major importance in domestic politics.

BOOKS and the ARTS

NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

AS A result of the great success of Joyce Cary's trilogy—"Herself Surprised," "To Be a Pilgrim," and "The Horse's Mouth"—his earlier books are now to be published here, and one of them "Mister Johnson" has just been issued (Harper, \$3).

"Mister Johnson," was first published in 1939. It is slight in scale, and Mr. Cary had not achieved his later competence; but the perceptiveness, the humor, and the compassion of his later books are all present in this early one—and the young African clerk of whom the book is primarily a portrait is for me at least wonderfully realized and so incontrovertibly alive that he survives his fictional death.

The book was written out of Mr. Cary's experience as a servant of the empire, and the story is laid in that moral borderland where men dispart in everything but their elemental condition of being human confront one another. The geographical place is Nigeria, the immediate locale a dreary British government station in Fada bush. "Mister Johnson" is a colored boy, seventeen when we meet him, who has been recruited from a mission school to serve as a temporary clerk in the office of the station.

At first Johnson seems a figure fit only for comedy, the story a "slice of life" in the colonies drawn from the memoir of a retired official; and the impression that this is only a local story persists for at least a third of the way through the book. That it persists too long indicates a flaw in the telling, but the impression itself rises from other elements having nothing to do with incompetence. One is the fact that Mr. Cary's picture of life, native and white, in Fada bush is so unglossed, its physical sights, sounds, and stinks, its human foibles and betrayals, so unsentimentally portrayed that the heroic and the universal seem to have no possible place; the other is what I take to be a deliberate design, with irony aforethought,

to persuade the reader that the young clerk is merely a "character" with whom he cannot possibly become involved—only to confound his pride and prejudice later on.

Johnson is on trial not only at the station; he is also a stranger in Fada bush—his accent is different and he is black as a stove, whereas the local color is milk chocolate. He must make his way in both worlds. The boy has resources. He is a maker and singer of songs; he has the gift for fantasy of an artist or a child and tells wonderful tales, especially about himself; and he has a boundless capacity for devotion. In his attempts to be at one with both worlds Johnson, given his nature, goes from one excess to another—there are many hilarious scenes—and for a while his very excesses keep him afloat. He is forever deep in debt, he pilfers and lies; but he also gives endless parties "with drums and smuggled gin," he trails gaiety and excitement like a cloud, and his innocence is irresistible. Only gradually, as we follow the wild and wonderful career of Johnson, do we see that he is actually as fearless and as big of heart as his own fantasies make him out to be. Only gradually does it become clear that his drive is not to propitiate the benighted natives or the superior or cynical whites but to force them to live up to his own poetic vision of the generous, the joyous life. It is they who are on trial, not Johnson.

The white man, Rudbeck, whose involvement with Johnson is central to the story, also has imagination, of another sort. He has a passion for building roads that will open up the bush to trade. (To corruption too, but Rudbeck in his single-mindedness brushes this aside.) He is otherwise a pretty ordinary British official, but to Johnson he is hero, model, and friend. The road, since Rudbeck wants it, becomes Johnson's obsession; and his downfall as well. To keep Rudbeck happy and the natives working, Johnson's peccadilloes grow into crimes, and finally he is, he must be, convicted of embezzlement and murder. He is sentenced to be hanged and Rudbeck must officiate.

Johnson dies in the end, but he also triumphs, for he exacts from Rudbeck the dignified death which his "big heart" desires and his heroic spirit deserves. In bare recital it may seem an unlikely story, but I found it convincing and very moving.

IN "MELVILLE GOODWIN, U.S.A." (Little, Brown, \$3.75) John P. Marquand presents a portrait of an American army general which is as photographic, as slick, and as sentimental as a *Saturday Evening Post* cover. Its frame is a frieze of civilians and the lives they lead which is also photographic, also slick, but cynical instead of sentimental. There are indications that Mr. Marquand was striving, in dealing with both subjects, for the irony he achieved in "The Late George Apley," but irony rises from a deeper level of thought and feeling than the one from which this book is drawn; and the shallow source also explains why the book is far too long for what it says.

I have remarked that the book is slick; yet Mr. Marquand, the accomplished popular writer, uses the most ponderous and tiresome device I have come across in some time. General Goodwin is the hero of a little incident with the Russians in Berlin. When he is ordered back to the United States, a weekly magazine taps him for a profile, with encouragement from the Pentagon; and then for days on end the General sits in the library of Sid Skelton, a radio announcer and head civilian in the book, telling the story of his life to the profiler, a secretary, his host, and an aide. Skelton, the narrator in the book, says more than once that the General's story is a Horatio Alger tale, and so it is. But Horatio Alger would never have told it this way. As Marquand relates it, it is all sweetness and—length. He gives us the small-town routine complete—and Marquand's small-town routine is not as fresh as it once was; one comes to wish that Marquand knew much less than he obviously does about the ways of the army; and in the end one feels like walking up and down in front of that

library with a placard reading "Unfair to General Goodwin."

Marquand makes an attempt to maintain that military men and their women are different from and somehow better than civilians, male and female, but his heart is not in it. The idea functions as a conceit rather than an insight and founders anyway on the fact that the civilians he pictures are, if not more venal, at least more tiresome than civilians necessarily are—the "smartness" of these specimens is particularly wearing.

Goodwin is a G. I. general, presumably of the type of Eisenhower and Bradley, and the G. I. general, who makes a MacArthur look as dated as the handle-bar mustache, is an interesting and engaging figure; but his portrait remains to be drawn.

Departure and Return

EXILE'S RETURN. A LITERARY ODYSSEY OF THE 1920's. By Malcolm Cowley. The Viking Press. \$3.50.

F. SCOTT FITZGERALD. THE MAN AND HIS WORK. Edited by Alfred Kazin. The World Publishing Company. \$3.

THE STORIES OF F. SCOTT FITZGERALD. A Selection of Twenty-eight Stories. With an Introduction by Malcolm Cowley. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$3.75.

MALCOLM COWLEY should be proud that his historico-biographical narrative of the 1920's, published in 1934, can impress us, after only minor revisions, as an even more substantial account than at first it seemed. In the epilogue to this edition he needs only to make more precise the implicit thesis of the original: the revolutionary writers of that supposedly iconoclastic decade—especially the America-scorning exiles—imagining that they were repudiating their past in turning to foreign models, were in fact reenacting the persistent pattern of American literary endeavor. Being ignorant of their own literature, they knew not that they were repeating a form of behavior inaugurated by Charles Brockden Brown.

This fundamental design consists in the cutting off of a generation (be it few or many) of sensitive intellectuals

from "nature"—from the dirt roads and "the fields where you once played barefoot," whether in the Schoharie Valley, the red-clay gullies of Tennessee, or the empty lots of St. Paul. For these barefoot boys formal schooling was "a long process of deracination"; in this particular case a world war made severance especially drastic. By 1920 this generation were haunted with the question of whether their "home" had any existence outside their memory, of whether they could ever be once again incorporated into its common life.

As Cowley tells it, most of them, even by 1934, found a way back. Those who did not ended tragically; but this fundamental dichotomy—nature versus civilization—is the framework of either reconciliation or tragedy. In the course of performing their ritual of departure and return—or of shipwreck—they achieved a body of expression of which the prevailing characteristics are careful workmanship, a calculation of effects within a cultivated casual style, and a "gift for telling a headlong story full of violent action." In the perspective of history these qualities are more abiding than anything (if really anything) they thought they learned from Joyce, Valéry, or Proust. And in that same perspective these are exactly the qualities which Poe, Hawthorne, Melville, and James also acquired in their seemingly so different departures and returns. (Since the purely geographical dimension—the journey to Paris—becomes merely incidental, one may suggest that Whitman could be added to the list.)

To generalize, within the limits of recklessness, this drama of deracination—this impact of complexity upon simplicity, of civilization upon nature; this resistance, more or less doomed, of America to Europe, of West to East, of country to city—is the persistent theme of American literature. From Bryant's poetry and Cooper's Leatherstocking, it runs consistently through Mark Twain and Frank Norris, to "Arrowsmith." Arthur Mizener, with a perspicuity not always granted to the critics of Scott Fitzgerald whom Alfred Kazin has assembled, finds it the basic theme of the one writer of the 1920's in whom the renewed interest of today would otherwise be baffling.

In his 1946 essay, subsequently incorporated in the biography, Mizener called

"The Great Gatsby" a tragic pastoral, wherein the East stands as the exemplar of urban sophistication and corruption, while the West ("the bored, sprawling, swollen towns beyond the Ohio") incarnates simple virtue.

It is surprising how little this clue is followed in the other critiques, including that of Cowley, which he has reworked to serve as the introduction to his collection of Fitzgerald's stories. Each of these studies may say, individually, perceptive things; yet the effect of reading them all in sequence is depressing—especially those written after Fitzgerald's death and with "The Crack-up" behind them, those which attempt to fix his permanent significance. I think it fair to say that no one of them does it; and that the observer is forced to regard the whole collection as even more enigmatical than the renewed vogue of the author himself.

All of them share, as I do, the anger of Dos Passos against those treatments which see in Fitzgerald no more than a phenomenon of his decade, which assume he can be adequately discussed "in terms of last summer's style in ladies' hats." Yet since most of them repetitiously and inevitably ring changes upon the same haunting sentences from "The Crack-up," they become in the mass a chorus of lamentation which finally reduces that confessional to mere pathos, notwithstanding those who, like Mark Schorer, contend that it transcends sentimentality.

Assuredly on the basis of this evidence there is something about Fitzgerald that lures his critics into making their justifications of him justifications of themselves. Most of them can talk of him only as a unique occurrence, solely in his own definitions. Lionel Trilling does indeed invoke portentous comparisons with Goethe, Balzac, and Proust; he has to acknowledge that by adducing such great names he may be doing Fitzgerald a disservice, "the disproportion being so large," but even so, the effect of his essay is rather to testify to Trilling's erudition than to illuminate Fitzgerald.

What they all, Trilling along with the others, seem to shy away from is what Edward Wilson, Fitzgerald's "literary conscience," said as early as 1925: that Fitzgerald had no intellect, no "aesthetic ideal"—in short, no ideas. The im-

pression of mere pathos, which is the cumulative effect of these articles, flows from the fact that they cannot present the content of Fitzgerald's experience—which is preeminently the experience that provides content in Cowley's collection—as other than cheap, tawdry, and histrionic. Had he written no more than the first two novels and the early stories, Fitzgerald would be today merely the chronicler of a (factitious) Jazz Age. Had he written only "Tender Is the Night," he would be a monument of self-pity. For all its fine objectivity, "The Crack-up" is a record of folly.

Which brings us back to Cowley's thesis: what makes Fitzgerald viable, despite his intellectual poverty, is the intensity of his concentration upon what was, in itself, a limited and even a silly segment of American experience. A lust to act like the rich, to make a splurge, to be a success-boy—all this might be seen in a saner perspective. But Fitzgerald saw it otherwise; hence the frenzy of his fascination could lead only to satiety, disgust, and revulsion, even though he attained no more than a dim—however redeeming—comprehension.

The experience alone (the material of "Gatsby") is trivial; the writing is not. To compare small things with great, an analogy might be Rousseau: Jean-Jacques made out of his idiocies and his ignorance, let alone his impotence, such cosmic assertions that he became to his contemporaries a rallying slogan of the heart against heartless sophistication and urban corruption.

No one of these critics quite says this, but when they are arrayed together, they all in effect keen over the "failure" of Fitzgerald—as he does himself in "Babylon Revisited"—in the way romantics did over Rousseau. Finding in him a last-ditch stand of nature against artificiality, these sophisticates can eulogize even his defects. Several of them call him "romantic," though with a notable lack of consistency in meaning; yet from this collection of apologies (as most of them are) emerges a startling documentation of the respect in which the American romantic differs from the European: he is not hungry, like Faust or Byron, for all experience, because, whether out of simplicity or arrogance, he is too intent upon just what he is experiencing. The limits may

be narrow, but the pretentiousness is less.

It just may be that by one of those miracles which constitute literature—especially in America—the most commonplace of themes can, if fastened upon with sufficient passion, reverberate with all the anxieties of an epoch. Fitzgerald came out of the West, dedicated to social climbing and conspicuous waste; out of his life he made a moral discourse. It just may be that Natty Bumppo's elegy, in "The Pioneers," upon the profligate slaughter by civilization of nature's pigeons throws more light upon Fitzgerald's attitude toward Long Island and Paris—toward Daisy and Nicole—than any effort to stigmatize him as the spokesman for a decade that lacked prudence.

PERRY MILLER

House of Nightmare

HOUSE OF LIARS. By Elsa Morante.

Translated by Adrienne Foulke. Harcourt, Brace and Company. \$4.

THIS is a hard book to read. And let us deal with the objection that the translation may be at fault: the Englishing, the work of Miss Foulke aided by Mr. Chiappe, seems above reproach. The words flow, the pictures succeed one another with a poignant grace of language which can only be thought to enhance, not to traduce, the original.

Still, it is a cumbersome book, not easy to get through. This has partly to do with the fact that Miss Morante is writing out of her epoch. She is giving us, in too extended form, a cross between a Gothic tale and a picaresque novel, the legend of a moth-balled world which has two levels of interest: the one, the intrigues within her infinitely sordid and stagnant leading family; the other, the Sicilian shadow-world which is its background. The writer is an observant, stick-to-itive young woman: nothing escapes her. And she recreates the Palermo of two hundred years ago—which is also the Palermo of yesterday about which she is writing—with painful exactitude. Her splendid vignettes of the particular insular culture she seeks to explore are full of smoky fire. Her characters are unremittingly grim and squalid in their lives, their interests, their pervasive, hateful lassitude. And, no question

about it, many Sicilians are like that. But, oh, the boredom of going through six hundred pages of it, relieved here and there by a perceptive human generalization, an observation in the historico-social vein of such rare quality that one stops, amazed, and says, but this is not a dull book after all!

Elsa Morante has, it seems, been writing from early youth. She has contributed, first, children's stories, then short stories and novelettes, to the leading Italian dailies for the past fifteen years or so. Her literary *mythos*, therefore, can in no way be attributed to her marriage to an important Italian novelist, Moravia. The coupling of his career and hers on the jacket of "House of Liars" can do no harm; yet it would be unfair to Elsa Morante not to say that her work is strictly her own. Mistress of the voluminous page, she takes little from her husband's understated, overcharged school.

"House of Liars" is a vast work, and unlike our fat best-sellers of the "Woman of Property" type, it deals with a world which is to us exotic. Otherwise, I submit that it does not differ greatly from these overblown hunks of "literature." Miss Morante writes about what she knows, and she seeks fictional pegs simplified to suit her literary purpose. By projecting the Sicilian world against a screen she will at times silhouette and exaggerate certain details; at other times by putting a light behind a slide she will seem to diminish other views, making them appear as perfect and as unreal as detailed miniatures. Obviously, it is the family, the Cerentano of Palermo, who are silhouetted and exaggerated to heroic size, as indeed they saw themselves; and it is the rare and acutely etched Sicilian scenes, the religious fanaticism, the idiotic hierarchical social system, the life of the peasants as they grub to accumulate enough to educate a child, which are reduced to minute proportions. The author sometimes seems to query whether she is right in her dosage: so much emotional (not specifically sexual) perversions, so much world-weary pessimism, so much erotic adventure, so much local color, then let's do the turn over again. But she never settles on what that just percentage should be.

Morante's characters stand about as rather stunning effigies, while she ad-

mits her preference for the most perverse of them ("my incurable partiality for my character, Edoardo"). They are not rounded in their relationship to one another: hence her preferred character must be the *deus ex machina* who makes the others hop, for they have not enough visceral or cerebral validity to hop of their own accord.

Art has the almost miraculous thrust of spontaneity, and this thrust is absent from Morante's pages. The attentive reader, thrilled by certain undeniable sensitivities and observant qualities of the writer, is not the less aware of the effort it has cost to put together these scenes, this panorama, page by page.

"House of Liars" is in the form of a flashback, a flashback which lasts 350 pages before we pick up the thread of the opening chapter. The author's narrator is, like herself, a young, brooding, and, we assume, solitary Sicilian who, by a trick of fate—that is, a bereavement—takes the reader into her confidence and retraces the story of her family, its inability to come to grips with either emotional or economic reality, its infinite capacity for illusion and for hate. (I do not wish to imply that the novel is autobiographical, which would be pure twaddle, but the narrator's eye is Miss Morante's and the reaction to the Sicilian world is hers, although the specific incidents may have little or no relation to personal, subjective experience.)

The thing for the foreign reader to decide is whether or not, when works of this kind come loudly heralded on to the international literary scene, there is such intrinsic merit in the book as will broadly communicate what is authentic in its background; that is, when the chips are down, is there enough of value in it to justify its introduction to that international public as the opening of a window on a hitherto partially or incorrectly known world. Certainly, the Morante book does effectively present aspects of the Sicilian genus which are largely ignored even in other parts of Italy. But it's a far cry from this admission to the heralding of the book as a piece of "fictional magic." Its structure is clumsy and verbose, its technique shows, and its characters move because they are moved, perversely and arbitrarily, by one of them. Now it is al-

ways easy to retort that these defects are not defects at all because they were consciously so planned by the author; and such counter-argument leaves the critic speechless, of course. But my admiration for Morante's obvious capacities is too great to hope that her errors were "plants": I believe she will do a better book next time. And since I am sure she is not a one-Gothic-tale author, I look forward to what she will offer us now that this great monster of a work is off her mind.

FRANCES KEENE

How to Make Friends

U. S. A., THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION. By the Editors of *Fortune* in Collaboration with Russell W. Davenport. Prentice-Hall. \$3.75.

THIS is a book it would be easy to mock. Poorly written, its pages liberally sprinkled with errors, it oscillates abruptly between the empty cliché and the hollow generalization. In its loose exaggerations, its portentous declamation, its meaningless verbiage, it illustrates, unwittingly, many of the faults of contemporary journalism.

Yet it would be a mistake to approach the book with an eye trained on these deficiencies only. For the editors of *Fortune* here have something to say; and the raucous manner of the saying ought not to obscure either the fact that they have a message or the import of the message itself.

For more than a half-century discussion of America has taken a predominantly negative tone. This is the legacy of the muckrakers, or rather of the conditions that produced the muckrakers. By contrast with an earlier period when the United States was identified with freedom and opportunity, it has become associated, by friends and enemies alike, with the unrestrained materialism of capitalist culture.

The authors of "U. S. A., the Permanent Revolution" believe that this view conceals the real achievement of American civilization and its capacity to contribute now to human welfare everywhere. This volume attempts to assess that achievement. To the editors of *Fortune* the enduring contribution of our civilization consists of a proposition—the inviolability of the human individual—and a system of liberty,

equality, and constitutionalism. The operations of the proposition and the system they observe in the structure of the economy, in the organization of labor, in politics, and in associational life; in each area there is evolving a characteristic pattern of cooperative individualism. The proposition and the system which constitute the permanent revolution have evolved in a distinctive American form, but they contain universal implications which, translated into our foreign policy, might extend the permanent revolution to the whole world.

Thus, to the editors of *Fortune* the contents of the permanent revolution are ideas which right-thinking people can be induced to adopt by persuasion. America's task is to sell these values abroad, presumably with the aid of the appropriate public-relations techniques. We must let the world see how liberty, equality, and individualism have paid off in a succession of rewards for virtue. The proficiency of our technology, the high wages of our labor force, the multiplicity of our societies will induce people everywhere to adopt our values in the expectation that they too may reach a happy ending.

This vision of America's relationship to the rest of the world expresses, implicitly, a genuine sense of uneasiness about the ideological deficiencies of the Point Four program and its antecedents. When President Truman proposed that the United States supply capital and technical aid to underdeveloped areas, he had in mind assistance that would enable the backward portions of the globe to expand their technology in industry and agriculture and ultimately to raise the standards of living of their populations. The underlying assumption of the program was that an improved level of production would in itself encourage democratic forces, inhibit Communist trends, and create friends for the United States.

Much of our recent history casts doubt on that assumption. In many underdeveloped regions industrialization, stimulated from without, has strengthened the anti-democratic forces of the right and the left and has generated a nationalistic atmosphere deeply hostile to this country. The experience of Iran, and of the Near East in general, has presented us with the trou-

bling possibility that we may be endowing these people with equipment they may some day transfer to our enemies to be used against us, somewhat in the manner of the arms that went to Chiang's army.

The difficulty is that by exporting our wealth in terms of machines and things we only confirm the stereotype of American culture created by those inimical to it—the image of a rapacious, materialistic capitalism disregarding of all values but those of gold. Aid, even when motivated by the purest humanitarianism, under these circumstances, will inevitably take on the appearance of a bribe.

It may be that the addition of the American ideology to our articles of export would lend a new depth to our foreign policy, would make our assistance meaningful to strata of society to which it has not hitherto penetrated, and give our potential friends the intellectual weapons with which to resist the intellectual aggressions of fascism and communism. After all, there was a time when America was the light of liberty to the world; and that time was not so long ago that it cannot be recaptured.

But the task will not be so simple as the editors of *Fortune* imagine. It is all very well to propose, as they do, an immediate offer of the right of free trade and free migration to the free nations. But to suppose that a Congress which could scarcely tolerate the admission of a handful of D. P.'s would suddenly raze both its tariff and immigration walls requires an unimaginable optimism. Unhappily, not a few Americans have themselves lost faith in the American system and the American proposition, and they will all the time be handing over to our enemies ammunition with which to explode our professions of democracy.

Perhaps, then, we face a twofold task. American democracy is not simply a creed but a way of life; in this country liberty, equality, and individual dignity have survived because they have been imbedded in the economic forms, the institutional structure, and the patterns of personal behavior of our society. If we would teach by example, we must be vigilant lest flaws appear in our model.

And if we are eager to have the

American Revolution extend beyond our own borders, we must both clarify our objectives in the terms the editors of *Fortune* desire and also assist in the creation of the conditions of life everywhere in which liberty, equality, and individual dignity can have real meaning. That may take continuing sacrifices, graver than any the authors of this volume contemplate. But it would only be fulfilling an ancient commitment that the men of 1776 recognized when they proclaimed the cause of America to be the cause of all mankind.

OSCAR HANDLIN

"The Mechanism of Necessity"

WAITING FOR GOD. By Simone Weil. Translated by Emma Craufurd. Introduction by Leslie A. Fiedler. G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$3.50.

AMERICAN readers who already know Simone Weil's essays from *Commentary* and *Politics*, in particular her little masterpiece of literary criticism called *The Iliad: or, The Poem of Force*, will probably be disappointed by this posthumous, book-length collection of her essays and letters. For here one finds nothing but a constant religious obsession, which is at times absurdly intense:

If it were conceivable that one might be damned by obeying God and saved by disobeying him, I would none the less obey him.

Again, with excruciating piety:

... every time I think of the crucifixion of Christ I commit the sin of envy.

When she speaks of education, Simone Weil considers it only as a valuable means to cultivate the "attention" necessary for prayer; how much the schoolchild actually learns is immaterial. Beauty and friendship exist only in so far as God inspires them. Punishment by the law must also have a basis in religion; its entire meaning lies in gaining "from the accused his consent to the punishment inflicted, a consent of which the innocent Christ has given us the perfect model." This last observation brings us to Simone Weil's central and most profound belief—that "affliction," a favorite, carefully analyzed word, is the sublimest of human values.

To trace her complex ideas we must

assume as she does that all the forces in existence—chemical, physical, biological, and in a sense political, social, economic—are destructive to man, bringing him to inescapable ruin. These forces she collectively terms "the mechanism of necessity," and the true significance of the mechanism she describes in these three respects:

1. Although a thing completely evil from a human viewpoint, seen from "beyond the universe, beyond space and time to where our Father dwells," the mechanism is an object of extreme beauty. For, having no consciousness and no power of choice, it exemplifies the perfect acceptance of God's will.

2. Indirectly, it makes all of us conform. The mechanism is never outwitted. "The only choice given to men, as intelligent and free creatures, is to desire obedience or not to desire it."

3. Finally, the mechanism is a spirit-

THE FREEMAN'S MANIFESTO

This is a book filled with absorbing new information. In these churning, uncertain times—search its pages and discover how peace can exist on the earth forever. Do not miss

A WORLD WITHOUT WAR

Write Kane Publications, 1111 Fifth Avenue
New York 1, N. Y. Price \$1.00

BOOKS OF ALL KINDS FROM THE USSR

Just Received! SELECTED WORKS OF

Maxim Gorky containing

CHILDHOOD—MOTHER—THE ARTAMANOVs

In English — 881 pp. — \$2.50

Latest Soviet Records, Sheet Music, Handicrafts

1952 Subscriptions Open for Soviet Periodicals

Ask for Complete Catalogue P-51

FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.

W. 56 Street, N. Y. 19 Murray Hill 6-2680

Buy Your Books through THE Nation

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C. O. D. No C. O. D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to

Miss Le Pach

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
20 Vesey Street New York 7, N. Y.

nal instrument. It has so far been considered as something both obedient to God and compelling human obedience; it must now be considered as having a spiritual intention of its own. (Read carefully.) The universe came into being because God *thought* it: it was a conception in God's mind. When God so created the universe, he also made Christ, who was at once God himself and an idea of God's. In actuality, we repeat, Father and Son are identical, inseparable, but in Christ's belief they are not. Now, God is love, and hence the division Christ supposes between himself and God becomes "the distance put by Love between God and God." The distance Simone Weil speaks of here is the universe. And the mechanism governing the universe might be called the anguish with which Christ imagines his separation from God. The mechanism is the sense in which Christ feels the disunity of that absolute love which is God. Simone Weil continues:

As for us men, our misery gives us the infinitely precious privilege of sharing in this distance placed between the Son and his Father. . . . There cannot be a greater good on earth for us than to share in it. God can never be perfectly present to us here below on account of our flesh. But he can be almost perfectly absent from us in complete affliction. . . . That is why the Cross is our only hope.

She proclaims elsewhere that ". . . cruelty, torture, violent death, constraint, terror, sickness—all these are God's love!"

In case any readers of this review have not heard of Simone Weil, a word or two about her would certainly be appropriate. Her life was as elusive, paradox-ridden, and inexplicable as her own literary technique. Politically, she was known as an active radical in her youth, and fought briefly with the Loyalists on the Catalan front; later on, she sought a post under the Vichy regime; rejected, she made her way to England, and wrote a book for the Free French government in exile describing what a truly Christian France would be like. A successful teacher, an essayist everywhere acclaimed, an excellent classics student, she kept abandoning her gifts to work as a laborer in the fields, and spent a two-year period in the Renault automobile works in order

to crush her own personality and become as much an anonymous "slave" as all other people. Born into a middle-class Jewish family in 1909, her entire intellectual career was a search for Christian values, and a process of waiting for God (hence the title) to summon her to the Catholic church; a thinly veiled suicide by starvation ended her life in 1943.

Examining Simone Weil's philosophy in this book and examining the three or four personal histories it contains, I remembered an observation Hesse made in "Steppenwolf." He said that self-denial and self-torment are only a form of egotism. CHARLES SPIELBERGER

Books in Brief

THE CELEBRITY. By Laura Z. Hobson. Simon and Schuster. \$3.50. Mrs. Hobson's new hero is an impecunious and idealistic novelist whose fifth book, in praise of One World, hits the jackpot through a fluke book-club acceptance and a subsequent translation into a big-budget but "honest" movie. Although she toys with the widening circles created by such an isolated event, Mrs. Hobson is primarily concerned with how, in the face of sudden good fortune, the kindly novelist and his good wife keep their heads while less firmly anchored relatives are losing theirs. The story, replete with the names of movie stars and fashionable restaurants and the big numbers that go with both, has the fascination of those picture-stories of the creative man that make such good barbershop reading. Yet one's ultimate impression, as with the picture magazines, is one of utter irrelevance to the true meaning of the problems discussed. For there is no indication of any understanding of the state of affairs in which an expression of genteel liberalism is a potential gold mine, and the digger of the mine a potential celebrity of the caliber of Frank Sinatra, Oscar Hammerstein—or Laura Z. Hobson.

THE INDIGO BUNTING, A MEMOIR OF EDNA ST. VINCENT MILLAY. By Vincent Sheean. Harper and Brothers. \$2.50. Issued almost exactly a year after the poet's death, this appreciation of Miss Millay, her work and her spirit, is intended with affection,

admiration, and a touch of awe. The frontispiece is a photograph of the poet, and there is a snapshot on the back jacket; in the text are many word-pictures, which the author's own admissions of mistakes and inaccurate memory lead one to regard as correct in their general impression rather than in their immediate detail. Mr. Sheean quotes lavishly from Miss Millay's poetry, which he admires, without seeming at all troubled by the fact that *The Little Hill*, for instance, was probably one of the worst things she ever wrote. It is good to have loving memorials of worth-while people, even though it may be a little embarrassing to have them in this particular blend of I-was-there journalese, gush, and twitter.

ALEUTIANS, GILBERTS, AND MARSHALLS. By Samuel Eliot Morison. Little, Brown. \$6. The seventh volume of this superbly written and illustrated "History of United States Naval Operations in World War II" covers the period of June, 1942, to April, 1944, and includes Tarawa and Kwajalein. Lucid, dramatic, and authoritative, this is naval history at its peak.

WILLIAM JAY GAYNOR, MAYOR OF NEW YORK. By Mortimer Smith. Regnery. \$2.50. A concise and readable biography of a half-forgotten figure of the past whose honesty, picturesqueness, and gift for the pithy phrase might have made him President had it not been for his even greater gifts for irritable and eccentric conduct and for feuding with the journalists of his day. An interesting character brought to life in a frank and judicious book.

Drama

JOSEPH
WOOD
KRUTCH

BERNARD SHAW lived and wrote for more than a quarter of a century after "St. Joan" was first produced. Yet there is a sense in which it was his last real play as distinguished from the meandering and self-indulgent though sometimes brilliant discourses he wrote in what he himself used to call his dotage. Quite possibly it will live longer in the theater than any of the others, and from at least one point of view

those critics who said at the time that it was his best play were therefore probably right. Using a word of which he was exceedingly suspicious, they said that it had more "humanity" than any of the others, and without quibbling over the word it can be admitted that they were right about that also.

For one thing, all the others, including all the other "historical" comedies, actually take place in the Realm of Discourse, not the realm of England or Egypt or Rome, whereas the late medieval world of "St. Joan" is at least recognizably actually that. For another, Joan herself is a character and not, like nearly all the others, merely a configuration of opinions more or less enlivened by mannerisms. She was a woman after Shaw's own heart—sexless and dedicated to a purpose—therefore perhaps the only one whom he loved instead of merely agreeing or disagreeing with. And for all those reasons "St. Joan" has, more than any of the others, the conventional virtues of a play as well as its full share of the peculiarly Shavian ones.

The highly satisfactory revival now current at the Cort Theater misses none of these points. Margaret Webster's direction makes it move rather more swiftly than my memory of other performances prepared me to expect, and, not at all surprisingly, she stages it in such a way as to suggest that resemblance to an Elizabethan "chronical history" which Shaw himself was probably aware of. Indeed, I liked her management of the pageantry rather better than I have liked that in some of her Shakespearean plays because it seems less fussy and less cluttered. Uta Hagen gives a very "human" interpretation—of which more in a moment—and at the same time none of the Shavian theses fail to emerge clearly. I use the plural advisedly, for there is no play by Shaw which does not have several, even though the relation of one to another, sometimes even the compatibility of one with the other, is not always too evident.

In "St. Joan" there are at least three. The simplest is the contention of Shaw the more or less Marxian philosopher of history that Joan, without quite understanding her role, announces that transition from feudalism to nationalism which is a necessary stage in the de-

velopment of an ultimate world government. In the second thesis Shaw the rationalist-mystic offers Joan as also an example of what may just as well be called the Saint, even by atheists, since we have to have a name for those who are more virtuous than our knowledge of human nature leads us to believe any human being can be—just as we have to have the word "genius" to label those who can do more with their minds than our knowledge of the human intelligence prepares us to believe possible. Finally, Shaw the political philosopher wants to expound the dilemma which arises out of his conviction that any effective government must enforce discipline, while at the same time it has no way of distinguishing with any assurance between incipient anarchy on the one hand and the genuine Gospel of the Future on the other.

None of these theses has been "dated" by the passage of more than a quarter of a century. As a matter of fact, the obvious parallel between the premises of the Inquisition and those of the rulers of even the more mild-mannered totalitarian states is closer than it seemed in 1923. The solution arrived at in the fifteenth century and apparently accepted by Shaw may be stated thus: Heretics and Saints alike will have to be burned because we can only know which was which after we have had time to observe which manage to survive the ordeal by fire. If that solution seems to many even less satisfactory than it did when "St. Joan" was new, it is more and more frankly accepted by others.

All the roles in the present production are played at least adequately, and most of them are performed a good deal better than that. Miss Hagen, who has always been associated in my mind with plaintive rather than with heroic parts, gives an extraordinarily direct, simple, unaffected, and powerful interpretation. Perhaps she does not have all the youthful fire, all the supreme, almost cocky self-confidence of Winifred Lenihan, who created the role in New York. She is certainly—and quite properly—less stately than Katharine Cornell. But in the opening scenes she manages to suggest very delightfully the hoydenish country-girl heartiness of the Joan who does not yet quite know her own importance, and later she achieves some-

thing which is certainly more difficult: she makes us believe in the Joan who realizes that she has been called upon to enact a part whose significance she cannot quite understand but which she knows she has, nevertheless, the strength to play out to the end. Miss Hagen must become a saint and at the same time avoid the air of being a plaster one. That she succeeds is proof of more than ordinary talent.

THE only thing worthy of comment in "Glad Tidings" at the Lyceum is Signe Hasso—cast as an unwed mother whose regular line is acting; her performance showed a determination to overcome poor writing, poor direction, and frightful reviews that was truly titanic. C. H.

Records

B. H.
HAGGIN

OF THE two new works presented by the New York City Ballet in September, Balanchine's "A la française," to an engaging score by Jean Françaix, was a small-scale piece with charming dance invention for the gaiety of the scenes with Janet Reed, and a bit of the kind of dead-pan comic invention that Balanchine gave us at greater length in the "Scheherazade" burlesque of "On Your Toes." The piece was danced to perfection by Reed, Eglevsky, Tallchief, Hobi, and Tobias; but in one of the performances Melissa Hayden's powers of dead-pan comedy proved to be less than Tallchief's. I must add a reservation about the surprise ending—the sylphide's transformation into a bathing beauty, which made no sense to me in relation to the rest of the piece.

As for Bolender's "The Miraculous Mandarin," except for a few lovely details in the pas de deux its movements achieved only the literal telling of the gruesome story, with help from the hideous Bartok score; and that made it another example of the kind of ballet which interests a lot of other people more than it does me.

In addition Balanchine's "Concerto Barocco" was restored to the repertory, a little ragged by the time I got to see it, but still excitingly beautiful as a result of being restudied, having Tallchief and Adams in the solo parts, and

being costumed in black tights which made the movements sharply outlined and clear.

What Vanguard has issued as Schubert's "Gastein" Symphony is his Grand Duo for piano four hands as orchestrated by Joachim. Whether it really is the lost "Gastein" Symphony—about which there is disagreement—is less important than the fact that Joachim's orchestration sounds right and is the means of bringing to the public's ear a work it has been the poorer for not knowing—one whose first movement has beautiful ideas and a remarkably concise structure for Schubert, whose second movement is charming, and whose scherzo movement has a wonderful trio section. It is played superbly by the Vienna State Opera Orchestra under Prohaska; and the record produces the same cleanly defined beautiful sound as did the one of Mahler's "Des Knaben Wunderhorn."

Also off the beaten track of the orchestral repertory is Weber's Concertino for clarinet and orchestra, which has the charm and grace of Weber's

music. The performance is by Alfred Bürkner with the Berlin Philharmonic under Ernst Schrader; and the sensitivity and grace of Bürkner's treatment of both instrument and music make his the most beautiful clarinet playing I have heard in a long time. The recorded sound is a little sharp. On the same Urania record are the uninteresting early Symphony No. 2, played well by the Radio Berlin Symphony under Heger, and the Overtures to "Oberon" and "Euryanthe," played with excessive changes in pace by the same orchestra under Artur Rother. The sound of the "Oberon" is unpleasantly sharp.

As for the standard repertory, an outstanding release is the Columbia record of Schumann's Piano Concerto, which introduces to the American public the playing of Dinu Lipatti—unfailingly beautiful in tone and precise in execution, and with unfailing taste and feeling for continuity in phrase and structure operating even in the traditional mannered style in which he plays the music with the Philharmonia Orchestra under Von Karajan. This is the best of the performances now available, and in fact the only good one.

Outstanding also is the RCA Victor record with the Toscanini-N. B. C. Symphony performance of Strauss's "Don Juan." Treble must be stepped up; and even then the sound of Siegfried's Rhine Journey on the reverse side is not spacious.

Interesting rather than effective is Strauss's own performance of his masterpiece, "Don Quixote," with the Bavarian State Orchestra, on a Decca record. Perhaps it would be more effective if the dubbed sound, which requires much stepping up of treble, were clearer. Surfaces are gritty.

Franck's lovely, though characteristically repetitiously "Psyché" is played beautifully by the Linz Bruckner Symphony under L. G. Jochum, and Berlioz's "Les Francs-Juges" Overture, one of his less interesting pieces, is played by the Radio Berlin Symphony under Celibidache, on a gritty-surfaced Urania record.

A good performance of Chausson's "Poème" by Francescatti and the Philadelphia Orchestra under Ormandy is reproduced by the Columbia record with

more beauty of sound than some of their previous performances. But even with treble stepped up Leonard Rose's tone sounds dry in its upper range and the New York Philharmonic lacks radiance in climaxes, in their excellent performance of Bloch's "Schelomo" under Mitropoulos, on another Columbia record.

Beethoven's "Eroica" gets a straightforward performance, with the first movement lacking the prescribed *brio*, by Schuricht and the Berlin Philharmonic (Decca). The dubbed sound requires stepping up of treble, and even then woodwinds are weak; and surfaces crackle. Even worse dubbed sound and poor performances make the Decca records of Brahms's Piano Concerto No. 2 and Franck's Symphonic Variations things to skip; and the Brahms-Haydn Variations are better reproduced but not well played. Bruno Walter's performance of Beethoven's Seventh with the New York Philharmonic (Columbia) almost dies on its feet in the first movement and introduces melting nuances and hesitations into the second. An excellent and well-recorded performance by Keilberth and the Berlin Philharmonic is wasted on Brahms's First (Capitol). Dvorak's Violin Concerto, one of his less interesting works, is well performed by Milstein with the Minneapolis Symphony under Dorati on an RCA Victor LP which reproduces the solo violin well but the orchestra without warmth and radiance. And Stokowski produces fabulously beautiful orchestral sounds in Debussy's Nocturnes and "Faun" (RCA Victor), but his performances are something to skip.

CONTRIBUTORS

PERRY MILLER, professor of the history of literature at Harvard University, is author of "The New England Mind" and "Jonathan Edwards."

FRANCES KEENE edited "Neither Liberty Nor Bread," a documented history of Fascism as told by the opposition.

OSCAR HANDLIN, a member of the History Department at Harvard, has just published "The Uprooted."

CHARLES SPIELBERGER has published stories in *Partisan Review* and the *Yale Review*.

30% Less than List on LP Records

Send 15¢ for LP catalog to:

DISCOUNT RECORD CLUB

DEPT. N-34

Box 175, Radio City Station, New York 19, N. Y.

Add 15¢ per record postage and handling charges (50¢ minimum) SAME-DAY SHIPMENT

FOLLOW—the score!

Packet-Sized, Low-Priced Editions

SCHUBERT? All Violin Sonatas & Duos.98

BRAMMS Variations (Haydn, Handel, etc.).... .98

BACH* Goldberg Variations, Italian Concerto. .98

*from "Bach-Gesellschaft," from "Urtext" ed.

& MANY OTHERS—WRITE FOR FREE CATALOG

Order from Your Dealer, or direct from

LEA POCKET SCORES Dept. W, Box 144
New York 32, N. Y.

PULITZER PRIZE and CRITICS' AWARD

RODGERS & OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd

present in association with

LESLIE HAYWARD & JOSHUA LOGAN

ROGER RICO

MARTHA WRIGHT

South Pacific

Music by RICHARD RODGERS

Lyrics by OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd

Book by

OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd & JOSHUA LOGAN

Adapted from JAMES A. HAMILTON Pulitzer

Prize Winning "TALES OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC"

Directed by JOSHUA LOGAN

Scenery & Lighting by M. Mielziner

with Myron McCORMICK • Diosa COSTELLO

MAJESTIC, 44 St. W. of B'way • Air-Cond.

Evenings 8:30. Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:00

Letters to the Editors

Academic Freedom at Fairmont

Dear Sirs: Not only did the West Virginia Board of Education fail to grant Dr. Luella R. Mundel a fair hearing, as you pointed out in your September 29 issue, but in its public announcement following its closed meeting of September 5-6 it misquoted and distorted the meaning of statements made to it by the president of Fairmont State College, Dr. George H. Hand. Its minutes of the July meeting claimed that it had made "a thorough investigation" of the case, but the board, which meets in Charleston, West Virginia, has to the best of my knowledge made no such investigation.

Moreover, it failed to publish the fact that a petition signed by more than 125 summer-school students at Fairmont State College had been forwarded to the board's president, Garland L. Dunn, urging the reinstatement of Dr. Mundel, or that Dr. Hand's nine-page report on her fitness was substantially favorable to Dr. Mundel, whom he had recommended for reemployment *at an increase in salary*.

It is my belief that the board's action was taken to accommodate one of its members, Mrs. Thelma Brand Loudin of Fairmont, who would like to use her position on the board to intervene directly in the administration of Fairmont State College.

Following the board's failure to grant her a hearing, Dr. Mundel stated in a letter to the *West Virginian*:

It is apparent from the statements given to the press by the State Board of Education, September 6, that the board's refusal to grant me a hearing is due to lack of evidence which can stand in court.

Rumors about my religious beliefs and my remarks in behalf of civil liberties at an American Legion meeting in March, 1951, do not constitute legal evidence of non-performance of the duties of the position which I held. . . .

Nation readers, teachers particularly, will be encouraged to learn that Dr. Mundel has retained counsel and is filing suit for damages against Mrs. Loudin, charging slander and defamation of character in that Mrs. Loudin accused Dr. Mundel before the board of "being a bad security risk," an "atheist," and "incompetent."

Meanwhile the local chapter of the

American Association of University Professors has supported Dr. Mundel's request that the national headquarters institute a thorough investigation and airing of the facts. A group of Charleston newspapermen have called upon the board and secured its agreement to admit the press to future meetings.

One Charleston paper, the *Daily Mail*, has criticized the board's action, charging that it, not Dr. Mundel, is on trial.

At the American Legion's so-called anti-subversive seminar, held at the end of last March—at which Dr. Mundel, I, and others asked questions designed to show that some of the professional anti-Communists were also opposed to democracy—Victor Lasky, a New York *Journal American* reporter and co-author of "Seeds of Treason," attacked the managing editor of your magazine and his latest book "Witch Hunt," Alan Barth's "Loyalty of Free Men," and the *Washington Post*, for which Barth writes.

Your readers might also be interested to know that on October 9 the Fairmont College Library Committee voted six to two (two members were absent) against labeling "subversive" literature. A request that the college librarian stamp all books and periodicals which were listed by the Un-American Activities Committee as "subversive" had been made by the Fairmont Anti-Subversive League to Dr. Hand. Dr. Hand told L. O. Bickel, commander of the Fairmont American Legion Post and head of the delegation, that it wasn't up to him to issue such an order but that he would pass the request on to the Library Committee, which was empowered to act on such matters.

The arguments that were advanced against labeling subversive literature at the Library Committee meeting were: (1) that the American Library Association had passed a resolution condemning labeling [see *The Nation*, September 15]; (2) that on the arguments advanced for labeling it would be equally applicable to label Catholic literature, Democratic literature, or Republican literature; (3) that compliance with the request would be a first step toward further concessions to self-appointed censorship groups.

HAROLD D. JONES,

Librarian, Fairmont State College
Fairmont, W. Va.

Finger in the Pie

Dear Sirs: The question raised by Professor Lynd in his perceptive article Our "Racket" Society, in *The Nation* of August 25, as to whether organized labor can be expected to revitalize the languishing democratic elements in our midst has already been answered, in this writer's view, in the negative. There are two dominant characteristics in the labor movement today, and neither has much to do with the revitalization of democracy. One of these is parochialism; the other is the concept of unionism as a purely economic instrument.

Both these characteristics were vividly demonstrated during a recent strike by five hundred electrical engineers at a Brooklyn firm which designs and manufactures fire-control equipment for the navy. The engineers' union in this plant, an independent, was just three months old at the time of the walkout. While negotiations with the company were still going on, the independent approached the shop union in the same plant—I. U. E.-C. I. O., Local 460—to sound out the C. I. O.'s attitude in the event of a strike by the engineers. The independent was given an evasive reply to the effect that Taft-Hartley forbade sympathy strikes. Undaunted, the officers of the independent resolved to proceed with or without the C. I. O.'s help. When negotiations with the company broke down, a strike vote was held and the strike approved by an 85 per cent majority. On the first day of the walkout a few of the shop men, clinging to what is probably by now an outdated concept of unionism, hesitated before the picket lines. On the orders of higher-ups, the shop stewards thereupon sprang into action and bullied the men into the plant.

During the strike, which lasted a week, the independent's picket lines were violated time and again by the C. I. O. shop men and draftsmen, by truckmen delivering materials to the plant, and by longshoremen reporting to work at the Brooklyn piers. Only the Wells-Fargo pay-truck drivers, members of the A. F. of L. Teamsters' Union, showed the slightest regard for the picket lines. Since there was nothing to be gained by preventing the rest of the plant from receiving their pay, the independent engineers' union allowed the pay trucks to pass.

All during the strike, however, it was

hinted by both the C. I. O. and the A. F. of L. that if the independent would affiliate, the full weight of big labor would be thrown against the company and compel it to capitulate. Meanwhile, the only offer of financial assistance came from the independent International Association of Machinists and the Sperry Engineers' Association. It is an ironic commentary on the times, however, that the determining factor in calling the men back to work was neither the company nor the independent union but rather the pressure exerted by the navy on management to settle the strike and settle it quickly.

With this narrow, parochial view—that if you're not one of us you don't count—can anyone expect really constructive moves from big labor? It is much more likely, as Professor Lynd suggests, that in our "racket" society labor will become more and more closely tied to the chariot of big business. The inevitable corollary is increasing emphasis on bigness and the economic aspects of unionism, with less and less on the social and political aspects. The process, indeed, is under way and gains momentum daily. Since the great purges of 1948 the C. I. O., for instance, once the white hope of the liberals, has become increasingly tame and docile, so that today it is scarcely distinguishable from the United States Chamber of Commerce.

Where, for example, was organized labor during the fight against the Smith act? What have they done against arbitrary deportations, against the vicious loyalty oaths? What is their stand on McCarthyism?

What, indeed, has labor done in the interests of peace? To be just, it must be admitted that labor has put up a fight for decent economic controls, but one suspects that here again the fight is motivated more by considerations of the

pocket-book than by an appreciation of the disastrous world-wide consequences that would follow uncontrolled inflation. Moreover, it is in a sense illogical to oppose inflation and at the same time remain silent while greater and greater sums are voted for armaments.

Today the fight for a better world—for peace, for economic planning, for a more equitable distribution of the world's goods—has become the province of a rapidly dwindling minority. Every day there are defections. It is a saddening thing to witness, albeit understandable, since it is so much easier to cut in on the racket than to oppose it. Fortunately, however, there may still be hope. The hope lies with individuals, with the kind of people who during the aforementioned strike wished the pickets well, with the two members of Local 460 who made unsolicited contributions to the independent's welfare fund, with others who crossed picket lines only because they were ordered to, and with the policemen who, although dispatched to squelch any potential disorder, spent most of their time exchanging quips and gripes with the pickets.

The enemy, as always, is power and authority. It is power and authority that thwart man's instinctive decent impulses, whether it is the power of the clergy, the power of labor bosses, or the power of Washington or the Kremlin.

HERBERT M. ORRELL

Woodside, N. Y.

A Huzzah for Hoover

Dear Sirs: The implications of the letter from George H. Horne which you published on September 22 are without foundation in fact—they are pure smears. Both Fall and Daugherty were convicted and sent to jail while Mr. Hoover was President. The Horne letter implies that every Cabinet member should set himself up as judge, jury, and prosecutor, keeping constantly in touch with every action of his colleagues. The fact is the Republicans cleaned up their own house. Coolidge, for example, appointed Owen Roberts and Democrat Attlee Pomerene as special prosecutors of Fall.

Mr. Horne, I presume, either did not bother to find out, or conveniently forgot, the honesty and courage Mr. Hoover exhibited when he made the following speech at the Harding Memorial:

... Warren Harding had a dim realization that he had been betrayed by a

few of the men whom he had trusted, by men whom he had believed were his devoted friends. It was later proved in the courts of the land that these men had betrayed not alone the friendship and trust of their staunch and loyal friend but they had betrayed their country. That was the tragedy of the life of Warren Harding.

There are disloyalties and there are crimes which shock our sensibilities, which may bring suffering upon those who are touched by their immediate results. But there is no disloyalty and no crime in all the category of human weaknesses which compares with the failure of probity in the conduct of public trust. Monetary loss or even the shock to moral sensibilities is perhaps a passing thing, but the breaking down of the faith of a people in the honesty of their government and in the integrity of their institutions, the lowering of respect for the standards of honor which prevail in high places, are crimes for which punishment can never atone.

I don't think you will print this, but I hope I am wrong. I have had little evidence that you are interested in the whole truth.

ARTHUR KEMP

New York

Getting the Record Straight

Dear Sirs: In his report on the Japanese Peace Conference in your issue of September 22, 1951, Frederick Kuh stated that the affirmative answer of the Japanese delegation to the questions put by the Indonesian delegation was "pre-arranged by United States mediation with Pakistan's help."

It is an established and advisable practice at any international conference that delegations hold preliminary discussions with others with a view to obtaining from them possible commitments in regard to the objectives for which these delegations attend the conference. The Indonesian delegation, as reported, contacted the United States and Japanese delegations. In doing so, however, it preferred to dispense with the intermediary services of a third party.

It had been our experience that Pakistan stood ready to lend us support wherever and whenever we needed it. In the case of the Japanese peace treaty however, we did not solicit the assistance of Pakistan, and in no way has Pakistan been involved in our endeavors to attain the objective for which we took part in the conference.

L. N. PALAR,

Indonesian Delegate to the Japanese Peace Treaty Conference
New York

PERSONALS

exit loneliness

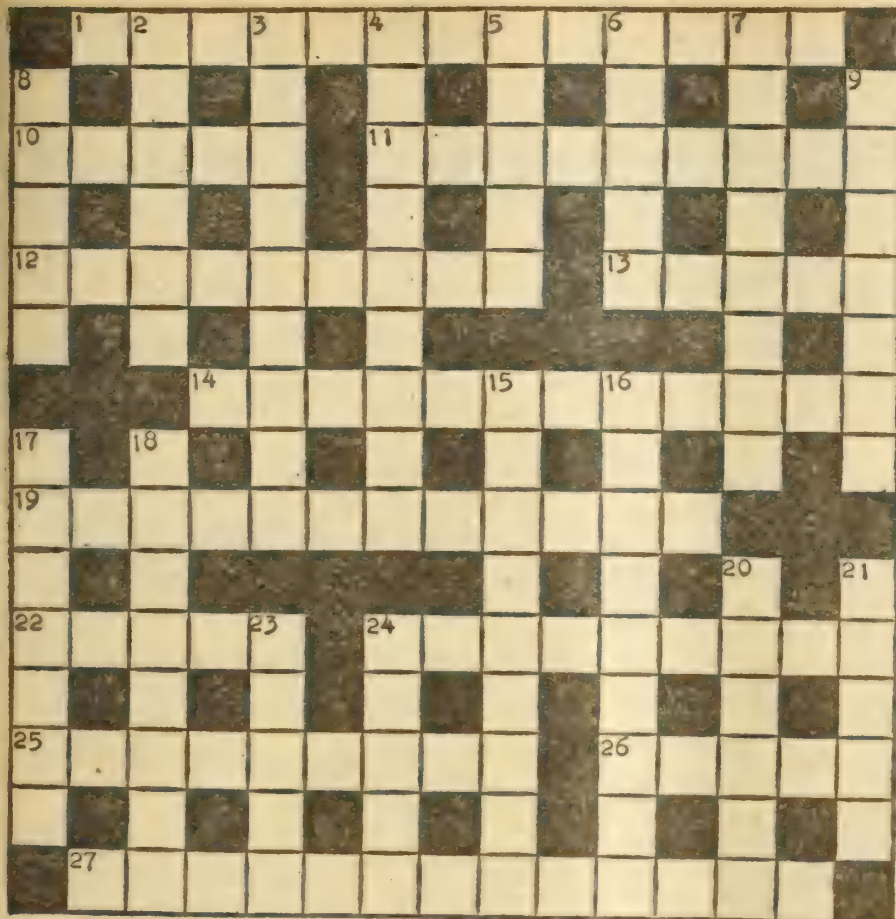
Somewhere there is someone you would like to know, Somewhere there is someone who would like to know you. We can help you find a richer, happier life through discreet, dignified 'social introductions.' Write for booklet, or phone MAY RICHARDSON Dept. TN, 111 West 72 Street New York City EN 2-2033



WOULD YOU LIKE TO MEET, if unmarried and matrimonially minded and able to furnish references, **SOMEONE WHO MIGHT LIKE TO MEET YOU?** Method of operation duly copyrighted and filed with the Better Business Bureau of New York City. Write for particulars without obligation. Address **Personal Introduction Service**, (Suite 415), 2112 Broadway, New York 23, N. Y.

Crossword Puzzle No. 436

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 A cowboy might sing of his troubles on it. (8, 5)
- 10 and 13. Sign of the meridian. (3, 2, 5)
- 11 Break an engagement to have another fling? (5, 4)
- 12 Implying one might forbid plenty in India. (9)
- 13 See 10.
- 14 MAUTICAN. (3-5-4)
- 19 Implying Stetson was relatively angry? (3, 2, 1, 6)
- 22 Bizet made music about a girl from here. (5)
- 24 What's in the old girl? (She's a perfect picture!) (5, 4)
- 25 You aren't, in case anybody asks you! (9)
- 26 A whiff of this was once prescribed to settle internal disturbances. (5)
- 27 Does one have to be to look for pearls in the soup? (6, 7)

- 5 To become absorbed in something. (5)
- 6 It has its points, when applied to horseflesh. (5)
- 7 In the hole, otherwise! (9)
- 8 Peeler. (5)
- 9 Does one look for these little beggars in the sea? (7)
- 15 Obviously he doesn't fit in! (9)
- 16 The reasoning seems to be about nothing religious. (9)
- 17 Official in Ethiopia? One might get him a car out of it. (7)
- 18 You might see an image here with an effort. (8)
- 20 Pupils seldom do it in the open. (6)
- 21 Direct attention both ways. (5)
- 23 Assume a low position, and if you do it long enough you may acquire title. (5)
- 24 Draw up a way to cooks eggs. (5)

.....

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 435

ACROSS:—1 BREEDS HILL; 6 KITH; 10 TOPPING; 11 VINEGAR; 12 POLEMICS; 13 IMAGE; 15 FATAL; 17 DALLIANCE; 19 ENDURANCE; 21 GLASS; 23 TENON; 24 BONE MEAL; 27 AGILELY; 28 ANIMIST; 30 JUST AS WELL.

DOWN:—1 BATS; 2 EXPLOIT; 3 DRIVE; 4 HAGRIDEN; 5 and 29 LOVE SEATS; 7 INGRAIN; 8 HARTEBBEST; 9 INVITING; 14 EFFETUATE; 16 LARYNGES; 18 LIE IN WAIT; 20 DENTIST; 22 ADAMITE; 24 BAYOU; 25 MAINS; 26 ET AL.

DOWN

- 2 It is wrong in a way to create suspense. (6)
- 3 They sometimes go without proper fare for a time. (9)
- 4 Rising literary gentlemen with a cussword about a different profession. (9)

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

RESORTS



50 MILES TO FOREST HOUSE

Near enough for easy travel, far enough for an unforgettable vacation. Forest House achieves new levels of gay relaxation in inspiring surroundings. Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality. Two grand lakes. All sports.

FOREST HOUSE

Lake Mahopac, N. Y. - Tel. MAhopac 8-3449

FARMS & ACREAGE

7-ROOM house on lake; shower-lavatory; electricity; phone. New screening, awnings. Furnishings include refrigerator, range, washer, rowboat. Tip-top condition. View. \$6500. Berkshire Farm Agency, East Chatham, N. Y.

PUBLISHING SERVICE

AUTHORS! Sales Department available for your short stories, articles, books and plays. Free booklet, write today! Mead Agency, 419 Fourth Avenue, N. Y. 16 (OR 9-1150).

WE print, publish and distribute your non-fiction or fiction manuscript in pamphlet or book form. *Send for free folder.* WILLIAM FREDERICK PRESS, 313 West 35th St., New York 1, N. Y.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING analysis. Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel. WA 4-1575. Cooperating with doctors, psychologists, schools, firms, industries. Lessons by appointment, evenings. Marital, educational, vocational, psychological problems. Fee, \$5.00.

LANGUAGES

RUSSIAN, group and individual instruction. Anna S. Michouroff, 485 Central Park West, New York. ACADEMY 2-4484.

BOOK

FREE! "STOP SLANDERING GOD," Antidote for Bible worshiping. Greatest array of proofs ever assembled in one volume. (Leatherette cover.) Also, "Dark Deeds of David" (Did God approve or was there forgery?) For mailing both, 4¢. Bays, 327 S. E. 46, Oklahoma City 9, Okla.

Advertising Rates

CLASSIFIED

74¢ a line (6 words)

Three-line minimum

CLASSIFIED DISPLAY

\$7.42 per inch (minimum)

Remittance must accompany all orders

The NATION

Twenty Vesey Street
New York 7, New York
BARCLAY 7-1066

MONEY-SAVING MAGAZINE COMBINATIONS

For Your Convenience

^{THE} *Nation* with
☐ Harper's Magazine...\$9.50
You Save \$2.50

^{THE} *Nation* with
☐ Consumer Reports...\$10.75
You Save \$1.25

These club combinations are for one year and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses. Remittance must accompany all combination orders.

^{THE} *Nation* by itself:

☐ One Year \$7 ☐ Two Years \$12
☐ Three Years \$17

SERVICEMEN'S RATE \$5 A YEAR

Canadian and Foreign Postage \$1 a year extra

The NATION

20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

- ☐ I want to subscribe to *The Nation* for _____ years.
☐ Remittance enclosed. ☐ Bill me.
☐ I enclose my remittance for the following *Nation* combinations as listed below.

NAME _____

STREET _____

CITY _____

ZONE _____

STATE _____

10/27/51

SPECIAL NOTICE TO NATION READERS:

To Subscribers:

We are asking subscribers who wish to change their address to give us at least three weeks' notice, indicating the old as well as the new address.

If you will renew your subscription on receipt of the first notice of expiration, your cooperation will be much appreciated. It will help us simplify our record-keeping, saving us time and expense, and shield you from further renewal letters. At the same time you will avoid interruption in receiving *The Nation*.

To Newsstand Readers:

Since *The Nation* is distributed on key newsstands only, you may have difficulty in obtaining your copy. Therefore, the only certain way of getting *The Nation* regularly is to enter a subscription. By doing so you will not only be sure of receiving your copy promptly every week but save considerable money.

Mr. Churchill's Return—*Keith Hutchison*

THE *Nation*

HARVARD
PUBLIC LIBRARY
Cambridge, Mass.

November 3, 1951

Down the Road to Rome

The Clerical Threat to Freedom

BY BISHOP G. BROMLEY OXNAM

✱

Juan and Evita

What Will the Army Do Next?

BY HERBERT L. MATTHEWS

✱

The Battle for Free Schools

II. Fear of the "Thing"

BY GOODWIN WATSON

AROUND THE U. S. A.

Wildcat into Wildfire?

Brooklyn

IS THE boom finally being lowered on Joe Ryan, boss of the East Coast International Longshoremen's Association? The strike of three small locals in South Brooklyn, called on October 15 and denounced with fury by Ryan, may mark the beginning of the end of Ryan's long reign.

At the Brooklyn army base at Fifty-ninth Street and First Avenue the morning of Wednesday, October 17, began much as usual. Civilian and military personnel, cars and trucks, passed through the main gate. Dockers gathered outside but only in loosely knit groups. One noticed, though, a large number of cops, plainclothesmen, and M. P.'s—the soldiers lined up across the street from the dockers, the New York police in closer.

The dockworkers had quit work at the five piers operated by the army the day before. The union had not approved the strike, but the men were not worried over protocol. Their action, like a walk-out by several hundred dockworkers at Manhattan's Chelsea piers, was immediately labeled a wildcat strike by Ryan. Ryan also charged that Harry Bridges, who happened to be in New York the week-end before the strike began, was responsible for getting the dockers to quit. It was a Communist plot, said King Joe. Bridges promptly denied any part in it.

The men said they had quit because Ryan had signed a contract with the shipping companies which they had not voted on and which offered them little more than a ten-cents-an-hour raise. They wanted a raise of twenty-five cents an hour, a guaranteed eight-hour day, better vacation and pension provisions, changes in the vicious shape-up system of hiring, and other things. Walking off the army-base piers was the only weapon they could use to break the strangle-hold of the Ryan machine.

By 7:55 a. m., the time for the shape-up, the loose assemblage of workers outside the gate had become a dense mass of six or seven hundred men. Three or four foremen in the no man's

land between the police and the M. P.'s blew their whistles shrilly, but none of the men moved. It was apparent there would be no shape-up.

Suddenly five sound trucks drove up. On the platforms were a score or more of Ryan's henchmen, also a number of still and newsreel photographers. The Ryan men jumped from the sound trucks, walked past the cops, and started to hand out throwaways denouncing the strike. The dockworkers were not even curious. A loudspeaker blared: "This is a Commie strike, you guys! You're being used by Bridges. You haven't a thing to gain. Get back on those docks, show you're real Americans." (When these same dockers recently refused to load a shipment of Russian furs, Joe Ryan sang their praises for their stand against communism.)

This went on for an hour. But the dockers were not buying. Then a little, sallow-faced man climbed up on a truck and grabbed the mike. He wore suede shoes, immaculately pressed pants, flowered tie, new pearl-gray fedora. His only concession to the dockworkers' usual get-up was a fur-lined windbreaker.

This was Anthony (Bang-Bang) Anastasio; the family genealogy may be found in the reports of the Kefauver committee. Citing Ryan as his authority, Anastasio ordered the men back to work. "C'mon, shape up!" he yelled several times. At his signal some of the goons moved among the dockers and tried to talk them into forming work gangs. Anastasio then started to wave the flag: "Them G. I.'s in Korea. They need these goods. Whatcha gonna do? Stab 'em in the back?"

The men refused to budge. Instead, their determination seemed to harden with each phony appeal. They knew that no war cargo was being shipped at the moment. The statement of Colonel I. S. Littell, operations chief at the base, confirms this: "The situation is not urgent, as of now. We have five ships tied up, but we can move them to other ports if we have to."

Anastasio then tried to run strike-breakers through the pier entrance, without success. It took the unexpected action of one Salvatore "Toto" Brocco

to break the jam that resulted and to get the men moving toward the docks. Pretending to bargain with Anastasio, Brocco yelled over the mike that the men would go back to work if Anastasio would call off his strike-breakers. This did the trick, temporarily. Lacking vigorous leadership, the men drifted back to the piers to load, not shells or artillery, but two thousand tons of potatoes!

But after lunch, when the men had read the afternoon papers, they quit again, and for keeps. Anastasio, it appeared, was a hero and a patriot, and they were laggards or worse. They will stay out now until they are offered a decent contract and have a chance to vote on it. They are fighting mad and are choosing rank-and-filers to lead the revolt against Ryan, which may spread to Philadelphia and other Atlantic ports.

Brooklyn waterfront cops who know these dockworkers—know them from years of activity among them—say that the strike seems to be a genuine revolt from below. They agree that the wildcat could become a wildfire; but will it? The men's cool defiance of Anastasio indicates that whether the strike or not, the Ryan trouble from now on of the New York Police a longshoreman as that's still working gangster." "This is Kempton added, "action does not work."

*In Earl
Cynics and Feel
By H. H*

*An analysis of
Committee on I
ment, under the
Senator Paul Doi*

**The Public Image of
Big Business**

By Reinhard Bendix

Public attitudes toward big business ■ revealed by ■ research project of the University of Michigan financed by a \$50,000 grant from General Motors.

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 173

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • NOVEMBER 3, 1951

NUMBER 18

The Shape of Things

THOUGH THE TRUCE TALKS AT PANMUNJOM are being carried on to the accompaniment of intensified air battles over North Korea, a note of hope continues to dominate the dispatches. This arises from one fact: the Communists have abandoned their former stubborn demand for a cease-fire on the Thirty-eighth Parallel and have agreed that an armistice line should be "related to current battle positions." It is a major concession which would seem to rule out a breakdown of negotiations over the exact course the line should follow. The U. N. representatives have, to be sure, taken a tougher position. They insist that the line they have proposed is based upon "military principle" and not subject to bargaining. But they have announced that certain "refinements" of this line could be considered, and have also dropped their old demand for an extended neutralized area in the north. Both sides now admit that the area of disagreement is small. If a stalemate should develop at this stage it would be bitterly resented on both sides—not least in the United States and among the other nations supporting the U. N. fight. Under existing circumstances a cease-fire could, we believe, be promptly arranged if the Communists were sure that the truce line would not affect the political boundary between North and South Korea. The Thirty-eighth Parallel is sometimes dismissed as an "artificial" frontier. Artificial it was, but it had enough validity in the eyes of the U. N. so that its violation by North Korean troops in June, 1950, was considered an aggression serious enough to justify military sanctions. Since unification of the country by force of arms has proved impossible, the parallel will be the only logical dividing line once the shooting stops. If unification is to be brought about, it will be done later and, as Secretary Acheson suggested, by political rather than military means.

✱

"SOME OF ADENAUER'S BEST FRIENDS ARE—" was the headlined reaction of one New York newspaper to the West German Chancellor's statement on the question of German restitution to Jews. And not without reason, for the Adenauer declaration—though obviously opening the door for genuine consideration by the Ger-

man people of the material as well as the moral debt they owe the Jews of the world—contained oblique references to the limits of the "German ability . . . to pay," because of their own war refugees. The Chancellor talked too much of *future* provisions to punish practitioners of anti-Semitism and of "psychological education" for the "great majority of the German people [who] abhorred the crimes committed against the Jews and had no part in them." Representatives of major Jewish organizations throughout the world have met in New York recently under the sponsorship of the Jewish Agency for Palestine to discuss the whole restitution problem and to urge the Bonn Parliament to take action. In recent months Israel has laid before the occupying powers of Germany a claim for \$1,500,000,000 based on the cost to Israel of giving haven to more than 500,000 surviving victims of the Hitler terror. Six million Jews were killed by Nazi Germany—no amount of material reparation can compensate for this atrocity. If Bonn's sentiments were implemented, said Kurt Grossman, one-time Secretary-General of the German League for Human Rights, "the civilized world may witness a great victory for the undying forces of humanity."

✱

WILLIAM REMINGTON'S NEW INDICTMENT on five counts of perjury is a mean, vengeful, and subversive act. A few days before the indictment was returned Remington had petitioned the Supreme Court to order the dismissal of the original indictment. To return a new indictment while this petition was pending was a maneuver meanly calculated to make it difficult if not impossible for the Supreme Court to grant the petition. Remington had not yet been finally acquitted or convicted of the original charge; hence to return a new indictment while the old charge was still pending was a vengeful act. It was also an act calculated to undermine basic precepts of Anglo-American criminal justice. Occasionally indictments have been returned against defendants for perjury arising out of testimony given at the trial, but in most cases it will be found that the defendant had been acquitted of the original charge and that the testimony related to a collateral phase of the prosecution. If the testimony of the defendant goes to the essence of the original charge, then the government

■ IN THIS ISSUE ■

EDITORIALS

- The Shape of Things 365
Mr. Churchill's Return *by Keith Hutchison* 367

ARTICLES

- Down the Road to Rome -
by Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam 368
Texas Oil on Troubled Air Waves
by Paul Husserl 370
The Battle for Free Schools: Teachers and
the "Thing" *by Goodwin Watson* 371
Juan and Evita *by Herbert L. Matthews* 375

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

- MacArthur: Fact and Legend *by Willard Shelton* 378
A Work of Splendor *by Harvey Swados* 379
Soviet Beginnings *by Joseph Kraft* 380
Drama *by Joseph Wood Krutch* 381
Art *by Manny Farber* 382
Music *by B. H. Haggin* 383

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 384

- CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 437
by Frank W. Lewis opposite 384

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Associate Editor: Carey McWilliams

Foreign Editor
J. Alvarez del Vayo

Literary Editor
Margaret Marshall

Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch

Music: B. H. Haggin

Assistant Editor: Charles R. Allen, Jr.

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside

Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting

Staff Contributors

Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: Mary Simon

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1951, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$7; Two years \$12; Three years \$17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: *The Nation* is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

is ordinarily estopped from returning an indictment for perjury if the defendant is acquitted. If the defendant is convicted, then an indictment for perjury might well be subject to a plea of double jeopardy. This new indictment, if it stands as a precedent, will make it highly perilous for any defendant to testify in a criminal case. Even if the defendant is acquitted, he may be indicted for perjury. On the other hand, if he has testified and been convicted, it would then become the prosecutor's duty to indict him for perjury since the inference would be that he had lied. In this case, the prosecution obviously feels that it cannot prove the original charge of perjury against Remington arising out of a denial of membership in the Communist Party, since the new indictment relates to other items of testimony given at the trial. The indictment is further evidence of the disintegration of probity that has beset the Department of Justice in all matters related to the great crusade against "communism." For the department apparently takes the position that all the rules can be set aside in cases of this kind.

★

A NOTABLE FACULTY REVOLT HAS BROKEN out at the 258-year-old College of William and Mary in Virginia. Earlier this fall Dr. John E. Pomfret resigned as president when the Board of Visitors criticized his handling of a football scandal which involved tampering with high-school transcripts by members of the athletic department. The faculty then issued what is now known as the "Williamsburg Manifesto," in which they pointed out that an ambitious football program was "obscuring and corrupting" the educational role of the college. With a student body of 1,600, William and Mary was playing teams from large state universities, with the result that the athletic program had "sapped the academic standards of the college, tarnished the bright tradition of the honor system, and weakened the moral fiber of the college and its students and alumni." The Board of Visitors retaliated by selecting Rear Admiral Alvin Duke Chandler to succeed President Pomfret without consulting the faculty.

★

IMMEDIATELY AFTER THE APPOINTMENT was announced, the faculty met for four hours behind closed doors and emerged with a resolution, adopted unanimously, which charged that the Board of Visitors had violated the "accepted academic practice and the traditions of the college." Five minutes before Admiral Chandler took the oath of office, Dr. Nelson Marshall, dean of the college, submitted his resignation in protest against the manner in which the new president had been selected. The issue is one which today echoes throughout the American educational system: do boards of education and boards of regents "run" educational institu-

tions, or are faculties to be consulted on programs and policy, matters of general administration, and the selection of personnel? And beneath this issue is another: are democratic practices being undermined in America's schools as part of an attempt to undermine democracy in America? What is there about the problems facing American education that seems to require the selection of rear admirals and generals as presidents of colleges and universities? The series of articles which Dr. Theodore Brameld has edited for *The Nation*—the second of which appears in this issue—suggests some of the answers to these questions.

★

ANOTHER CHAPTER HAS BEEN WRITTEN IN the never-ending Los Angeles Board of Education scandal (see *The Nation* of May 26 and October 13). As previously reported, three members of the Board of Education have been accused by the grand jury of wilful misconduct in office as a result of charges first aired by Mrs. Ione Swan, a Los Angeles school teacher who was thereupon dismissed by the board for "insubordinate" action. Now a fourth member of the board has been indicted on three felony counts for having approved contracts to business concerns in which he had an interest, and the fifth member, and president, has just resigned. Although Mrs. Swan could not have won a more complete vindication, she has yet to be restored to her teaching position. The scandal is not without general interest apart from the engaging story of Mrs. Swan's courageous fight. Each chapter has shown with increasing fullness of detail that the members of the board saw nothing whatever improper in doing a little business "on the side," as board members, with concerns in which they had an interest. The law was explicit, but it seems to have been unanimously and most enthusiastically disregarded. Groups in the community which have long "bossed" the school board—which in fact elected this particular board—could not have been unaware of this large-scale trafficking in trucking contracts, ice-cream contracts, insurance contracts, and the like, but there is no evidence that any of the business men involved indignantly rejected offers of "influence" or reported these offers to the authorities. It is unfortunate, therefore, that attention must be focused on the erring board members. Their removal and the election of new board members may "restore confidence" but will not create a social ethic where none now exists.

★

NATION READERS WILL BE INTERESTED TO learn that Mrs. Lela Rogers, mother of Ginger Rogers, and the other defendants in the libel action brought by Emmet Lavery (see *The Nation* of September 22) have decided not to appeal the case. Recently the defendants paid damages and costs to Mr. Lavery in the amount of \$32,357.

November 3, 1951

Mr. Churchill's Return

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

WINSTON CHURCHILL has achieved his ambition, but he has not won the victory for which he hoped. No great wave of popular enthusiasm has swept him back into office, consoling him for the defeat he suffered in 1945. On the contrary, he has squeezed in with a parliamentary majority much too small for comfort even with the qualified support promised by the handful of surviving Liberals.

It was the disintegration of the Liberal Party that tipped the scales toward the Tories. Lacking candidates of their own in five out of six constituencies, many, though by no means all, Liberals heeded the influential voice of the Manchester *Guardian* and voted Tory. As a result, small Labor majorities in a number of marginal constituencies were converted into small Tory majorities. But the energetic and well-organized campaign of the Tory Party failed to erode the massive core of Labor support. Handicapped as it was by the unimpressive record of the Attlee government during the last eighteen months, by the setbacks in the Near East, and by the unpopularity that any administration accumulates in a long period of office, the Labor Party polled more votes than ever before and received a slightly greater proportion of the total than the Tories.

Thus Mr. Churchill, who since February, 1950, has lost no opportunity of reminding Mr. Attlee that his was a "minority" government, will himself preside to his chagrin over a minority government. Now he must expect to have his argument that such an administration has no moral right to undertake controversial legislation thrown back in his teeth.

With his small majority Mr. Churchill is bound to experience difficulty in reconciling the conflicting interests of his own supporters and the ambiguities of the Tory election program. The men who form the backbone of his party—the country squires, the business men, big and little—will certainly expect lower taxes and a relaxation of controls. The white-collar masses of suburbia will be looking for a reduction of the austerity which, they have been taught to believe, has been imposed on them by socialist "spite." But the economic facts which face the new government point toward more austerity; if the defense program is to be carried out and Britain's balance of payments restored, total civilian consumption must be cut down.

This objective might be achieved by reducing or abolishing food and rent subsidies and economizing on the social services. Such measures would mean breaking Tory election promises, but Mr. Churchill might claim that the situation is so desperate that he must postpone redemption of some or all of his pledges. A more practical difficulty is that, since the abolition of subsidies would

raise the cost of living, the unions would demand compensatory increases in wages, thus giving a new twist to the inflationary spiral. That is why the proponents of "disinflation" insist that simultaneously with cutting down expenditure the government should restrict credit and restrain investment creating enough unemployment to discourage new wage demands. But such a step would embitter organized workers and hand a potent propaganda argument to the Labor opposition.

Since the dangers of the developing British economic crisis can hardly be exaggerated, Mr. Churchill can legitimately ask for sacrifices. But he cannot expect a ready and cooperative response unless he adopts Labor's principle of "fair shares," at which hitherto he has scoffed as amounting to "an equal sharing of miseries." He cannot load the costs of rearmament on the working classes while affording relief to well-to-do taxpayers and handing the steel industry back to private enterprise so that it can reap a harvest of rearmament profits. Yet if he does not appease his hungry followers, they may pull him down as they pulled down his father, Lord Randolph Churchill, in 1886 when he sought to reform the tax structure by introducing the principle of ability to pay.

When the Tory Party claimed that Britain's troubles were solely due to socialist mismanagement and that private enterprise would provide a safe and certain cure, it dug a pit in which it is likely to be trapped now that it has returned to power. While it is struggling to get out, the strong Labor opposition will not lack opportunities for effective attack. But Labor cannot afford to take a negative position while it waits for the pendulum to swing its way. If it is to counter capitalist solutions for current problems, it must heal the breach in its own ranks and find unity in working out new socialist solutions. The success of the Bevanites at the polls shows that Labor has much to gain and little to lose by boldness. But it must be an informed boldness which grapples with Britain's precarious economic position more realistically and positively than the Bevanites have done so far. Even without the additional burden of rearmament, Britain will be hard pressed to maintain its accustomed standard of living. It has exhausted its reserves of fat and must live on its wits. That requires, above all else, an increase in productive efficiency, and the paramount task of the Labor Party is to find ways of achieving this end that are consonant with social democracy.

Down the Road to Rome

BY BISHOP G. BROMLEY OXNAM

THE appointment of an ambassador to the Vatican has driven a divisive wedge into our national life. Political reaction to this appointment may well determine the 1952 elections. The American people will not be led down the road to Rome.

There are 50,089,868 members of Protestant churches in the United States. If Protestants used the same method of counting members as does the Roman Catholic church, the figure would be between 75,000,000 and 100,000,000 persons. The Southern Baptists report 7,079,889 members. There are 8,935,647 Methodists, almost 3,500,000 of whom reside in Southern states. Nearly every major Protestant group in the nation has taken official action opposing any kind of diplomatic relationship with the Vatican. Protestants will fight the confirmation of General Clark and, if needs be, will carry this issue to the American people for final decision.

The President assured Protestant leaders that he had inherited the Myron Taylor arrangement, that he regarded it as a temporary expedient to enable him to make his fullest contribution to the peace, and that it would be ended at an early date, certainly with the signing

of the peace treaty. He told one of the most influential religious leaders of the nation in the early summer that the issue of an ambassador to the Vatican was dead. He told another leader that as long as he was President there would never be an ambassador to the Vatican. Protestantism is shocked and outraged by this un-American announcement, and is determined to take the steps necessary to preserve the American principle of the separation of church and state.

The road to Rome leads to clericalism. Hierarchies are characterized by lust for power, property, and prestige. Clericalism is "the pursuit of power, especially political power, by a religious hierarchy, carried on by secular methods and for purposes of social domination." Protestants are resolved that clericalism shall not take root in this land and that their own freedom shall not be placed in jeopardy.

The road to Rome leads to special privilege for the Roman Catholic hierarchy. Pope Leo XIII said, "It is not lawful for the state to hold in equal favor . . . different kinds of religion." That statement is subversive of a basic American principle. The American people are opposed to their government's playing religious favorites. Roman Catholic laymen, reared in the free traditions of the United States, will join their Protestant fellow-citizens

G. BROMLEY OXNAM, Bishop of The Methodist Church, is a president of the World Council of Churches.

in repudiating the attempts of the hierarchy to win special privilege. Laymen throughout the Roman Catholic world are becoming restive. In October of this year one thousand delegates from five continents assembled in Rome at the World Congress of the Apostolate of the Laity. At that assembly a demand for "the emancipation of the laity" was made. The Pope, plainly irritated, rejected the proposal, and announced that the laity must continue to be subordinate to the hierarchy. He said, "The expression 'emancipation of the laity' is hardly pleasing to us; it has rather an unpleasant sound." Absolute rulers, clerical as well as civil, have always regarded demands for democracy as "an unpleasant sound."

But Protestants believe in the free man in the free society, and have therefore built their ecclesiastical structures on democratic bases. Protestant bishops and officials are elected by the people. Protestant church law is enacted by the people. Protestant church property is owned by the people. Protestant accounts are audited and reported to the people. Protestants, consequently, see the Vatican issue against a background of a clerical threat to freedom.

THE American people will not travel the road to Rome. They know the Pope does not derive his influence and power from his status as the sovereign of the Vatican state. The Pope derives his influence and power from his status as the head of the Roman Catholic church. It is impossible to distinguish between Pacelli the prelate and Pacelli the politician. The head of the Roman Catholic church is Pacelli the Pope; and the head of the Vatican State is Pacelli the King. The church struggles to advance the interests of the state, and the state labors to further the schemes of the church. To deal with one is, in fact, to deal with the other. No amount of casuistical camouflage can conceal the fact that when the United States government sends an ambassador to the Vatican, it is actually sending a representative to the Roman Catholic church.

The road to Rome leads to political deals with the Roman Catholic Pope. The late Archbishop Ryan, Roman Catholic archbishop in Omaha, in advocating diplomatic relations with the Vatican, wrote:

Though conscious of the religious power of the Pope, head of the Catholic church, we have chosen to remain blind to the political power of the Pope who is king. But is it the part of wisdom not to recognize the papacy for what it is, despite any religious feeling to the contrary? . . . The diplomatic history of modern Europe presents few, if any, examples of completely unselfish relationships between nations. When nations act, they proceed on the well-known lines of *quid pro quo*. It is patently absurd to assume that Germany, France, and England now

recognize the Vatican state for any high motives of Christian charity. If they give something, they expect something in return.

Precisely! What did Hitler and Mussolini get in return? What do Franco and Perón get in return? There are those who see in General Clark's appointment a sorry political deal, with the coming elections and the city vote in mind. Others hold that the President bowed to the demands of the military, particularly those of the Central Intelligence Agency under General Bedell Smith. It is alleged that the military want the information the Vatican is supposed to possess. It would appear that a Pope really interested in fighting communism would offer all the resources at his command without exacting a price. In this case it is alleged that the information was refused unless the price were paid, namely, the appointment of an ambassador. If the latter explanation of the President's action is correct, the American people must consider the implications of the act. Does this mean that priests are to be regarded as spies who must report secret information to their superiors, who in turn send it up through channels to Rome? Patriotic American priests will resent the position in which the appointment of an ambassador places them. It must be self-evident that the information even an ambassador receives is information the Pope is willing to release. When this was pointed out to the President, he said, referring to the Pope, "Well, he doesn't get anything out of me that I don't want him to have."

The road to Rome is also a road to Washington. The appointment of an ambassador to the Vatican gives the Roman Catholic church a privileged status in the United States, since the papal nuncio from the Vatican who would travel from Rome to Washington would, after a time, become the senior member of the diplomatic corps. He would have access to the officials of the United States government denied the church leaders of the nation. His sacerdotal robes would grace the affairs of state.

The Roman Catholic hierarchy is not content with spiritual power. It demands temporal power. The present Pope bargained with Mussolini and got a few acres of land and sovereign right thereto. The so-called state is a subterfuge. It is the church in politics. It is the repudiation of the American conception of separation of church and state. Is this church which insists upon being a church and a state to become a member of the United Nations? Are Mohammedans, Buddhists, Confucianists, and other religionists to set up so-called states and likewise to become members of the United Nations?

The President would have the American people believe that this step was taken as a part of the fight against communism. The President knows that the Roman Catholic countries do not stand as the great barrier to Communist expansion. On the contrary, the Protestant nations with the Protestant emphasis upon freedom are the nations

that have not been seriously infiltrated by communism. The road to Rome leads to an alliance with a church that is itself, as a vast landholder, allied with the reaction in Europe that has often stood against the reform necessary to establish the free society. The opposition of the Roman

Catholic hierarchy to land reform and to social change in the interest of democracy has been a major cause of Communist growth in Europe. The American people will not walk down the Roman road. They prefer the American way.

Texas Oil on Troubled Air Waves

BY PAUL HUSSERL

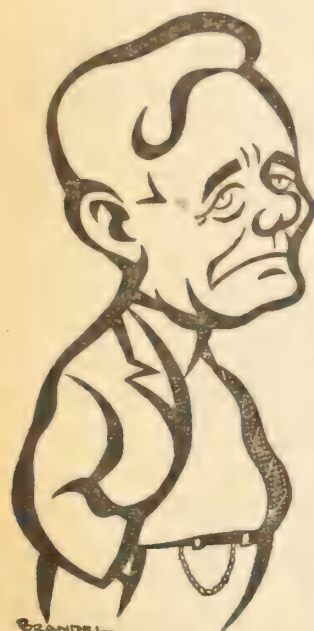
HALF-BURIED under Broadway gossip in a recent column by Leonard Lyons in the *New York Post* was this paragraph:

WMCA was to have signed a contract yesterday linking the station to Liberty Network. The deal is off now, because WMCA disapproved of the network's backer, Roy Cullen of Texas, who has a peculiar attitude about N. Y. residents.

The reference is to Hugh Roy Cullen of Houston, who was once quoted by *Time* as saying that "a bunch of New

York Jews" were trying to run his city. An oil wildcat, Cullen is one of the richest men in Texas; estimates of his fortune run as high as \$250,000,000. He is a fervent MacArthur man, an all-out Dixiecrat, and a coalitionist. On August 3 Cullen purchased an important interest in Liberty Network. Considering what followed, it is time that some light was shed on Liberty Network, with particular reference to its anointing with oil by Mr. Cullen.

Liberty's phenomenal growth has been accomplished in the short span of



Hugh Roy Cullen

three years and in a publicity vacuum so deliberately arranged that the network's very existence is news to most people. It was founded by an ambitious young sports broadcaster named Gordon McLendon, who had the bright idea that big-league baseball was not getting sufficient coverage in rural areas. The idea paid off almost from the start. Backed by his father's money—oil and automobiles—McLendon sank \$30,000 in a tiny station in the implausible town of Palestine,

Texas. From there he branched out to Houston and Dallas, going on the air a few hours each day with improvised play-by-play accounts of big-league games relayed to him by teletype and embellished with sound effects to provide color and realism.

The baseball broadcasts were parlayed into big business almost overnight. Liberty soon expanded from a six- to a sixteen-hours-a-day network. By the end of 1950 it had become second in size among the five major networks, with 431 outlets in 43 states, Hawaii, Alaska, and Japan. In fact, the network expanded so rapidly that McLendon had to seek outside capital. Just how big a slice of it Cullen bought with his million-dollar investment is a detail which McLendon is not inclined to divulge, but he does say that it is a "minority interest" and that he retains 50 per cent of the stock.

Although Liberty's chief interest has always been its backwoods baseball fans, it soon acquired a group of topflight news commentators, including Raymond Gram Swing, William Shirer, and John Vandercook, who apparently enjoyed the solid favor of McLendon. But the moment Cullen bought in as a "silent partner" this rosy picture faded like an old soldier. John T. Flynn was installed as the network's new arbiter of public enlightenment. Swing had already left to join the Voice of America; Shirer promptly resigned. Vandercook is staying on—he is under contract—but Flynn is now in charge of news broadcasts and has set up a network news bureau to service member stations. His official mission is to make certain the news is no longer given what he calls a "leftist" slant.

The trouble is that Mr. Flynn has moved so far to the right since the days when he was a left-of-center columnist for the *New Republic* that "left" has for him become a term of most ambiguous reference; he seems to feel, for example, that liberalism, not communism, is the real danger. On a recent coast-to-coast broadcast he was presented by the Sons of the American Revolution with a gold medal in honor of his "defense of the American heritage of freedom." Previous winners of the award include General Douglas MacArthur, Fulton Lewis, Jr., and Senator Pat McCarran. One witness of the presentation of the award was former Senator Albert J.

PAUL HUSSERL is a former staff writer for *Time* and the NBC Newsroom.

Hawkes of New Jersey, who like Cullen is one of the original G. O. P.-Dixiecrat coalitionists. Last month Mr. Flynn had an article in *Reader's Digest*—Who Owns Your Child's Mind?—which attacked a number of American educators, including Dr. Harold Rugg. The article figured in the extraordinary campaign waged by Senator John W. Bricker, a trustee of Ohio State University, and the Wolf newspapers—*Ohio State Journal* and *Columbus Dispatch*—to impose a censorship on speakers at Ohio State. Bowing to the pressure, Governor Frank J. Lausche asked the trustees to "check into" the circumstances surrounding Dr. Rugg's appearance as a speaker at the university. Ohio State now has official "secret screening machinery" for speakers.

One of the stations that will have the benefit of Mr. Flynn's protection against "leftist" slanted news is WCFL, the American Federation of Labor's 50,000-watt outlet in Chicago. Liberty still has no New York affiliate but is dickering to get one. So far, its negotiations with WMCA and WMGM have not borne fruit. The network has solid coverage in the South and West, directed from its home office, which is still in Dallas.

In fairness to McLendon it should be said that Liberty has not wholly succumbed to the Cullen-Flynn axis. John

Vandercook maintains that he is still "free and uncensored," and McLendon professes not to understand what is meant by "the new set-up" under Flynn. There is no question of McLendon's sincerity, but the fact that John T. Flynn is director of news certainly indicates that a new set-up exists.

No approval of Cullen's purchase of an interest in Liberty was required under FCC regulations, since the network does not hold licenses to the stations it serves. But the purchase gives point to a case which the FCC now has under consideration. On June 14 the trial examiner who had heard the evidence in the application of WGAR in Cleveland, WJR in Detroit, and KMPC in Los Angeles for renewal of licenses recommended that the proceedings be dropped on the ground that the death of George Richards, owner of the stations, had made the issues "moot." The issues had to do, it will be recalled, with written instructions that Richards gave news commentators on how to handle his pet "peeves," which included New Dealers, the Jews, Henry Wallace, the Roosevelt family, and so on. In the public interest the FCC should reject the recommendation of its trial examiner and proceed to pass upon the important issues raised in the Richards case.

THE BATTLE FOR FREE SCHOOLS

Teachers and the "Thing"

BY GOODWIN WATSON

IN ENGLEWOOD and Pasadena, in Minneapolis and Montclair, and in hundreds of other cities and towns, pressure groups have been fencing in the minds of teachers and pupils. Parents, teachers, and school-board members, deeply concerned over high tension abroad and low morals at home, suspect that something is wrong. Before we throw out "progressive education" and plump for thought-control, however, let us take another long look at our democratic values and at our anxiety-producing mechanisms.

Something has us scared, all right, but what is it? Is our present fear of communism a rational and appropriate reaction? Do book-banning, teacher-firing, and loyalty oaths constitute parts of an intelligent defense of democratic education, or are they symptomatic of unhealthy anxiety arising from obscure, even unconscious sources? The phrase "witch hunt" brings echoes of

GOODWIN WATSON is professor of education at Teachers College, Columbia University, and author of "Action for Unity" and other books. This is the second of a series of eight articles on the crisis in our schools.

numerous sad occasions in history, when fanatics, thinking themselves moved by the highest ideals, gave cruel expression to their fear of some *Thing*—dark, mysterious, and evil.

The historical principles of our democracy as interpreted by leading statesmen and educators are clearly on the side of educational freedom and against prescribed conformity. When, in 1949, Fulton Lewis, Jr., asked his listeners to deluge Harvard University with protests against having permitted Communist Gerhart Eisler to speak on that campus, Dean Wilbur J. Bender replied:

There is no danger from an open Communist which is half as great as the danger from those who would destroy freedom in the name of freedom. . . . I devoutly hope that the time will never come when we are faced with the sorry spectacle of a great university and a great country trembling timorously in fear of the words of a Communist or of a demagogic commentator.

At about the same time the Broyles Commission, a little un-American-activities project of the Illinois legislature, summoned Robert M. Hutchins, then chancellor

of the University of Chicago, to an inquiry into "subversive" activities there. In his testimony Mr. Hutchins said:

It is now fashionable to call anybody with whom you disagree a Communist or a fellow-traveler. . . .

One who criticizes the foreign policy of the United States, or the draft, or the Atlantic Pact, or who believes that our military establishment is too expensive can be called a fellow-traveler, for the Russians are of the same opinion. One who thinks that there are too many slums and too much lynching in America can be called a fellow-traveler, for the Russians say the same. . . .

The danger to our institutions is not from the tiny minority who do not believe in them. It is from those who would mistakenly repress the free spirit upon which those institutions are built. The miasma of thought-control that is now spreading over the country is the greatest menace to the United States since Hitler.

The American Association of University Professors has recently reaffirmed its position in accord with the tradition of Milton, John Stuart Mill, Thomas Jefferson, and Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr. Like the American Civil Liberties Union, the A. A. U. P. asks that teachers be judged individually on the basis of their competence. E. B. White of the *New Yorker*, commenting on the dismissals at the University of Washington, expressed the same view succinctly: "We believe teachers should be fired, not in blocks of three for political wrongness, but in blocks of one for unfitness."

Beneath these declarations lies a faith in educational freedom, not as any special privilege for teachers, but as a foundation for democratic citizenship and for intelligent progress. The rising generation must not be bound by the limited view of its predecessors. Students, as prospective citizens, need a fair presentation of all sides of controversial issues, together with practice in critical thinking and balanced judgment.

THESE admirable ideals stand out against a dark and ever-worsening background of restriction, censorship, and intimidation. Valuable publications have been banned from classrooms because controversial views were presented. Teachers have been fired and many more have been warned because of alleged radicalism. Special loyalty oaths are required or are under consideration in a dozen states. Distinguished scholars, invited to teach in colleges in the United States, have run up against immigration barriers.

But the well-publicized cases are few in comparison with the many obscure teachers caught by a stern check-rein. One college lost the support of its most prominent trustee because the political-science professor encouraged his students to "meddle" in a non-partisan campaign to encourage everyone to vote. One high-school teacher lost his job because of what was regarded as a "too favorable" presentation of the TVA; another got into hot water because he recommended consumer testing of ad-

vertised products. A public-school history teacher in a Louisiana parish was surprised to discover that the Reformation had to be omitted from the course of study. The Catholic principal of a public elementary school in Westchester County, New York, in his May Day (1951) radio address to all teachers and children, warned them that while Communists may be hard to identify, a sure sign is disbelief in God. Teachers have found themselves in trouble because they showed the film "Human Growth"—a scientific presentation by educational officials in Oregon—or made other mild approaches to much-needed sex education. A beginning teacher in Colorado was warned that her plan to focus the study of intercultural brotherhood on Spanish-speaking Americans should be dropped because in that region the problem was "too controversial."

A Civil Liberties Union survey of thirty-three college campuses on Civil Rights Day (December 15, 1950) discovered infringements on more than half. Kalman Siegel reported in the *New York Times* (June, 1951) on a survey of seventy-two colleges. He found "a reluctance to speak out on controversial issues in and out of class," "neglect of humanitarian causes because they may be suspect in the minds of politically unsophisticated officials," and "shying away from an association with the words 'liberal,' 'peace,' and 'freedom'." The victims who have suffered most from the current retreat from freedom are the millions of pupils now being instructed in only the obvious by teachers playing safe.

The growing discrepancy between the ringing statements of democratic ideology and the actual curbs on educational freedom is in part the work of reactionaries frightened by an unprecedented rate of change. The "super-patriotic" organizations listed in Morris Mitchell's article last week promote the illusion that if only all "subversive" influences could be purged from the schools, then the accelerating world-wide social revolution of the twentieth century would prove only a bad dream. The faith of these critics of public education in the power of a single radical teacher or pamphlet to malfonn the minds of pupils in an entire school and community would be touching were it not so ludicrous. Experienced teachers know only too well how little impression their persistent efforts usually make, even when supported by home, church, and community. The social attitudes of most children and adolescents seem to be formed by neighborhood peer groups rather than by classroom or pulpit.

Zoll and other neo-fascists, however, would get nowhere were it not for a popular response; this is the truly disturbing symptom. Distrust of freedom has become endemic in this era of crisis and infects teachers as well as business men. Most teachers have never dared venture to the end of their tether; many are unaware that curbs exist.

The attacks on educational freedom are for the most part directed at non-Communists, but it is the tension of a world polarized between the Kremlin and the Pentagon which provides the rationalization and the dynamic. Any innovation—be it free kindergartens or adult forums—may now be shunned as having some “communistic” aspect. All educational freedom has become tied up with the decision concerning what schools are to do about communism and the Communists.

IT IS not easy to approach calmly and reasonably an issue so highly charged with feeling. Justice Black, dissenting from the majority who upheld the Smith act and terming it “a virulent form of prior censorship of speech and press, which I believe the First Amendment forbids,” felt constrained to concede that few would now agree with him. Certainly the average American can find no more good in communism than the average Russian can find in his picture of capitalism. Each is convinced of the virtue of his own side and of the dark, deceptive, aggressive, evil forces of the enemy. One might suppose that since the case against Communists in American opinion right now is so overpowering, there could be relatively little present danger of their winning adherents in a free market of ideas, but this over-rational expectation neglects an important aspect of the present emotion. Fear of the *Thing* drives us in panic to curtail freedom as our way of defending it.

Deep emotional reactions as powerful as children's terrors or the drives of the sex pervert or murderer make unworkable the program of those who draw the line against Communists while hoping still to make a “respectable” defense of the liberties of others. The National Education Association, the American Federation of Teachers, and Americans for Democratic Action have concurred in the ban on Communists but wish to prevent other added forms of restriction and censorship. The results have been only what the Communists predicted: each successful action against Communist teachers has increased the fervor of the attack on the “next group”—be it fellow-travelers, Socialists, New Dealers, liberals, or progressive educators.

What is needed now is more insight into the psychology of the repressive forces. Apprehension arises in part from a rate of social change which is too fast for the rulers of our world, too fast for our institutions, and too fast for the security of most citizens. The attack on educational freedom in part expresses a desire to turn the calendar back to an age paced by horse and quiet buggy.

A deeper aspect of the anxiety which lies behind repressive attacks is subjective. The *Thing* springs from terrifying depths within man. It is as awful as patricide and infanticide and suicide all rolled into one. It parallels primitive man's fear of evil spirits and medieval man's fear of the Dark Powers. The Communist teacher,

in the view of the N. E. A.'s Educational Policies Committee, corresponds very closely to the reprobate in old legends who had sold his soul to the devil. He is no longer really human; his mind is necessarily unfree; evil pervades and controls him. Anxiety in the presence of educational freedom is tied up with the mystery of evil in much the same way that racial segregation has been tied to the mystery of sex. Progress proves illusory so long as these emotional citadels are left undisturbed. Only after some rational approach has reached the deep-lying central anxiety is the mind really free to work out programs of practical defense or of cooperation on peripheral matters. It may sound strange, but it is profoundly true that as long as some Americans focus upon Communists in this crisis all the repressed evil in their own nature, they will suspect Stalin's agent behind such diverse educational innovations as annual promotion, reading-readiness tests, core curricula, guidance services, intra-mural sports, and courses in family living.

ONE indication that emotional projection underlies much contemporary anti-communism is the loss of discrimination by otherwise able minds. A familiar test of prejudice penalizes anyone who accepts statements about ability or character beginning “All Americans,” “All Chinese,” “All Jews,” or “All Catholics.” The premise of those who would automatically bar Communist teachers begins “All Communists.” They may recognize that it takes all kinds of people to make up every other party or religion the world has ever known, but they regard Communists as all alike. They allow everywhere else for a difference—for better or for worse—between what the sacred books say and what a given human being actually practices but condemn Communists wholesale on the basis of texts pried from the Red scriptures. In other fields the methods of scientific observation and induction are respected; American Communists, however, are condemned not for what they have been observed to be or to do but for what it is presumed deductively they should logically be and do. There has not been, to my knowledge, a single investigation designed to discover whether Communist teachers are really more or less well-informed than other teachers; better or worse adjusted emotionally; freer or more rigid in attitudes; more or less inclined to work democratically in class, school, and community; more or less likely to propagandize for one point of view. Personal observation among the few Communists known to me suggests that some are by temperament quite unsuited to the classroom while others warmly love children, are devoted to unselfish social ideals, and would maintain, if they were teaching, a level of fair-mindedness and intellectual honesty which would place them distinctly above the average teacher.

Lack of personal acquaintance with actual Communists makes it easier for the devil theory to thrive in America.

Leslie Midgley, foreign editor of *Look*, reports that Western Europeans are much less excited about the "Communist menace" than we are, despite the greater proportion of Communists there. "Communists, in the public mind [in the United States]," he says, "are a species of untidy, misfit criminals. In the European community mind they are zealots, but familiar workers, teachers, shopkeepers, and neighbors. . . . Daily living with and working with men of Communist persuasion changes the focus on them."* There are no committees on "un-Swedish activities," and no political tests are applied to school teachers in France, not *despite* but *because* those countries are more experienced in coping with Communists than we are.

THE menace before which America now trembles attains gigantic stature because we see it so dimly. More fearless examination of communism in the schools would be sound from an emotional, a political, and an educational viewpoint. Suppose every high school tried to get one avowed Communist teacher. (Never mind the fact that there wouldn't be enough to go around, even if all Communists were employed as teachers.) Suppose we let the Communist freely have his say. Let him teach from the premises of the communism he honestly believes, in his own courses, and in panels with other teachers participating. What would happen?

First, the *emotional* situation would become more healthy. Many of the vague anxieties which now fetter citizens would be dissipated if communities could contend with a real flesh-and-blood "subversive" with all his human possibilities and limitations instead of with the *Thing*—that bogey concocted out of mysterious inner animosities and the rumors on which they feed. Communism explicitly expounded is less likely to have glamorous attraction for rebellious adolescent spirits than a communism which remains the great tabooed mystery. Other teachers would feel freer to express the progressive ideals in which they believe without the haunting fear that these aspirations might be regarded as "Communist" just because they were unconventional.

Politically, the outcome would be the production of more convinced and intelligent defenders of democracy. Army studies of propaganda during the recent war showed that high-school graduates are less persuaded by wholly one-sided arguments, of the kind the schools present today on the issue of communism, than by a fair presentation and refutation of what is to be said on the other side of the question. If the Communist teacher gives, as he may be expected to do, the trite answers of Soviet propaganda to the challenging questions on Russian imperialism, non-cooperation, censorship, slave-labor, and police-state intimidation sure to be asked by

any school's overwhelming majority of anti-Communist teachers, pupils, and parents, that teacher will win few converts. If the lone Communist voice should succeed in arousing the conscience of some unduly complacent pupils about evils which still need to be remedied in any part of the world, that will be a considerable gain. Greater awareness of the constructive possibilities as well as the difficulties of economic planning will help us in our own task of reconciling the necessary planning with full freedom.

Highly important will be a more realistic understanding of what the other half of the world is thinking. Conflict with communism will overshadow the entire life of this generation of American youth. No responsible analyst of society believes that any number of A-bombs or H-bombs dropped on the Kremlin will end the kind of thinking which breeds fanatical Communists all over the earth. No military victory and no persecution will root out so potent an ideology. No Jew or Christian familiar with the history of his own faith will believe that the power of gold or guns can deter a movement which makes most of its members prefer martyrdom to betrayal. Such a movement can be influenced for the better only by those who understand it more clearly than either the Communists or the non-Communists today understand one another. It would be still more helpful, of course, if the free democracies could likewise supply a missionary to every school beyond the Iron-Golden Curtain, but we don't have to wait for the Russians to relax before we start practicing our own ideals of free interchange. If it should turn out in the long run that we came to understand the Russians far better than they understood us, that would be worth more to our defense than dozens of armored divisions.

The *educational* merit of this proposal is that it provides a pattern for solving an old problem: How may teachers holding strong convictions avoid both hypocrisy and indoctrinating? Pupils in elementary school as well as in high school will be better educated if they are taught in their various classes and panels by several teachers with differing viewpoints. The child who spends his whole school day with one teacher is unduly limited by the biases of that individual, be he Communist or plutocrat, introvert or extrovert, Catholic or atheist, white or Negro, from upper-, middle-, or lower-class background. A democratic community's goal should not be teachers who represent only the circumscribed prejudices of one religion or of a "better-class" section, or anemic teachers who cautiously sterilize their every expression against any living germ of controversy. Rather the goal should be provision for each child to have full, life-rich contacts with a variety of vigorous personalities representing the wide range of views important to the world of tomorrow, and provision also for untrammelled critical explorations, comparisons, and evaluations.

* An Editor's View of Reluctant Europe in Arms Against a Sea of Troubles. *Look*, August 28, 1951.

Juan and Evita

BY HERBERT L. MATTHEWS

THE Argentine election of November 11, as planned, had a nice, neat pattern—from the point of view of Juan and Eva Perón. Today it is a mess. The original idea was to have a Perón-Perón ticket, the General as President and his wife as Vice-President. For the sake of a livelier history and the entertainment of the world, one could almost wish the dream had come true. There never has been a woman vice-president anywhere; we would have had to go back to a much worthier couple, Ferdinand and Isabella, to find a husband-and-wife team of rulers in the Latin world. And, of course, there never was such a woman as Evita—for which we all can on the whole be thankful. Already she has cut a swathe through Latin American history. Viceroy and dictators have had influential mistresses, like Elisa Lynch, the Anglo-Irish mistress of Francisco López, dictator of Paraguay in the 1860's. López would have married Elisa if she could have got an annulment of her marriage; even as a common-law wife, Mme Lynch played a big role behind the scenes. She made history, too, partly because the influence of women in Latin American politics is so rare. The important ones can be counted on the fingers of one hand, and none before Evita Perón ruled in her own right, least of all in a country of great power and wealth. Now Evita is very ill with pernicious anemia. If we have—at least temporarily—been spared the evil that she could and would have done, we have also been deprived of a unique spectacle. Still, that is a luxury we can afford to dispense with.

The pattern began to break down just when it should have taken solid form. That was on August 22 of this year, the day the Peróns staged a giant demonstration in Buenos Aires. Evita was to have been drafted by the spontaneous and irresistible demand of Argentine labor—her dear *descamisados*, the shirtless ones.

Colonel Juan Perón came to power in 1943-45 with an adroit combination of labor and military support. He was one of a group of colonels—pro-Nazi, anti-American, nationalistic, isolationist—who were heirs to the old Latin American tradition that law, order, and power should be in the hands of the army men. Eva Duarte was one of the young women (she would not have been more than twenty-five in 1943) who traveled in the colonels' set. The stories of her having been a prostitute are false. She was a dancer and minor actress in a country

where that profession is not generally virtuous by family standards, and she did come from the lower classes. Let us say that she was the Theodora to Juan Perón's Justinian. It should never have mattered what she was, because as a common-law and as a legal wife her devotion and loyalty were unassailable. By all accounts, Juan and Eva were and are very much in love with each other, and the matter should be left there.

Unfortunately, the attitude of the women whom Evita came in contact with when her husband became powerful was not such as to let her forget her origins and mode of life. Her reaction was to seek revenge, which she did with a spitefulness and ruthlessness that showed the female of the species at its deadliest. The wives of the high officers, officials, and ruling classes were mixed up in her mind and emotions with the hated oligarchy. Her heart was with her own poor people, the *descamisados*.

Colonel Perón might not, of himself, have thought in those terms, but he was ambitious, shrewd, a born demagogue. He wanted power, but as an army officer with no great social connections and no special record, he would have found it hard or even impossible to reach the top. The army, it must never be forgotten, is always the power factor in Latin America. A dictator, a president, a party can rule *without* the army but never *against* the army.

So Juan Perón needed military backing. Where he struck off at a new tangent was to enlist, in addition, the support of the trade unions and peons—the shirtless ones whom he was later to clothe handsomely. The conservative, Prussianized army did not have popular backing; Perón saw the need for it, and certainly the workers and peasants were downtrodden and miserable enough to welcome a champion. In fact, they found two champions, for in the course of time it was Evita who adopted them, pampered them, raised their wages, gave them social benefits, and provided a health and charitable service for their exclusive use. The Eva Perón Social Aid Foundation is a vast, personal system, built up by forcing individuals and big business to contribute. It is run exclusively by Evita for good Peronistas, and woe betide those who refuse to contribute!

That axis—army and *descamisados*—was the basis for Peronism. A fascist regime was built upon it. A phony doctrine called "justicialism" was added post facto, and Argentines were told that capitalism—that is, the hated United States—was if anything worse than communism. "Capitalism is undoubtedly the great evil of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries," Perón said, while com-

HERBERT L. MATTHEWS, the distinguished foreign correspondent and editorial writer of the New York Times, spent some months in Buenos Aires last spring.

munism is an effect and a product of capitalism. Hence they must both be eliminated by *justicialismo*, which is a "third position" between the two. Good Peronistas were put in charge of all the big trade unions and of the General Confederation of Labor. Army generals and lesser officers were never so pampered or so honored, and every soldier down to the private was given special treatment. Those divisions and naval units which were especially trustworthy received more arms and were stationed in key localities.

THE formula looked fool proof, but it was easy to see in Buenos Aires last spring that the significant thing about the Perón regime was not its strength but its weakness. The Peróns still had a long way to go to make Argentina a totalitarian state. There was friction between the followers of Evita and the followers of the President. The rank and file of the trade unions were unhappy because of the mounting cost of living and their lost liberties. The inflation was getting serious. The army generals were restive, and ashamed about Evita; she was making a laughing-stock of a man's country.

The question on all sides was: what will the army do? Obviously, President Perón was asking himself the same question. The answer seemed simple to him—call up the power of the workers, a power so massive that the generals would be cowed or at least impressed by the popularity of the Peróns. So the great demonstration of August 22 was arranged—a workers' holiday, free transportation to Buenos Aires, food, lodging, entertainment, and all of it backed by union orders to go out and demand the Perón-Perón ticket.

Juan Perón had been elected on February 24, 1946, for a six-year term. He changed the constitution to permit a second consecutive term; he moved the elections forward from February 24, 1952, to November 11; he had many of his rivals arrested for *desacato* (disrespect) or for no reason at all; the entire press with the noble exception of *La Nación* and a few provincial papers had been bought, cowed, or suppressed like the great *Prensa*. On the eve of August 22 it would have been a rash man who predicted trouble.

And yet on that day the neat pattern began to crack. Instead of 2,000,000 loyal demonstrators there were only 300,000. Instead of being cowed by the power of labor, the army leaders were encouraged by its failure to rally round the Peróns in greater numbers. Moreover, something had obviously gone wrong with the Peronista party machinery. The generals intervened, and Evita, on August 31, tearfully renounced the vice-presidency. "My only flag is Perón; my best reward the love of the Argentine people," she said, with what bitterness and hatred one can well imagine. The present Vice-President, Dr. Hortensio Quijano, seventy-four and ailing, was named in her place for reelection.

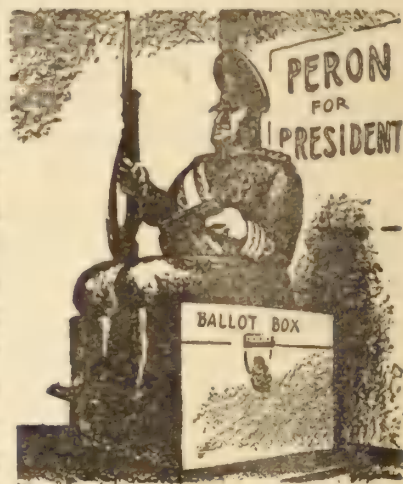
The question now was: what will the army do next? To answer it one had to know whether the generals were merely gunning for Evita and were satisfied now that they had defeated her, or whether they wanted to get rid of President Perón too. On the whole, they had reason to be satisfied. General Perón was one of them, with a strong following in the army and the powerful police force; he was still very popular, still in control of the political machine. Eva Perón's health broke down, and it was soon learned that she was very ill; so there was nothing to worry about from that direction for a long time to come.

What happened next was puzzling and will doubtless remain so until after the elections, when the dust settles. On the morning of September 28 there was a military uprising; by mid-afternoon it was all over. It had been badly organized, ill-timed, and poorly supported. The great bulk of the army, navy, and air force remained loyal. Many thousands of workers turned out to help and cheer Perón. Some officers fled to Uruguay, others were arrested; there was a shake-up in the top echelons of the navy, air force, and defense ministries; a state of siege was proclaimed, and more political opponents were arrested.

Was Juan Perón acting from strength or from weakness? Was he on the offensive or defensive? There, again, we shall have to wait until the elections to find out, but temporarily, at least, the President had strengthened his position.

The atmosphere remained tense and confused, a confusion that the President made worse by announcing on October 9 that he was calling Congress into special session to grant him a leave of absence from the presidency. The leave was of course granted, surprisingly enough until April 30 if the General so desired. There was a theatricality about the gesture that smacked of his model, Mussolini. It was the demagogue coming out. He was going to show that he could win on November 11 in a free and fair fight, dispensing with his presidential powers, all open and aboveboard.

Of course, certain precautions were in order. Perón never approved of political parties. They are "out of date in the modern world and are the means by which capitalism suppresses the will of the majority," he said last December. The four national opposition parties—



Fitzpatrick in the
St. Louis Post-Dispatch

Radicals, National Democrats (or Conservatives), Socialists, and Communists—have hundreds of their leaders in General Perón's jails or with warrants out against them. Since there is a state of siege, habeas corpus is suspended. Meetings of any but Peronistas in Buenos Aires have been banned. Radio, television, and press are completely controlled. The polling places will be under army guard, and so will the counting of the votes.

For the first time women will vote. About 4,400,000 are eligible, compared to 4,000,000 men. Eva Perón got her sex the franchise, and she expects women to vote for her husband and his party. In fact, the Peronista women are well organized in a party of their own, headed by none other than Eva Perón. Organized labor is also completely controlled by the Peróns, and while there is some discontent among the rank and file, the trade-union vote can be expected to go overwhelmingly for the Peronista ticket.

In 1946 the elections were fair enough, but well prepared in advance to favor General Perón. He received 1,474,447 votes to 120,759 for his fusion opponent, José Tamborini. Tamborini had been chosen as fusion candidate by the same four national parties now in the running. This time General Perón has had the presence of mind to forbid fusion candidacies.

NEEED we ask, therefore, who is going to win the elections of November 11? It is true that where the grip of the Perón political machine is relatively weak—mainly in the countryside and the small towns—the Peronista ticket may find tough going. The Radical Party has brave and intelligent leadership, notably so in its presidential and vice-presidential candidates, Ricardo Balbín and Arturo Frondizi. Balbín has already spent ten months in jail for "disrespect" of the President and has a number of new charges for *desacato* against him. Frondizi is the able and fearless minority leader in the Chamber of Deputies—one of the very few Argentines in public life who stood up and fought to save *La Prensa*. Unfortunately, the Radicals have no positive program and no mass following.

The Socialist leader, Alfredo Palacios, now seventy-one, is one of the best-known political figures in Latin America. Lawyer, university president, author of dozens of books, he has been a fighter for liberty all his life, and a most picturesque one. Perón had him arrested on the day of the September 28 uprising along with other Socialists, but Palacios was later released. Américo Ghioldi, his running-mate, is a noted educator and journalist. Américo's brother, Rodolfo Ghioldi, is the Communist presidential candidate. Argentine socialism, under Palacios, is of the democratic, Fabian type; as doctrine, it fails to attract many workers. However, in Latin America personalities count more than doctrines, and Palacios is a great personality.

Palacios has now withdrawn from the campaign, leaving the battle to minor figures, and the Socialists have all but given up. The Radicals, on the other hand, have attracted large crowds and apparently aroused much enthusiasm. Since their meetings must be held outside of Buenos Aires, and the press, even *La Nación*, does not report their doings, it has been impossible to gauge just how much support they are winning, but obviously their meetings are successful and Perón is disturbed by them. One of his reasons for taking a leave of absence is undoubtedly to stomp the provinces in his own behalf.

Reynaldo Pastor, the National Democratic candidate for President, is the only Conservative deputy in the present Congress. The vice-presidential candidate, Vicente Solano, is an exile in Uruguay. Since the National Democrats represent the discredited and dethroned oligarchy, they are hardly likely to whip up much popular support. The so-called oligarchy contains many of the finest, most intelligent, and patriotic men in Argentina, but their record is a bad one, and it looks as if their power has been permanently broken.

The Communist Party is legal in Argentina, but the movement is weak, partly because Perón stole a lot of their thunder. However, there are many observers who see Peronism as the forerunner of communism in Argentina. It is a fascism of the left that can be converted into communism overnight. At present Perón considers communism to be almost as bad as capitalism.

On the whole, the opposition campaign is a forlorn one, with only the Radicals having any real chance to elect deputies to Congress. If Colonel Domingo Mercante, the powerful retiring governor of Buenos Aires Province, should abandon his pouting aloofness and come out strongly for the Perón ticket, that hope would diminish. To make matters more difficult, the new electoral law abolishes the proportional-representation system in congressional elections. Each senator now has to be elected by direct majority vote in his constituency, and the minority votes are wasted. Deputies will be chosen by electoral districts and not by provinces. Before this, the second-strongest party automatically received one-third of the seats in the Chamber of Deputies. The Radicals are bound to lose by the new procedure—as they were intended to do.

No one has the remotest chance to defeat Juan Perón for President by a popular ballot. One can write one's ticket now: Juan Domingo Perón, President; Hortensio Quijano, Vice-President; Major Carlos Aloe (Perón's henchman and secretary), Governor of Buenos Aires Province, the second most important post in Argentina. Add complete control of Congress by the Peronistas, and you have the political set-up in Argentina for the next six years.

Or have you? We still have to ask the question: What is the army going to do next?

BOOKS and the ARTS

MacArthur: Fact and Legend

THE GENERAL AND THE PRESIDENT. By Richard H. Rovere and Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. Farrar, Straus, and Young. \$3.75.

IN THE aftermath of the MacArthur hearings the United States Senate has turned itself into a kind of coroner's jury digging up the corpses of Yalta and Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist China and holding inquests to try to prove that if Roosevelt, Truman, Acheson, and Company had behaved differently, Chiang would still rule in Nanking and Stalin would by now have probably dropped dead out of sheer terror of American disapproval. Messrs. Rovere and Schlesinger have written a witty, ironic recapitulation of the zany controversy arising from MacArthur's ouster, put some facts about the General into focus, and accurately identified the "new isolationism" represented in his "go it alone" philosophy.

MacArthur emerges from these pages as something less than the all-conquering figure he has created in his own imagination. Excellent in execution of the Pacific campaigns, he had to be prodded and overruled on strategic concepts. His Inchon landing in Korea was a master-stroke, probably the greatest of his career, but it is curious that it should have come from the same brain that in the Philippines, before World War II, played with the idea that "defended coasts" would be impregnable. His shocking blunders on the first day of the Japanese war, when his air force was destroyed on the ground ten hours after Pearl Harbor, and his failure to let his bombers attack Formosa although General Brereton was begging permission, have been told before, but they are worth telling again. Why Short and Kimmel were ruined because of their Pearl Harbor failures, which MacArthur survived far more heinous offenses to become Colonel McCormick's and the country's hero is a mystery probably to be explained only by MacArthur's masterly control of his own publicity. (The publicity was controlled so completely that Clark Lee,

Associated Press correspondent, could not file the story until he reached Australia, and by then MacArthur was already the legendary figure of Bataan and Corregidor.)

Exactly when and why MacArthur decided to force a showdown with President Truman rather than accept the frustrations of the Korean war is not explained in this book. Probably it will never be explained until the General, like Lincoln's McClellan, who was also fired, gives us the privilege of his memoirs. It may be noticed, however, that events moved quickly after MacArthur was "surprised" by the massive Chinese intervention, which he had already warned Washington about and in the face of which he nevertheless ordered his disastrous "home by Christmas" offensive. Just as in 1935 he left the United States for the Philippines, apparently with a sense of relief because here he had no more career worlds to conquer, so he may have felt that Korea after the Chinese intervention offered him no further chance to live up to his own legend.

Wellington, the Iron Duke who won at Waterloo, first had the time and patience to fight nine long years in the Peninsular campaign that drained Napoleon's strength and paved the way for Waterloo. But MacArthur seems not to be happy in adversity; he joined President Quezon in 1942 in a proposal for *neutralization* of the Philippines, and had to be gently lectured by Roosevelt on the nature of appeasement. In Korea, MacArthur may have felt that he lacked time to be a Wellington; he was seventy-one years old, and it was more pleasant to attack his "enemies" in Washington than to execute the painful military diplomacy prescribed by a commander-in-chief who wanted both to turn back Communist aggression and avoid provocation toward a general war. At any rate MacArthur wrote letters; he issued an "ultimatum" to the Chinese that was supported by no other leading members of the United Nations and that undercut diplomatic negotiations about which he had been forewarned; and Truman obliged by firing him.

As for Chiang Kai-shek and Yalta, it is pleasant to be reminded that in 1945 Senator Wiley of Wisconsin was publicly begging the Russians to come into the war against Japan, and that the one American most playfully insistent that Mao Tse-tung's Chinese Communists had nothing in common with Moscow was that preposterous old character, mistakenly sent by Roosevelt on a mission to China, the Honorable Patrick J. Hurley.

For ten years MacArthur has had a persecution complex. Always his ideas have been frustrated by "enemies" in Washington; always the Administration has been guilty of the quaint delusion that Western Europe has some importance in the scales of world events; and in the end the General saw his occupation of Japan deteriorating in value and his own reputation endangered in the bitter tribulations of the Korean war. So he came home—not as the ordinary general might have come, but with the panache and triumphs of the most melodramatic circumstances. But—so far as Yalta goes—nothing can change the record that he too in 1945 was begging for Russian participation in the war to destroy the Japanese armies in Manchuria. And nothing can change the record that, while he is apparently incapable of speaking except in terms of the broadest reference to mighty historical events, he knows so little about China that in his speech to Congress he called Chang Tso-lin, a common war lord, one of the architects of modern China, and completely forgot Sun Yat-sen.

The bizarre episode is already becoming dull. MacArthur was not allowed to choose the time and place for whatever bombing, if any, must eventually be done. A less patient President than Mr. Truman might have fired him sooner, but the constitutional integrity of the Republic was safeguarded. The late James Forrestal's candid comment to Admiral Leahy was that MacArthur "had a high degree of professional ability, mortgaged, however, to his sensitivity and vanity." It seems a fitting epitaph.

WILLARD SHELTON

A Work of Splendor

THE SECOND SCROLL. By A. M. Klein. Alfred A. Knopf. \$2.75.

IF JOHN HERSEY'S "The Wall" can be regarded as the outstanding fictional tribute by a non-Jew to the annihilated Jewry of Europe, this apocalyptic volume by A. M. Klein, the Canadian poet, Joyce scholar, and lawyer, can with greater justification be described as the most profoundly creative summation of the Jewish condition by a Jewish man of letters since the European catastrophe.

Mr. Klein has at his disposal the entire body of Hebrew tradition that was simply unavailable to John Hersey, and as a poet he accepts the necessity for transcending novelistic descriptiveness in grappling with a tragedy that has surpassed the most awful imaginings of a Dante. He has chosen to personify the Hebrew tradition with an imaginary uncle, Melech Davidson (Melech: King; Davidson: Solomon), and by means of a technique that includes prose narrative, verse, and poetic drama, all brought into a larger unity through an extremely complex interweaving of Talmudic and Biblical allegory.

We learn in the narrative chapters (pointedly titled Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy) that Melech Davidson has been successively a glittering Talmudic prodigy, a convert to Bolshevism—"Comrade Krul, the international authority upon the decadence of European literature"—a survivor of the Nazi holocaust flirting with the Catholic church, a dedicated relief worker in the Jewish slums of Casablanca, and finally a saintly scholar-martyr in Israel, in the holy city of Safed, where "Rabbi Solomon Halevi Alkabez, in the very darkness of his century, had composed (the song of Sabbath greetings) words of hope and consolation." He thus recapitulates in his own life both the recent symbolic history of the Jews and their entire history as a people.

When the nephew-narrator flies to Europe, to North Africa, and finally to Israel in search of his elusive uncle, he throws off a series of sparks that demonstrate brilliantly his capacity for poetic illumination. It is in Israel, after fruitless wandering, and after a boring literary soiree in Tel Aviv, that "the creative

activity, archetypal, all-embracing . . . at last manifested itself. In the streets, in the shops, everywhere about me. I had looked, but had not seen. It was there all the time—the fashioning folk, anonymous and unobserved, creating word by word, phrase by phrase, the total work that when completed would stand as epic revealed! They were not members of literary societies, the men who were giving new life to the antique speech, but merchants, tradesmen, day laborers." And after giving a number of charming and witty examples of the revivification of the Hebrew language, he comments: "It was as if I was spectator to the healing of torn flesh, or heard a broken bone come together, set, and grow again. Wonderful is the engrafting of skin, but more wonderful the million busy hushed cells, in secret planning, stitching, stretching, until—the wound is vanished, the blood courses normal, the cicatrice falls off. I had at last discovered it, the great efflorescent impersonality. My hopes of finding Uncle Melech revived."

But it is in the "glosses" at the back of the book, labeled with the letters of the Hebrew alphabet, that the allegory gains added dimensions. Gloss Aleph, "Autobiographical," and Gloss Beth, "Elegy," are poems by the narrator related to the Genesis and Exodus chapters, the first dealing with his boyhood and the second with the Nazi massacres. Glosses Gimel, Dalid, and Hai, on the other hand, represent the literary remains of Melech Davidson: Gimel is a portion of a letter to a Monsignor in the Vatican Library, Dalid a fable-like play in verse, and Hai a draft of a liturgy. The book closes on a note of high affirmation with the reproduction of the Thirtieth Psalm. "Weeping may endure for a night, but joy cometh in the morning."

Gloss Gimel, the letter written to the Catholic scholar, "On First Seeing the Ceiling of the Sistine Chapel," is an astonishing tour de force. Intricate, beautiful, and passionate, it is surely one of the greatest pieces of "art appreciation" of our time—and it is much more than that. Indeed, the entire volume—less than 200 pages in all!—demands the kind of careful repeated readings that only nobly wrought works require.

"20th Century Literature in America"

a new series

FICTION

THE MODERN NOVEL IN AMERICA, 1900-1950

By Frederick J. Hoffman

Starting with Henry James and the end of fiction, this critical survey traces the progress of the American novel. The author shows that many American novelists—from Theodore Dreiser to John Steinbeck—have been more interested in life than Jamesian art. It has only been in the last few years that novelists have once again come to realize fully the importance of technique. Among other authors discussed in detail are Ellen Glasgow, Willa Cather, F. Scott Fitzgerald, Ernest Hemingway and William Faulkner. Bibliography and index. **\$3.00**

DRAMA

FIFTY YEARS OF AMERICAN DRAMA, 1900-1950

By Alan S. Downer

Within the short span of fifty years the American theater has moved from the boisterous clichés of light melodrama to a serious art form of true American origin and inspiration. When did this move toward genuine American drama begin? How has it developed? Where does American drama stand today?

Alan Downer's excellent appraisal of the American theater starts with the melodramas of Clyde Fitch and shows how early serious works, such as William Vaughn Moody's *The Great Divide* and Eugene O'Neill's *Beyond the Horizon* were to make possible the later finish and sophistication of a Tennessee Williams or an Arthur Miller. Bibliography and index. **\$2.00**

POETRY

ACHIEVEMENT IN AMERICAN POETRY, 1900-1950

By Louise Bogan

American poetry in 1900, says Louise Bogan, poet and critic of *The New Yorker*, was imitative, sentimental and "genteel." The subsequent struggle of the poet to establish himself as a serious creative artist has been achieved only against severe handicaps. Along with a discussion of foreign influences, the importance of public reaction, and the role of the "little magazines" on the development of American poetry, Miss Bogan presents sharply drawn studies of thirty or so individual poets, from Ezra Pound and Edward Arlington Robinson through Carl Sandburg and Amy Lowell to Wallace Stevens and W. H. Auden. A selected anthology of modern American poetry completes this work. Bibliography and index. **\$2.00**

Also coming

Three subsequent volumes, to be published in Spring, 1952, in Non-Fiction, Short Fiction and Criticism will complete this series. Additional information will be sent on request.

Your Bookstore, or Write For

HENRY REGNERY COMPANY

20 West Jackson Blvd., Chicago 4, Illinois

It is hardly to be expected that "The Second Scroll" will find a wide audience in the immediate future, for intellectuals and rationalists may very well shy away from its intense nationalism and piety, while those who are equipped to grapple with Talmudic subtleties may hesitate to involve themselves with its Joycean complexities and its richly allusive modern puns. But these are merely temporary hindrances to the ultimate recognition of this volume as a work of splendor and permanence, and of its author as a poet of the first rank.

HARVEY SWADOS

Soviet Beginnings

SOVIET DOCUMENTS ON FOREIGN POLICY. Volume I, 1917-1924. Selected and Edited by Jane Degras. Oxford University Press. \$7.

THE developing perversion that has marked Russia's socialist experiment is perhaps most evident in the history of its foreign policy. In general the progress from revolutionary brotherhood, through nationalist isolation, and on to aggressive imperialism is well known. But the details are obscure, for increasing reluctance to divulge information is one mighty theme of the whole history. The regime which at its inception proclaimed the abolition of secret diplomacy has become the most

close-mouthed of all the great powers. No official collection of correspondence between Soviet diplomats has yet been issued. And the documents so far made available are scattered in works difficult to find and seldom rendered into English. Accordingly the publication of selections from the available material represents a great service to all students of recent foreign policy. On every level this first volume of a projected three-volume series sets a high standard. The selection, including speeches and newspaper reports as well as diplomatic documents, is sensible and extensive. The translation and textual scholarship, according to the expert testimony of Max Beloff, are excellent. And better yet, a self-contained and dramatic narrative emerges from the pages.

It is a veritable success story, a rise from hut to palace. When the Bolsheviks took over, the Russian army, in Lenin's phrase, was voting for peace with its feet. The Germans were able to advance at will. After a preliminary flirtation with Trotsky's doctrine of world revolution, the Russians came to their nationalistic senses and proceeded to Brest-Litovsk to sign Germany's Carthaginian peace. Toward the end of 1918 Germany's collapse in the West led to a progressive easing in the administration of the Brest-Litovsk treaty. But the Germans were hardly off the Russian back when the victorious Allies jumped on. During 1919 American, Japanese, British, and French troops occupied the Soviet Union's frontier areas. In the very heart of Russia a Czech force was maintained, and on all sides czarist generals and adventurers were encouraged to attack. Badly coordinated, these attacks were picked off one by one by Trotsky's Red Army. With the exception of the Japanese the Allies themselves had no stomach for occupation, and in a short while they withdrew, leaving behind them the *cordon sanitaire* dressed up as self-determination. For a moment the Russians threatened to penetrate even this jealously held line. The Red Army advanced on Warsaw, and a revolt was staged in northern Persia. But the Poles rallied, and in Persia the Russians pulled back voluntarily. By 1922, though, a general peace was arranged with frontiers drawn and certified by treaty. The foreign threat was dissi-

pated and the revolution was going to live.

With so much accomplished the Russians went out for more. As most of the documents covering the period 1922-24 indicate, the Russians wanted loans for domestic expansion and facilities for international propaganda. For these they fished with a hook baited with a promise to consider payment of the Czar's old debts. The West nibbled with an invitation to the Genoa reparations conference. Here the Russians rehearsed their 1939 act, playing with the French and British while they concluded the Rapallo treaty of alliance and mutual aid with Germany. A year later the Russians used the Lausanne conference to throw a friendly arm around the shoulder of a sorely beset Turkey. As a result, by 1923 Russia stood as champion of the victims of Versailles.

In 1924 the victorious powers themselves began to question the virtue of Versailles. Khaki governments that were inclined to regard Versailles as if anything too soft were dismissed, and succeeded by coalitions of the left pledged to assistance and understanding. On February 1 the first MacDonald Cabinet accorded recognition to the Soviet Union. Mussolini was close enough on the British heels to institute a claim that his had been the first of the Western governments to grant recognition. And toward the end of the year the Herriot Cabinet, representing the *Cartel des Gauches*, reversed the Poincaré position and granted French recognition. The Revolution had become respectable; Versailles was breached, and power just around the corner.

JOSEPH KRAFT

BOOKS OF ALL KINDS FROM THE USSR 1952 Subscriptions Open for All Soviet Newspapers and Magazines

PRAVDA, IZVESTIA, NEW TIMES, etc.
Delivered to Subscribers by Airmail
Request Catalogue "Periodica-52"
Latest Soviet Records, Sheet Music, Handicrafts
Ask for Catalogue "P-51"
FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.
55 W. 44th Street, N. Y. 19 Murray Hill

Buy Your Books through THE *Nation*

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C. O. D. No C. O. D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to
Miss Le Pach

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
20 Vesey Street New York 7, N. Y.

Books in Brief

A DRAGON APPARENT. By Norman Lewis. Scribner. \$4.50. A vivid, informal, and exceptionally readable book of travel through Indo-China during 1950, with photographs by the author. Lewis, an English novelist, sees the country and the people with a novelist's eye for illuminating detail.

BRADFORD OF PLYMOUTH. By Bradford Smith. Lippincott. \$5. A biography of Governor Bradford, that indomitable administrator and author who

held Plymouth Colony together by the sheer force of his personality during its first hard years. The book is based on Bradford's own history and on Mourt's Relation, but with imaginative flourishes by the author that seem a little out of character.

THE UNITED NATIONS. By Stephen S. Fenichell and Phillip Andrews. Winston. \$2. A primer describing in simple language and with many illustrations the history, purpose, organization, and activities of the United Nations.

Drama

JOSEPH
WOOD
KRUTCH

MOST of my colleagues seem to have been a little afraid to let themselves go on the subject of Christopher Fry's "A Sleep of Prisoners" (St. James's Church). The author has a deserved reputation; the title is completely typical; the intent is serious; the excellent English company of four seems to believe in what it is doing; and, besides, the once natural alliance between religion and the drama is something which ought to be encouraged. Unfortunately, however, the truth of the matter is that, title aside, the play has none of the characteristics or virtues of its author and that it is vehemently incoherent. I have seldom been more uncomfortable in either a theater or a church, and I have, on occasion, been pretty uncomfortable in each.

Perhaps I had best begin by describing what happens—in so far as I was able to gather. Four prisoners of war of unspecified nationality engaged in an unspecified conflict are confined in a church, and consequently a few properties are all that is necessary in the way of stage setting. One of the prisoners is a gentle, mocking introvert who so exasperates his best pal, a robust Hemingway sort of realist, that in a fury the latter almost strangles him to death. After the two have been separated and everyone has settled down for the night, one of them, I am not quite sure which, has a series of dreams interrupted from time to time by the awaking of his companions. In the course of these dreams the two antagonists appear first as Cain and Abel, then as David and

Absalom, and finally—at least up to the point where understanding failed me completely—as Abraham and Isaac. The thesis seems to be that these episodes represent the three forms previously taken in the remote past by the essential incompatibility between the temperaments and the philosophies of the two. There is first the simple exasperation of the passionate doer against the gentle thinker; then, in the David episode, there is the warrior patriot who convinces himself that the sacrifice of even his son is a political necessity; finally there is embodied in Abraham the mystique of violence by now spiritualized to the point where it can accept, as Abraham does, a symbolic instead of an actual victim. Then the play, which is short but does not seem to be so, ends with a passionately obscure harangue by the oldest of the soldiers, whose point seems to be that we should stop trying to solve the problem by methods which have never worked and that Cain and Abel should somehow settle their difficulties by non-violent means.

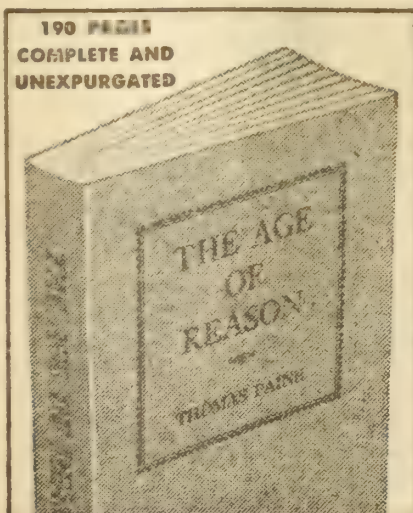
In all modesty I must insist that this account is a great deal clearer than the play itself, which goes to extreme lengths to defy comprehension not only by the inflated obscurity of the language but also by a perpetual, almost hysterical vehemence, which suggests

more strongly than anything else the neurotic extravagances of the German expressionists who redoubled their portentousness whenever meaning began completely to fail them and who always seemed more determined to wreck the nerves than to enlighten the mind. What makes all this so astonishing is the fact that Mr. Fry's other plays seemed so novel and so refreshing just because they were so completely, perhaps so bloodlessly, playful and intellectual.

In disparagement of, for instance, "The Lady's Not for Burning" one might say that it is too decorative and rococo, that if it were not for its surface ornament it would not exist at all, that even its wit is a perpetual distraction, serving chiefly to divert from moment to moment without building up to anything. But at the very minimum one has to admit that the ingenuities are really ingenious and the whole thing genuinely entertaining partly because, all heat being absent, we are given in its place, if not light, then at least a profusion of twinkling fireflies. In abandoning wit Mr. Fry seems to have abandoned his principal resource and found it impossible to become completely serious without becoming intolerably turgid. So far as I can remember only one joke is attempted. One of the soldiers complains that he cannot sleep. Abel-Absalom-Isaac ad-

FREE Thomas Paine's "The Age of Reason"

SENT TO YOU WITHOUT OBLIGATION AS PART
OF A NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL CAMPAIGN



EARLY in life, Abraham Lincoln was tremendously influenced by the writings of Thomas Paine—particularly by his essay advocating the abolition of slavery. Lincoln constantly sought inspiration in Paine's works. He said: "I never tire of reading Paine". Thomas A. Edison came under the influence of Paine and fully acknowledged his indebtedness to this profound thinker. He said: "Paine educated me . . ." Men like Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson loved and honored this great genius.

Why not let Thomas Paine do for you what he did for Lincoln, Edison and countless others? Start one of life's most rewarding experiences by reading Paine's masterpiece, "The Age of Reason". You are invited to send for this 190-page, complete and unexpurgated book as part of a national campaign—but please enclose 10¢ to cover postage.

The Thomas Paine Foundation
Dept. 370 370 St., New York 1, N. Y.
Rush me my copy of "The Age of Reason". This book is free, but I enclose 10¢ to cover postage.
Name.....
Address.....
City, Zone, State.....

vises him to think about love and then, pulling the blanket about his chin, chuckles to himself, "Amor vincit in-somnia." And that is certainly as feeble a pseudo-epigram as any ever heard from stage or pulpit.

To most comic writers there no doubt come moments when neither the spirit of comedy nor that language of comedy which is called wit seems adequate. But both are at least less disastrously inadequate than passion without dignity or poetry which communicates neither meaning nor self-justifying emotion. At one point in "The Lady's Not for Burning" Margaret announces her fear that Alizon must be lost, and Nicholas replies, "Who isn't? The best thing we can do is to make whatever we're lost in look as much like home as we can." That is a comic attitude toward the problems of life expressed in the language of wit. And if such an attitude is not adequate, it is at least clearly stated, while the attitude of "A Sleep of Prisoners" cannot even be understood. After it was over I heard a departing spectator say sadly, "Oh dear. This is going to make the church more unpopular than ever." I am afraid she was right.

Art

MANNY
FARBER

BACK in 1880, while imprisoned in the domestic quiet of his mother's souvenir shop and unrecognized by the innovators in Paris, William Ensor spiked some mildly impressionistic works with amorphous squiggles and grotesque pre-Freudian images that indicated his life-long distaste for his home town—the genteel, orderly world of Ostend, Belgium, which he never left and never stopped criticizing. Setting a decorous pace and yet apparently sensitized far under the surface by some disagreeable presences out of Poe, his canvases tell obvious stories. In one, a little girl looks up from a book, petrified with terror at the hideous shapes insinuating themselves into her bourgeois living room; in another, a gray-faced female corpse is stretched out behind the impressive medicine bottles that plagued her departure; a leadenly ironic self-portrait reveals the grave artist be-

decked with a Victorian Hedda Hopper chapeau, a middle-class version of those sweeping hats in Titians and Bronzini. Though these literary pictures can be read by anyone's backward nephew, they have never attracted the large audience that usually goes for this sort of thing. The reason may be found in the current Ensor exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art, a display surpassing even the long-forgotten retrospectives of Sterne and Watkins in the ability neither to irritate nor to please the customers.

Those who have already written about the show have analyzed the morbid, disagreeable strains in Ensor by stressing his subject matter and the ambivalently gracious and querulous old gentleman who always seemed "infected," "caten," "grizzled," or "decaying" from something or other. Actually, the paintings are surprisingly weighted under a ton of Ibsen-like respectability. Ensor worked with thin, measured strokes of the palette knife, cutting shapes as though he were delicately chipping plaster with hours ahead of him in the quiet of a graveyard. He was a dreary composer, arranging large squarish hunks of space in feeble symmetry behind heavy pyramidal arrangements of central facts. The ghoulish qualities in his art come from the perverse, stubborn things in his technique. Cold salmon, his favorite color, has never attracted me, and Ensor makes it less delectable by refusing to cut its insipidity with warm, dark contrasts. He handles a palette knife with astonishing delicacy, as though trying to simulate the effect of deft brushing—a grisly charade (by a man who loved to paint masks) which produced a surface unlike any other in painting: hard-baked, closely stitched, with barely perceptible flaking effects, like a quart of strawberry ice cream that has turned pale and gray from having to work in an East Side sweatshop.

There are no grounds on which to compare Ensor's eccentric work with that of other artists, unless you can link him with a few, like Tobey, Homer, Hopper, Marin, who, despite their vitality, paint always with the austere resignation of old men. Without juice, making his most important utterances with dry, frenzied little twitches and curling strokes, bent on running a pleasureless chill through the middle-class universe, Ensor seems less a person than

a device, a device so worn and affected by the culture, climate, topography of the Belgian coast that it ticked off a few minor masterpieces whose force is the lingering staccato of the death rattle.

AMERICAN abstraction has not yet produced a Picasso, but like the Indianapolis Speedway it is crowded with topflight fortune-hunters jockeying for position in a narrow, surfacy, thrill-a-second form of self-expression. Two of them, Lee Krasner and Felix Ruvolo, are showing in these parts now, but the most impressive contemporary exhibitor is a Paris-detoured Philadelphian named Hugh Weiss, who rejects the razzle-dazzle style for something more traditional.

Weiss offers a sensuous, densely lit half-acceptance of nature that recalls Bonnard's uncontrasted light, Seurat's latticed compositions, and some of the primitive distortions of Rousseau. The paintings of young expatriates like Weiss may seem gripped by a lack of vigor brought on by too much happy cafe life, too much next-door communion with oozing rooms full of great Renoirs, and a philosophic "anti-American" reluctance to break the world's record in stunt-painting. Weiss's Impressionist-rooted compositions are imbued with an indoor character, the tell-tale sign of an artist who is relying too little on the outside world and getting too much from European art galleries. For instance, his scenes of bridge, street, or cafe ooze in shadowy, succulent oil rather than sunlight or air; even his view of what appears to be an unsteady bridge makes its own rules of perspective and tone, and they all add up to a scene that takes place within a ruby-red box. One suspects the painter of being well contented with his ways, almost brutally insistent on them. In direct opposition to nature, and sometimes to this critic's taste, he follows one hot color with another, working the blue-red harmony that has been flogged to death by art-school students. All in all, however, I am convinced he is the most artistic new painter to show this year.

Largely because of his near-sighted manner of concentrating on tiny areas and building them outward in grass-like strokes of contrasting color from every part of the palette, his pictures take on a blurry quality. The shape of a table or figure puffs up from the canvas like

a low foothill, crosshatched and worked over at length for the right color relationship with neighboring areas. It is in this reworking with subtle tones that Weiss seems to beat his picture into a deeper and tougher range of painting than is turned out by his abstract cousins in New York. In composing, he works with transitional tone and angle, relating directions, curves, and textures in a continuing rhythm through deep space—a use of varying speeds and quantities in three-dimensional composition which has not been very common since the Cubists.

Music

B. H.
HAGGIN

OF THE two new works presented by Ballet Theater, Babilée's "Till Eulenspiegel," to Strauss's tone-poem, was made notable not only by Babilée's central performance—with its compulsion of mere presence, its powerful projection of a distinctive personality and style in its miming and dancing—but by the further projection of that personality and style into all the movement surrounding his, which produced an extraordinarily integrated piece as well as a delightful one. Notable too were the setting by Tom Keogh and costumes by Helene Pons.

Bronislava Nijinska's "Schumann Concerto" turned out to be still another of her equivalents of a pianist coming out on the stage of Town Hall to perform finger exercises for a half-hour—credible and painful to anyone who saw "Les Noces" and knows what creative powers she once operated with. And one had to endure an atrocious performance of Schumann's beautiful work (all the music was played poorly this time).

Fokine's "Bluebeard," revived with some inaccurate replacement of what couldn't be remembered (for example, in the first dance of Florette and Prince Sapphire) and danced with less finish than ten years ago, seemed even less good a piece this time; but it provided the occasion for a wonderfully elaborated comedy performance by Lazovsky and an exercise of Kriza's comic gift.

In the endless spins of "Schumann Concerto," in "Les Sylphides," in the second act of "Giselle," Alonso danced

with a beautiful fluidity in the deployment of her body in quiet that was very much like Markova's; she achieved an even more striking resemblance to Markova in the breathtaking lifts of the bedroom scene of "Romeo and Juliet"; and her dancing in "Theme and Variations" had a clarity which Moylan's lacked. The more astonishing, therefore, was the violent straining for grandeur which hampered her performance in "Swan Lake" (pronouncing it "phenomenal," John Martin observed that "such bravura is not to be seen every day in the week," to which I would add only the word "fortunately"). And a little alarming was the occasional insecure balance—a consequence perhaps of the increased bulkiness around the hips.

Youskevitch, on the other hand, continues to be flawless; and seeing him after Eglevsky one can appreciate the quietly assured precision and elegance with which he accomplishes his dazzling turns and leaps.

Though Prokofiev's "The Love for Three Oranges" contains some of his freshest and most engaging music, it is music for stage action; and of the suite that is well performed by Desormiere and the French National Symphony (Capitol) only the familiar Scherzo and the less familiar and very lovely Le Prince et la Princesse seem to me to be able to stand by themselves. The more recent and inferior Suite from "Lieutenant Kije" is on the reverse side.

Bartok's Two Rhapsodies for violin and orchestra (1928), well performed by Vardi and the New Symphony under Autori and Serly (Bartok), are examples of his harshly dissonant treatment of Hungarian folk material. The recorded sound is very sharp. Of the Deux Images for orchestra, well performed by the New Symphony under Serly (Bartok), No. 1 is luxuriantly atmospheric, except for a harshly dissonant episode, and in No. 2 dissonance achieves grotesquerie and grimness, with an episode of distorted lyricism. The recorded sound is a little edged.

The Concerto for string quartet and orchestra that Schönberg made out of Handel's Concerto Grosso Opus 6 No. 7 by reworking and elaborating its substance in his own terms, and that is performed by the Janssen Symphony (Co-

lumbia), will be acceptable only to those who accept Schönberg's other works; to my ears it is horrible.

Copland's Clarinet Concerto, well performed by Benny Goodman and an orchestra conducted by the composer (Columbia), seems no better to me than when I heard it on the air. The melodic progression of the first movement is, for me, arbitrary and not expressively meaningful; the jazz figures of the second movement add up to something fragmentary and dessicated. There are the same jazz figures and the same fragmentary and dessicated result in the second movement of the Quartet for piano and strings on the reverse side, played well by Horszowski, Schneider, Katims, and Miller; and in the first movement, in which Copland experiments with new techniques including that of the twelve-tone row, I hear much elaboration with little meaning; but the third movement has the impressive sustained sonorities of previous works, treated with more dissonance this time.

As for William Schuman's Symphony No. 3, recorded for Columbia by Ormandy and the Philadelphia Orchestra under the auspices of the Walter W. Naumburg Foundation, the arbitrary melodic progression of its themes and the elaborate construction in which they are involved are not expressively meaningful to my ears.

NOVEMBER SPECIAL! London, Westminster, Haydn, Bartok, Bach Guild, Vanguard, Philharmonia, Dial, Stradivari, Vox, Festival, Cert. All \$5.95 list price LP's—\$3.75; any combination of 6 or more—\$3.43. Mercury—any 2-12" for \$5.79, 2-10" for \$4.59. Add 10¢ for each record for postage. EXETER—lists of 25 preselected \$5.95 LP's at half price. Add 15¢ for postage.

SALISBURY GRAMAPHONE RECORD SALES
Box 172, Falls Village, Conn.

PULITZER PRIZE and CRITICS' AWARD
RICHARD RODGERS ■ OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd
 present in association with
LELAND HAYWARD ■ JOSHUA LOGAN

ROGER RICO
MARTHA WRIGHT
 IN
South Pacific

Mus. by **RICHARD RODGERS**
 Lyrics by **OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd**
 Book by
OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd & JOSHUA LOGAN
 Adapted from **JAMES A. MICHENER'S** Pulitzer
 Prize Winning "TALES OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC"
 Directed by **JOSHUA LOGAN**

Scenery ■ Lighting by **Jo Mielziner**
 with **MYRON MACGRATH ■ DIOSA COSTELLO**
MAJESTIC THEA., 44th St. W. of B'way
 Evenings 8:30. Matinees Wed. & Sat., 2:30

Letters to the Editors

Apologists for Big Business From Pictures . . .

Dear Sirs: I was shocked by a film recently released by M-G-M called "Home Town Story." The film equates villainy with anti-company attitudes and attempts to establish this false relationship in the audience's mind.

At this crucial period in American history it is alarming that a large and influential motion-picture company should be so irresponsible as to present such a confusing and one-sided picture of labor-management relations.

Pasadena, Cal. DONALD F. KEYES

. . . to Professor

Dear Sirs: In a speech before a meeting of historians not long ago, Professor Allan Nevins of Columbia University said it was about time American historians changed their tune. Since the United States had been accepted as the leader of the freedom-loving nations of the world against communism, he continued, past interpretations of our institutions and historic figures should be reconsidered.

In the cynical '20's and '30's our men of strength and stature were described as pigmies. The elder Rockefeller, Andrew Carnegie . . . Henry Ford were treated as archetypes of greed . . . Historians

have underestimated their constructive work. In future histories our industrial leaders will stand forth as the great builders of our industrial might.

Now every generation and epoch re-evaluates the people and problems which make history. To the Elizabethans, for example, Niccolo Machiavelli was the devil—nicknamed "old Nick"; to the nineteenth-century statesman he was a "realist." It is true that reevaluation is necessary, provided, of course, that the object is not to distort history to fit a thesis which may exclude important facts.

Professor Nevins cites John D. Rockefeller as one of "our men of stature" who ought to be vindicated. But in the face of such studies as Henry Demarest Lloyd's "Wealth Against Commonwealth" how can Rockefeller possibly be cleared of the charges against him?

If we are to polish up the tarnished armor of the American industrialist so that he can appear as the champion of democracy, we can't stop with whitewashing a handful of "robber barons." The great scandal during Grant's administration, Teapot Dome, and a host of others, including the unsightly mess exposed by the Kefauver committee, will have to be explained away.

This is hardly the time to launch a wholesale revision of American history. Let's wait until the hysteria which now

grips a large segment of the American public subsides. Then in calmer days, when fewer pressures are put upon us to conform and to accept a single point of view, when honesty and forthrightness have once again become American attributes, we can reinterpret American history, not as an attempt to make America's past live up to its present responsibilities, but in the light of truth and honesty.

La Jolla, Cal. VICTOR S. YARROS

Reprint Request

Dear Sirs: The more I reread Robert S. Lynd's article Our "Racket" Society, which appeared in your August 25 issue, the more I am convinced it is "must" reading for all who are sincerely interested in the present condition of our country and its future. In fact, I am so intrigued with the article I should like to obtain reprints to distribute to my friends and colleagues.

HAROLD B. EHRLICH
New Brunswick, N. J.

Is Ryskind's Case Analogous?

Dear Sirs: In an editorial in your September 22 issue you stated: "Morris Ryskind . . . testified that to charge a person with writing un-American propaganda would have no effect on his earning capacity as a writer. . . . Let a series of witnesses, including Elizabeth Bentley and Louis Budenz, make against Mr. Ryskind the kind of charges that were made against Mr. Lavery. If Ryskind could be persuaded to cooperate in the experiment, we are confident the results would refute his theory."

But over the years, it was not the men accused of un-American activities who lost out. Instead, it was the people of conscience. Morrie Ryskind has been kept out of the movie studios and his income drastically cut because he had the temerity to take the stand during the first Hollywood hearings in Washington. His testimony that there were Communists in the studios made him the object of a boycott. In short, after having been one of the highest-paid writers in Hollywood, he became an "unemployable." The men who were accused of un-Americanism continued to work.

New York RALPH DE TOLEDANO

FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE

The NATION

☐ with Harper's Magazine . . . \$9.50 You Save \$2.50

The NATION

☐ with Consumer Reports . . . \$10.75 You Save \$1.25

These club combinations are for one year, and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses. Remittance must accompany all combination orders.

THE NATION by itself:

☐ 1 Year \$7 ☐ 2 Years \$12 ☐ 3 Years \$17

SERVICEMEN'S RATE \$5 A YEAR

Canadian and Foreign Postage \$1 a year extra.

THE NATION, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

- I want to subscribe to *The Nation* for _____ years.
☐ Remittance enclosed. ☐ Bill me.
- I enclose my remittance for the following *Nation* combinations as listed below.

NAME _____

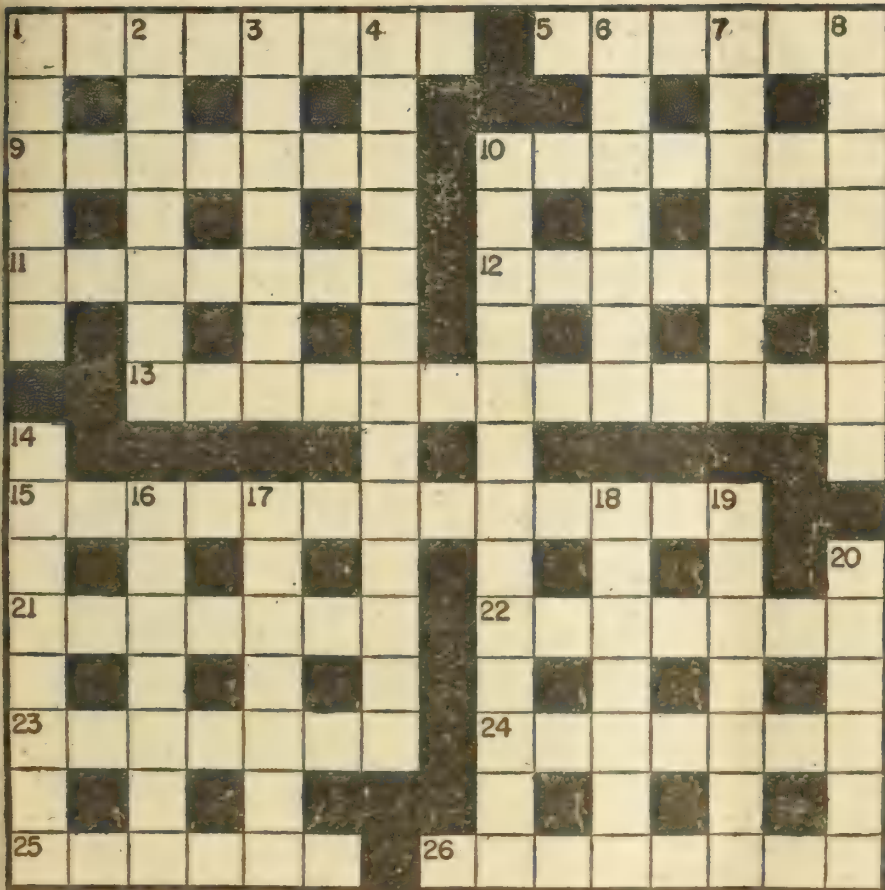
STREET _____

CITY _____ ZONE _____ STATE _____

11/3/51

Crossword Puzzle No. 437

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 Chopped horse-meat without a place for curing. (4, 4)
- 5 Seldom met with in anyone's car, certainly. (6)
- 9 Garland for a little fellow to rent? (7)
- 10 Marsupials start to cut back, and end up crazy! (7)
- 11 According to style? (7)
- 12 The place to find both kinds of little scions. (7)
- 13 Beach-sandal of snake-skin? (5, 8)
- 15 One might of Remington. (5, 3, 5)
- 21 He fires those who haven't yet produced. (7)
- 22 Wise men. (7)
- 23 There could be no 7 without them. (7)
- 24 What a cockney does on edge. (7)
- 25 See 7 down.
- 26 Wild beasts, so find protection. (8)

DOWN

- 1 The best part of a meal probably follows one. (6)
- 2 Found in the ranks of the Coast Guard? (7)
- 3 Stretch forth or keep back. (4, 3)
- 4 Promise Thomas a change for a change. (13)

- 6 Youthful tea gowns made of it? (7)
- 7 and 25 across. Proving paper can be saturated with condensation. (7, 6)
- 8 Trying to write like Bacon? (8)
- 10 They make the outlook brighter for a time. (6, 7)
- 14 Avoided. (8)
- 16 Believing there's nothing but mental anguish under it? (7)
- 17 Minotaur slayer, but not a singular example of this to me! (7)
- 18 Colts do in part (when rounded?). (7)
- 19 Freckle? (7)
- 20 Did these escorts own a house that caved in? (6)

• • • • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 436

ACROSS:—1 CHISHOLM TRAIL; 10 and 13 OUT TO LUNCH; 11 THROW OVER; 12 BANGALORE; 14 MAN-ABOUT-TOWN 19 MAD AS A HATTER; 22 ARLES; 24 STILL LIFE; 25 INTRUDING; 26 GRAPE; 27 OYSTER CRACKER.

DOWN:—2 HATING; 3 STOWAWAYS; 4 OSTEOPATH; 5 MERGE; 6 ROWEL; 7 INVENTOR; 8 BOBBY; 9 URCHINS; 15 OUTRIGGER; 16 THEOLOGIC; 17 AMHARIC; 18 IDOLATRY; 20 DILATE; 21 REFER; 23 SQUAT; 24 USHER.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

RESORTS

50 MILES TO FOREST HOUSE

Near enough for easy travel, far enough for an unforgettable vacation. Forest House achieves new levels of gay relaxation in inspiring surroundings. Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality. Two grand lakes. All sports.

FOREST HOUSE

Lake Mahopac, N. Y. • Tel. MAhopac 8-3449



REAL ESTATE

NEWARK, N. J.—Ripe for great super market or super service station. Entire block; 862 feet frontage. Mt. Prospect & 2nd Aves. One block from Mutual Benefit Life home office building. Owner, L. N. Rosenbaum & Son, 565 Fifth Avenue, N. Y. 17.

ROOM FOR RENT

LARGE, pleasant room, in refined home, running water; reasonable. 6 Emory Street, Jersey City, N. J., DElaware 3-2657.

PUBLISHING SERVICE

AUTHORS! Sales Department available for your short stories, articles, books and plays. Free booklet, write today! Mead Agency, 419 Fourth Avenue, N. Y. 16 (OR 9-1150).

PERSONALS

ANY NUMBER can play YAHTZIE, successor to Canasta. Great as a gift game for ages nine to ninety. Complete introductory set postpaid anywhere, \$1.00. P. O. Box 1505, U. Station, Austin, Texas.

exit loneliness

Somewhere there is someone you would like to know. Somewhere there is someone who would like to know you. We can help you find a richer, happier life through disroot, dignified 'social' introductions. Write for booklet, or phone MAY RICHARDSON Dept. TN, 111 West 72 Street New York City EN 2-2033



AGENTS WANTED, capable of establishing and managing, under a license agreement and copyrighted system, branch of reputable introduction service. Method of operation also filed with Better Business Bureau of New York City. Minimum of \$750 investment required. Write for particulars without obligation. Address Personal Introduction Service, (Suite 415), 2112 Broadway, New York 23, N. Y.

Advertising Rates

CLASSIFIED

74¢ a line (6 words)
Three-line minimum

CLASSIFIED DISPLAY

\$7.42 per inch (minimum)
Remittance must accompany all orders

The NATION

Twenty Vesey Street
New York 7, New York
BARclay 7-1066

New books from 4 favorite authors

**GRAHAM
GREENE**

►The END of the AFFAIR

His novel of an adulterous love affair brilliantly dramatizes the conflict between sacred and profane love. "Enthralling; a position blended by a master hand." — HARTLEY, *London Sunday Times*. "The finest book he has written." — BETJEMAN, *London Daily Telegraph*. \$3.00

**JOHN
STEINBECK**

►The LOG from the SEA of CORTEZ

The exciting day-by-day record of marine adventure from Steinbeck's *Sea of Cortez*, together with a moving memoir of Ed Ricketts, the scientific friend who shared the voyage. \$4.00

**IRWIN
EDMAN**

►UNDER WHATEVER SKY

An urbane philosopher's many interests and moods—thoughtful, ironic, gay—reflected in a book of varied pleasures to be savored often and at random. \$3.00

**GENE
FOWLER**

►SCHNOZZOLA THE STORY OF JIMMY DURANTE

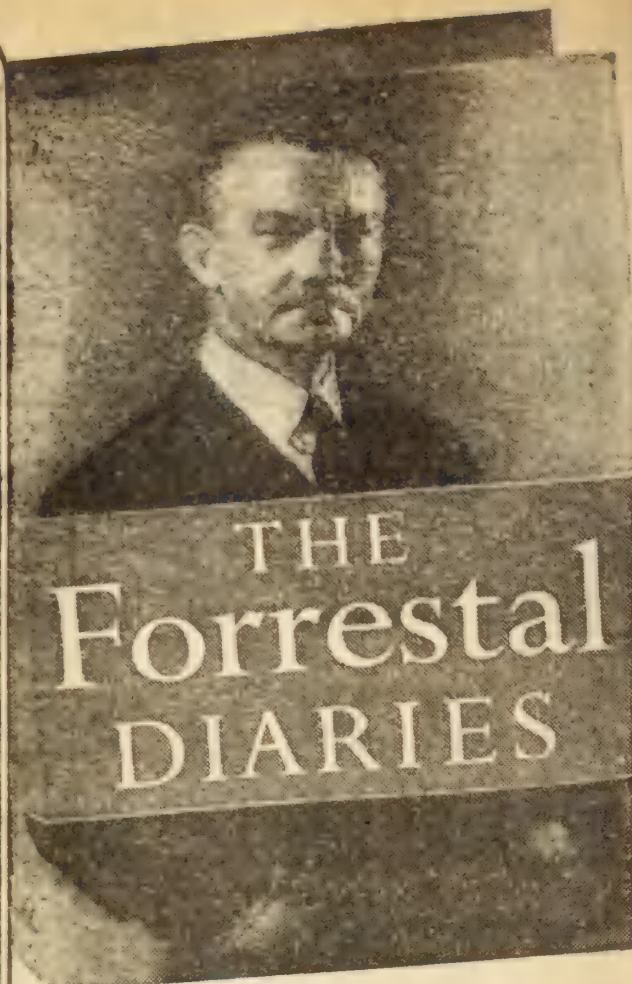
This wonderfully warm and funny life-story of a beloved clown—filled with his own brash humor—spans 50 years of American entertainment. "A great book. No arguments about it." — McNULTY, *N. Y. Times*. *Illus.* \$3.00

Two talented first novelists

WINSTON BREBNER A novel of breath-catching intensity, the story of an idyllic love affair that leads to a strange and desperate pursuit. \$3.00

THE SECOND CIRCLE

HERBERT GOLD "writes with charm and talent... benevolent wit, radical perception, and intellectual vigor." — *The Nation* \$3.50 **BIRTH OF A HERO**



During some of the most important years of modern history, he wrote this journal for his own private use. **Now it becomes the most revealing public document of our time**

As our wartime Secretary of the Navy and our first Secretary of Defense, James Forrestal was at the heart of national and international affairs. And in his personal diaries and papers, kept from 1944 until shortly before his suicide, he named names... facts... circumstances not previously known even to many in high places. This extraordinary material, presented as a connected narrative, gives us an unparalleled picture of these significant years and personalities, and of how the wheels of government go round.

Illustrated \$5.00



THE VIKING PRESS • At all booksellers

Thoughts on the British Elections—*Stephen Spender*

THE *Nation*



November 10, 1951

The "Slick" Mentality *Collier's Wins World War III*

BY D. F. FLEMING

✱

Battle for Free Schools

III. Big Business and the Schools

BY J. AUSTIN BURKHART

✱

Will He Rule Texas? - - - - - *Hart Stilwell*
The Supreme Court Reconsiders - - - - *Harper Fowler*
The Zagreb Congress - - - - - *Philip E. Mosely*
Review of the U. N. Assembly - - - *J. Alvarez del Vayo*

AROUND THE U. S. A.

Get Out Before Sundown!

Elizabethtown, Illinois

A NEGRO boy sauntered into Rosiclare in Hardin County one Saturday afternoon. He was handed a note which read, "Get out of town in fifteen minutes." He did. Nobody seems to know who gives these warnings. Just "somebody."

There are half a dozen small villages in the county, a rock-ribbed fluorspar mining area in the foothills of the Ozarks. All of them, with one exception, exclude Negroes. Only Elizabethtown, the county seat, accepts the Negro as a citizen. Nobody knows just why Elizabethtown says "Welcome" while all the others say "Get out before sundown."

It is strange to find such an attitude in this region. It is true there is a "Southern atmosphere"—even a slight Southern accent which has perhaps drifted over from Kentucky across the mile-wide Ohio River. But Illinois certainly cannot be classed as "South."

For quite a spell, now, Hardin County has been predominantly white and Anglo-Saxon. There are not more than half a dozen foreign-born residents—a sprinkling of Germans and Swiss—in the length and breadth of the county. And of course there are no Jews. The population of the county is 7,497—by the new census—and this includes exactly 29 Negroes, all of whom, save for a rural family of 3 live in Elizabethtown.

Elizabethtown today has 581 people; fifty years ago it had roughly 400 whites and 300 Negroes. There were more jobs around then—a white-oak-tie industry, shipping by river barge, and a limestone quarry. Most of the Negroes have drifted away, but the few who remain have steady jobs. One runs a dry-cleaning shop. The others are farm workers, janitors, housemen, chauffeurs, or cooks. A woman preacher holds forth in a dilapidated little colored church or on the street corner.

The mining of fluorspar is today the only industry. Farms are small and poor. It is generally agreed that any attempt to use Negro labor in the fluorspar mines or mills would cause trouble. "No Negroes employed" is the rule everywhere outside of Elizabethtown,

though a colored dance orchestra is found acceptable. Colored labor could be used on a housing project because it was a "federal" job. Negro chauffeurs, driving the cars of mining-company officials or other out-of-town guests, may visit the villages but must go to Elizabethtown for the night. The colored cook at the Elizabethtown hotel may shop in Rosiclare if her white employer goes with her.

One theory as to the origin of Rosiclare's attitude is that a long time ago a Negro family moved into town and a gang of boys—"you know how boys are"—"rocked" them out of town. Some of the townspeople say that Rosiclare does not bar Negroes. "We have no law against Negroes," they explain solemnly, but "there's nothing for them to do; so naturally they don't live here. They don't stay overnight because there's no place here for them to stay." By accident a Negro boy slipped into the movie theater in Rosiclare one night. When he came out, the "grapevine" had worked, and a gang was waiting for him. Literally, he was "rocked" out of town.

Formerly Elizabethtown had a colored school, now closed for lack of pupils. Within the last year, a small colored boy became ready for school. The young principal of the town's only white school urged that the child be admitted to its classes, but the white parents said no. So the principal volunteered to tutor the boy and every day after school went to the boy's home and gave him his lessons.

Recently the Rosiclare basketball team has played southern Illinois teams which included Negroes, but a few years ago when a team with a Negro player came to town for a game, the school authorities thought it prudent to have police on hand. The officers stayed near the Negro player in the dressing-room and after the game accompanied him to the school bus. It turned out to have been a wise precaution, for a gang was waiting for him.

Cave-in-the-Rock also has a "get out before dark" rule. A colored family on a nearby farm is liked and respected in the village, but they must be on their way home before nightfall. Yet Cave-in-the-Rock is occasionally inconsistent—as

at the funeral of Aunt Stella Barker, an old colored woman who had lived near town. Her two sons, who had moved away, came back home for the funeral. Cave-in-the-Rock's citizens were sympathetic. "Have the funeral in any one of our churches," they said. The two sons chose the white Methodist Church, and Cave-in-the-Rock people who gathered to pay their last respects to Aunt Stella filled it to overflowing. Aunt Stella had been allowed to do washing and ironing and housework—daytimes—in Cave-in-the-Rock because she was a woman. Her sons couldn't work there.

Once a white farmer in the vicinity hired a Negro farm hand. His neighbors, getting wind of the matter, called at the house, saying they had come "to get the Negro." "If you get him you'll get me first," the farmer said. And he was armed. But the visitors, who were also armed, promptly opened fire and killed the farmer. The Negro fled to safety. Nobody ever found out who did the killing. Nobody tried very hard.

Ironically, Hardin County's big day, its annual "homecoming" and major celebration, is "Emancipation Day," observed on August 8 every year. People from back in the hills and "the bend of the river," come to town in their Sunday best. Old Uncle Harry White, a former slave, started the custom of a barbecue for the colored as the Negro population grew. The white folks took over. The few Negroes in the community start the fires, the roasting meat preceding the big feast for the white folks.

These facts about tolerance sound as hamlets might be which to live. The many ways the country is generous. The peaceful countryside is beautiful, winding river and wooded with redbud and dogwood thickets. In its close-knit neighborliness the community is rural America at its democratic best. The few Negroes who call it home like it. But even its most devoted citizens cannot, in truth, deny a certain blemish.

SIDNEY HAMAN

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 173

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • NOVEMBER 10, 1951

NUMBER 19

The Shape of Things

IT IS NOW KNOWN THAT THE STATE Department was not one of the agencies in Washington that cooperated with *Collier's* in the preparation of the special issue of October 27, 1951, discussed by Dr. D. F. Fleming on page 392. Apparently what happened is that *Collier's* request for assistance was refused and the State Department suggested that the whole project should be abandoned. Soon after the issue appeared, the department began to receive urgent communications from various embassies in Europe reporting the damaging effect of the publication abroad and asking for a statement disavowing responsibility and rejecting the assumption of an inevitable war upon which the whole feature is based. The department decided not to issue a statement, but in reply to queries from our embassies officials are known to have expressed concern over the impression created by the symposium that war is regarded here as inevitable. On NBC's Critic-at-Large program, Leon Pearson stated that the department wishes *Collier's* had done something quite different—namely, presented a 1960 view of how we won the cold war of ideas and avoided the war of atomic destruction. While it is mildly reassuring to know that the State Department did not cooperate in this ill-considered venture, an open refutation would seem to be in order. Also in order is a statement from the military planners in Washington explaining the extent of their participation in *Collier's* Third World War.

★

MARSHALL AID SAVED WESTERN EUROPE from industrial collapse, but in most countries its tangible benefits have accrued to the owners of industry rather than to the workers. That is the conclusion of a useful survey of the work of the Economic Cooperation Administration published by the *New York Times* of October 29. In West Germany, for instance, the newspaper's correspondents reported that Marshall aid had helped to increase employment but had contributed little to the improvement of living standards. German manufacturers have been able to improve their plants and, presumably, to cut costs, but they have not lowered prices, which have, in fact, been rising faster than wages. The story from France and Austria is similar, while

in Italy real wages of industrial workers remain "pitifully low," even though they have risen about 20 per cent above pre-war levels. Reports from Britain and Holland are rather more cheerful. In Britain the planning of the Labor government insured "full employment, increased productivity, and, if not higher wages, a reasonably good and stable living," but Marshall aid proved invaluable in solving for a time the problem of financing essential imports. In Holland, where the government restrained excessive profits, purchasing power and real wealth have increased. The picture then is a spotty one, but by and large it may be said that the E. C. A. program, in helping to increase the production of wealth in Europe, has not done much to change its maldistribution. Yet as the *Times* report says, "It is acknowledged widely that if poverty in the West cannot be eliminated by the increase of wages and the distribution of jobs, democratic policy will lose immense strength." This is a point which was apparently ignored by Congress when it shifted the emphasis of American assistance to Europe from the economic to the military sector.

★

REPORTS FROM MADRID SUGGEST THAT A good many of the Pentagon's Spanish chickens are not going to be hatched. The United States military survey team, headed by Major General James W. Spry of the air force, has departed from Spain without lifting the news blackout which it has vigilantly maintained since beginning work there last August. But according to reports from Spanish sources, quoted by Sam Pope Brewer of the *New York Times*, the American mission no longer has much hope of developing Spain as an "aircraft carrier" and is prepared to settle for a naval base, probably at Cadiz. Franco, it seems—and this is confirmed by a recent interview which he gave to the Mexican newspaper *Excelsior*—has not taken kindly to the idea of air bases controlled by the American army. On the other hand, the United States may well hesitate to invest heavily in air bases which would continue to be commanded by Spanish generals and operated by Spanish personnel. Moreover, after inspecting Spain's obsolete and inadequate transport and communications systems, the American military experts may well have misgivings about problems of supply. Of course some of these difficulties may not be insuperable. Spanish officials are said

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things	385
Recognition: Mr. Truman's Blunder	387

ARTICLES

Preview of the U. N. Assembly <i>by J. Alvarez del Vayo</i>	388
The General Talks <i>by A. W.</i>	389
Thoughts on the British Elections <i>by Stephen Spender</i>	390
The Zagreb Congress <i>by Philip E. Mosely</i>	391
Collier's Wins World War III <i>by D. F. Fleming</i>	392
The Supreme Court Reconsiders <i>by Harper Fowler</i>	396
Will He Boss Texas? <i>by Hart Stilwell</i>	398
The Battle for Free Schools: Big Business and the Schools <i>by J. Austin Burkhart</i>	400

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Parable Without a Moral <i>by Ernest Jones</i>	403
A Mission and a Missionary <i>by Marie Syrkin</i>	403
Fearful New World <i>by Joseph Wood Krutch</i>	406
The Versatile James <i>by Leon Edel</i>	406
Good-Will Is Not Enough <i>by Oscar Handlin</i>	408
Books in Brief	408
Films <i>by Manny Farber</i>	409
Music <i>by B. H. Haggin</i>	410

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 411

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 438

by Frank W. Lewis opposite 412

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Associate Editor: Carey McWilliams

Foreign Editor J. Alvarez del Vayo *Literary Editor* Margaret Marshall

Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin

Assistant Editor: Charles R. Allen, Jr.

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside

Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting

Staff Contributors

Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: Mary Simon

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1951, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$7; Two years \$12; Three years \$17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: *The Nation* is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

to feel that the \$62,500,000 credit specifically authorized by Congress in November, 1950, is an almost insultingly small sum: they hope for \$300,000,000 to \$400,000,000 more in addition to military aid, and Franco might become more amenable on the subject of air bases if credits on this scale were forthcoming. However, Washington is perhaps beginning to learn, as Hitler did, that while El Caudillo can be bought, it is not easy to keep him that way.

✱

AFTER A NINE MONTHS' STALEMATE, MR. Truman has accepted the resignations of the distinguished group of citizens he had appointed, under the chairmanship of Fleet Admiral Chester W. Nimitz, to the Commission on Internal Security and Individual Rights. The commission was appointed on January 23, but its members declined to begin work until they were exempted by law from the "conflict-of-interest" statutes which prohibit anyone connected with the government from engaging in business with the government for two years after the connection has been ended. There was every reason, and ample precedent, for granting the exemption in this case, but Senator McCarran would not hear of it. The Senator, of course, did not want the commission to appraise the McCarran Internal Security Act, which would have been one of its first undertakings. Thus no answer will be immediately forthcoming to the question which the commission was to have explored—namely, how "a free people can protect their security from subversive attack without at the same time destroying their own liberties." The need for a study of this kind is much greater today than when President Truman appointed the commission last January. We suggest, therefore, that the Ford Foundation might be induced to ask the members of the commission to carry out their original assignment under a grant from the foundation. Special problems and difficulties would no doubt arise, but the effect of any report might be enhanced if the commission were privately financed. For one thing, this might permit the commission to examine the role that the President has played in the problem which he asked it to investigate.

✱

M. RENE PLEVEN MAY STILL BE PREMIER OF France when the National Assembly meets on November 6—and when the U. N. General Assembly meets on the same day—but his tenure is more insecure with every week that passes. The Radical Socialist Congress at Lyon was torn by a squabble between pro-Socialist and pro-Gaullist tendencies, revealing the deep divisions in its ranks. With astonishing energy the old Radical leader Edouard Herriot called for a final end of the domination of the right. If General de Gaulle is to rule France, he said, let him try it; but if the anti-clerical, progressive forces of the country are not prepared to throw up the

sponge, it is time they built a government with a program of its own. This was not a call for a new Front Populaire but rather for the return of the Cartel des Gauches—the union of the left—under a Radical Socialist Prime Minister, putting an end to the succession of unstable coalitions with no dependable or unified majority to sustain them in office. The other important speech of the Congress was delivered by Pierre Mendès-France. With the authority of a man whose knowledge of French economic problems is perhaps unmatched, Mendès-France bluntly declared no government would have his support that insisted on trying to do "two impossible things at the same time": continue the war in Indo-China and carry through the rearmament program. Pleven is trying hard to save his government by inviting the Socialists back into the Cabinet. But so far they refuse to join. If the Radicals pull out, the Premier will be hard put to patch up a new coalition.

Recognition: Mr. Truman's Blunder

THE President made a resounding mistake when he announced his intention to establish diplomatic relations with the Vatican and send General Mark Clark there as his ambassador. This is now as clear as sunlight. What is not clear is how he came to make it. One by one attempted explanations have been bowled over by facts, and as they have collapsed the consequences of Mr. Truman's blunder have been piling up.

At first it was generally believed that the President had decided to appoint an ambassador to the Holy See so that we might have access to information crucial in the fight against communism. The story ran that the Vatican would give intelligence in return for recognition, not otherwise. This seemed most implausible, first, because the Vatican is at least as concerned about communism as Washington; second, because it would be most surprising if an exchange of mutually useful material had not long ago been arranged; third, because the Holy See has in any case no unique sources of information. This last point was brought out by the Rome correspondent of the *London Times* in an article which appeared only a few days after the White House announcement. Describing the foreign relations of the Vatican, the author remarked that "tempting and a little romantic though it is to imagine that the Secretariat of State is the most formidable information center and intelligence service in the world, it must seriously be doubted if this is so; for all the ability of those who work for the Vatican's foreign service, the very machinery is ill-adapted to perform such feats of excellence."

The listening-post explanation was presently supplanted by the theory that Mr. Truman's action had been

prompted chiefly by domestic political interests. One sub-theory held that since the President's refusal to make a recess appointment would force the Senate to vote on the issue after January, his purpose was to put possible Senatorial rivals for the Presidency on the spot, while himself regaining the affections of Roman Catholics whose loyalty had been dented by the attacks of the McCarthyites. Another held that the President was, on the contrary, seeking to insure Catholic support by going through the motions of designating an envoy to the Vatican, although knowing all the time that the appointment would never be ratified and perhaps never even be reported. Both explanations may be a little too intricate, but both contain one dependable ingredient—the President's supreme desire to clinch the Catholic vote in advance of 1952.

It must be assumed that he did not take into account the fierce opposition to General Clark existing in various quarters but above all in Texas, bailiwick of the powerful chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The state holds General Clark personally responsible for the terrible casualties suffered by Texas troops in the unsuccessful assault at the Rapido River in Italy, ordered by the General. Just or unjust, the verdict is unshakable; and Mr. Connally is answering inquiries from Texas with the statement: "... the nomination of General Mark Clark failed and is dead." Today Washington takes it for granted that when the nomination comes up again in January it will be held indefinitely in committee.

But if the Texas complication was not foreseen, through some flaw in Mr. Truman's own intelligence service, it seems incredible that he should have failed to realize the general disapproval his action would arouse. Apparently he did just that. From the first the White House made light of the opposition, reporting on October 23 that only 1,100 telegrams had been received (965 against the move), whereas the dismissal of MacArthur had brought in over 5,000, of which 75 per cent were protests. The White House spoke too soon.

The President's action, clumsy and ill-timed, was calculated to magnify all the resentments Catholic policies and tactics had generated in America.

Even while the White House was minimizing public reaction, that reaction began to mount—first, of course, among Protestant leaders. Bishop Oxnam's article, *Down the Road to Rome*, in last week's *Nation*, sums up with bitter eloquence the objections to Vatican recognition that have since been expressed from almost every Protestant pulpit and by every important Protestant organization, including particularly the National Association of Evangelicals and the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U. S. A. Not only are the leaders of these denominations indignant over a move that singles out one church and one faith for preferential recognition; they protest with equal energy its chal-

lence to the principle of separation of church and state and its dividing influence in the community. In other words they speak as democrats, not as sectarians.

It is natural that the Protestants should have taken the lead, but from here on the fight must not be left to them. As the National Council said in its statement last week, the issue is in fact one of "basic American principles." The threat of clericalism, so long a destructive political force in Europe, has been brought to the front in America by the President's action. This is more than unfortunate; yet it may have compensations if it arouses all Americans who cherish the traditions of a secular state, with freedom and equality for all faiths. To regard the fight as one between churches would be an injustice both to the Protestants who have initiated the movement of protest and to the issue itself. The opposition should include Jews as well as Christians, the religious and non-religious, individuals and organized groups in a common demand that the President rescind his recognition of the Vatican. There is still time to stop this dangerous act of obeisance to the power of Rome.

Preview of the U. N. Assembly

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Paris, November 1

THE coming session of the U. N. Assembly, which starts on November 6, will have enough items on its agenda to keep the correspondents happy for a long time. The one which promises the most fireworks is the question of Moroccan independence. When it is introduced by Egypt it will open up a whole complex of problems connected with the increasingly bellicose Arab nationalism and its threat to Western defenses in the Middle East and North Africa. There will also be all kinds of maneuvers and counter-maneuvers to obtain or prevent the admission of new members; backers of Franco like Señor Belaunde of Peru will make every effort to get Italy in so as to prepare the way for Franco. The friends of Franco are also counting on Churchill's victory, which was tumultuously celebrated in Madrid, to smooth the way for him.

Other matters to be taken up are Korea, Palestine, and Kashmir, international control of atomic energy, and the report of the Economic and Social Council on the lamentably neglected Point Four and other forms of aid to underdeveloped countries—quite enough to keep the Assembly on its toes.

Nevertheless, the old issue of relations between East and West, or, to be exact, between Russia and the United States, will inevitably dominate the session. This is partly because of the time element. The armament race has been on everybody's lips for some time, and now there is talk of the "negotiations race." (This may well

be won, like the horse races on Atlantic liners, by the contestant that comes in last.) Dean Acheson's theory of peace through strength foresaw that in 1953 or 1954 the United States and its allies would be strong enough to talk to Russia as equal to equal. But this theory ignores the fact that strength depends on more things than the number of men a country can place in the field. There are economic and political factors which are just as important, among them the decisive one that Europe may collapse under the burden of rearmament. Only last week, at a meeting of the Committee of Experts appointed at the Ottawa conference, Jean Monnet, High Commissioner of Modernization and Equipment, voiced his anxiety lest the "accelerated" rearmament now demanded have a disastrous effect on the French economy. May I say here that Jean Monnet was the author of the most intelligent plan for the reconstruction of Europe devised since the Liberation? If it had not been superseded by the Marshall Plan, and if the cold war had not intervened, it would have produced a very different France from that of today.

Americans who believe in peace through strength only forget that while Western Europe is straining to carry out its rearmament commitments the countries behind the iron curtain are being built up economically, politically, and militarily. With real wages falling constantly and governments becoming more and more reactionary and anti-labor, a situation is developing in the West which it will be fatally easy for the Russians to exploit. Of course nobody but the Communists would deny that Eastern Europe is also experiencing difficulties. Czechoslovakia has had to ration potatoes, and Poland lacks feed for its livestock. But the effects of these shortages on the total national picture are not so serious as that of the increasing poverty of the workers in France. Conditions here will be extremely critical this winter.

These are only some of the reasons why the diplomats gathering in Paris believe the coming Assembly will see important developments in the "negotiations race." All informed observers are convinced that the Russians will be disposed to make concessions, but only up to a certain deadline. Thus unless a real diminution of the present tension is achieved in this session, the situation is expected to become much worse. A high official said to me, "It is peace or war that will be decided here." He did not mean that war will break out in March or June or October if the Assembly cannot bring about a rapprochement but that the Kremlin will revise its policy on the assumption that the West has no intention of negotiating until it is strong enough to impose its own terms. The Soviet Union is not Nicaragua.

The Russians will probably prefer private talks among a few realistic individuals—that is, in the corridors, or in a Big Four conference—to public discussions on the floor, especially since they know that the American

majority will be reinforced by a new British delegation which will not speak out as Sir Gladwyn Jebb did at times. But they will hardly renounce entirely the vitriolic denunciations of Anglo-American policy at which Mr. Vishinsky is so adept. Better trade relations, whose value as a bridge between East and West was indicated in my last article, *Peace Through Trade*, will undoubtedly be discussed in these private conversations. It was to promote them that the Russians proposed an economic conference at Moscow, plans for which are being prepared by Dr. Oscar Lange, the distinguished Polish economist, who was Poland's ambassador at Washington and its delegate in the U. N.

Senator Austin's first statement on his arrival here, concerning his intention to form a solid front against the admission of Communist China, has been received in United Nations circles as a sign that the Assembly faces difficult going. On the eve of the opening countless rumors are circulating about the attitude and plans of the various delegations. Those most worthy of attention are (1) that Anthony Eden hopes Germany may eventually be the subject of negotiations with Moscow; (2) that the Russians have decided to work for a Big Four Conference, having given up for the moment the idea of bringing in China (they will, however, attack Anglo-American policy in the first public sessions while they maneuver for an agreement behind the scenes); (3) that the Americans—this on excellent authority—will refuse to enter into real conversations with the Russians until the Korean affair is settled, a condition which has been coldly received by the other partners in the Atlantic coalition, who believe that peace can be more easily established in Korea within the framework of a general accord.

The General Talks

Paris, November 1

JUST before he was recalled to Washington for "consultations," General Dwight Eisenhower added to the worries of the French public by two statements. The first was his announcement that two years hence American troops would begin to withdraw from Europe, which by that time would be "fit to look after itself"; the second was his suggestion—in the interview he gave to the French weekly, *Paris-Match*—that war was possible though not inevitable, for although the Russians knew that by invading Europe they "would win a battle but lose the war," they might go on "nibbling" here and there, and "America might make the mistake of reacting too sharply to certain provocations" (presumably whether Europe liked it or not). Eisenhower also foresaw another danger: although by the end of 1952 the Russians would be "even less likely than now" to attack Western Europe, the Atlantic powers would by then be

fully armed and would "have to take the risk of a showdown"; and this, he said, would be "a delicate moment for peace."

Exactly what kind of "showdown" would take place the General did not say, except that it would be "a stormy one," which rather suggests that some kind of ultimatum would be presented to Moscow. But the risk was "worth taking." And if there was to be fighting, the Western armies might be sent to southern Russia or to "the area round Leningrad"!

On the subject of Germany, Eisenhower said that the Grotewohl proposal had brought unification much nearer, and that it was for the West to persuade the *whole* of Germany to join the Atlantic military system. This is of course tantamount to saying that West German rearmament, which the Russians, and not only the Russians, are so anxious to avoid, should be supplemented by the rearmament, against Russia, of East Germany as well. This is, needless to say, a handsome contribution to an East-West *détente* and to a solution of the German problem!

To France, Eisenhower was fairly charitable. Its rearmament effort, he said, was "at least equal to that of other countries," but not good enough, because France was rather a special country from which one had the right to expect a special effort and greater enthusiasm and self-sacrifice—why not 1792 ("*La patrie en danger*") all over again, or a revival of "the spirit of Verdun"? To try to arouse French enthusiasm for the holocaust of Verdun at this stage is like asking Americans to thrill with delight at the prospect of another Battle of the Bulge; decidedly, other people's psychology is not always the forte of American generals.

In conclusion, after paying tribute to France's effort in Indo-China, Eisenhower complained of the unfriendliness of many French people toward the American soldiers and airmen here, and of the "U. S. Go Home" scribbled on walls, which made a deplorable impression on the Americans here and their families back home. It was, Eisenhower said, ungrateful and ungracious to behave like this toward people who were here only to "protect France against a grave danger," and who had no intention of staying longer than necessary. He thought it was "almost the duty" of the French press to explain this to the French people.

Political observers here believe that this and other statements made lately by General Eisenhower are connected with the possibility of his running for the Presidency in 1952. Whereas he is opposed to war in the Far East, he, like Truman, is suspected of being ready to risk a showdown in Europe. Hence his statement about the withdrawal of American troops from Europe seems somewhat illogical, coming from the head of N. A. T. O., unless it is recognized as an election maneuver directed against both Taft and the Democrats.

A. W.

Thoughts on the British Elections

BY STEPHEN SPENDER

London, November 1

ELECTIONS in England are not what they used to be. In the old days they were fought on great issues—Ireland, free trade, Hang the Kaiser, and the like. Liberals and Conservatives represented sections of one ruling class, with opposing views on how its possessions should be run. Labor represented revolution.

Today the country is almost exactly divided into two parties—the Liberals hardly counting, except as a worry to the others. The revolutionary party has achieved quite a degree of revolution, the aristocracy having been dispossessed to the extent that dispossessing them still farther would help nobody. Instead of the Conservatives owning everything and Labor owning nothing, the two parties, to some degree representing different classes, have interests heavily vested in each other. Whichever party is in power becomes the curator of the other's interests. Labor, while achieving a good deal of nationalization and socialization, nevertheless protected the managers of industries, officials, and the small English intelligentsia from complete proletarianization. Since the aim of the workers is to become respectable, middle-class, and safe, there was no point in completely wiping out the middle class. The Conservatives have now become the curators of the interests of the workers—social insurance, nationalization, and the rest. Neither side wants or can afford to provoke open class warfare.

About half the people of England now consider they belong to the immense state interest which is called Labor, and about half consider themselves more individualistic, superior, and so on—with the result that they are on the Conservative side. Whether they are Labor or Conservative has become for millions of people not a matter of opinion but a fact about themselves, like whether they live in Birmingham or Manchester. A man who accompanied the poll-takers so that he could make predictions about the elections in his foreign broadcasts told me that many people, when asked how they would vote, replied simply, "I'm Labor" or "I'm Conservative," as though it were an immutable fact.

A good many others took a more sporting interest in the election. They said they always liked to back the winning side: last time they had voted Labor and Labor had won; this time they would vote Conservative, because they thought the Conservatives would win. One or two said they would vote Conservative because, under the Health

Scheme, the last government had fitted them with a bad set of false teeth.

It is quite clear that principles and policies play little part in the division of the population into two great blocks. After several years of governing Labor is now an accomplished fact, like a large piece of property, and those who live in an industrial landscape know they are Labor. The names of the political parties no longer represent opinions. As Conservatives have often said to me lately, "The fatal thing about us is that we are called Conservatives."

The issues on which each party attempted to fight the election were bogies raised in the attempt to scare supporters of the other side. The Conservatives raised the bogey of Bevanism, trying to frighten Labor by asserting that the party was more extremist than Attlee and Morrison, that Bevan lurked behind the scenes like a Zinoviev letter. Labor tried to scare people with the cry that Churchill would provoke another war. But perhaps the most effective propaganda was the Conservative poster stating simply "YOU NEED A CHANGE." This appealed to the wavering margin of people who vote for the other side out of sheer boredom and to the hypochondria of a nation provided with Health Services.

Many people might like a coalition government. Certainly there is a realization that the division of England into two parties does not reflect a division of policies, and that perhaps what England needs is the best brains of both parties. However, the more identical the policies of both parties, the more important it becomes to each not to coalesce. If they coalesced, one would swallow up the other. In this respect the English situation resembles that in America, where, just because it is so difficult to distinguish between Republicans and Democrats, it is important for each side to emphasize the distinction.

The real differences between the parties is found of course in the personalities of their leaders. A lot of people must have voted for Churchill against Attlee and a few for Anthony Eden as Foreign Secretary against Herbert Morrison. I am told that feelings of humiliation about Persia and Egypt were expressed by the public during the election more vigorously than had been expected. For the English have learned to take these things very quietly—to stifle feelings of bitterness and resentment, while indulging the sense of guilt about their empire which they have acquired from a critical world.

The foreign policy of the Conservatives will not differ fundamentally from that of Labor. All the same, a difference of emphasis may change the whole situation.

STEPHEN SPENDER, *British poet and critic, is the author of "World Within World."*

Churchill may get on better with the Americans; the Conservatives may be more friendly to the idea of European Union; the Moslems may feel less inclined to kick at Eden than at Herbert Morrison.

The most important issue of all today was not mentioned during the campaign—the crisis into which England is said to be running. It was not mentioned because a solution for it is hardly possible on party lines. The solution is a matter of making people produce more, and of selling more abroad. The Conservatives will have to do just what Labor would have tried to do—while protecting the standard of living of the workers.

The Zagreb Congress

ATTENDED by some two hundred leaders of opinion coming from twenty-three countries, the Zagreb Congress, held October 23-27, inevitably became a battle-ground for conflicting views as to the causes of present tensions and the way to alleviate them. "Neutralists," like Agnès Humbert from France, made determined assaults upon American and Soviet policies alike. Outright non-resistant pacifism had eloquent exponents. Vigorous speakers from Morocco, French Africa, and Madagascar won widespread sympathy, but the congress refused to agree with them that all international tensions derive from the failure of certain colonial peoples to have achieved national status. Some orators tried to establish that Yugoslavia, as a Communist-led but not Soviet-dominated regime, had a kind of prescriptive right and duty to form and lead a "third force" independent of both blocs. It was noticeable that the Yugoslav delegates gave no support to this ambitious claim but rather strove to emphasize Yugoslavia's desire to cooperate with all governments and all segments of opinion which oppose the outbreak of a new war and which uphold the rights of small nations to manage their own affairs.

The great majority of those present, whether as representatives of organized opinion or as individuals speaking for themselves, gave their support to the principle of collective security, to be achieved through strengthening the United Nations. After two days of speeches in which the burning word "Korea" was mentioned only once—and then the Chinese-Korean and United Nations forces were placed in exactly the same category as de-

There will be another election in eighteen months or two years, and the result may well reflect the same equal division of the parties. The things which might alter this would be (1) for the Conservatives to do what Disraeli might have done—steal the Socialist thunder by accomplishing something sensational (for example, in housing) to improve conditions for the workers; or (2) for the Conservatives, in pursuing a weaker edition of Attlee's policy, to fail in a way to discredit both them and Attlee, thus giving Bevan a chance to produce a policy which looks like a clear alternative to those agreed on today by both Conservatives and Labor.

BY PHILIP E. MOSELY

stroyers of peace—spokesmen from France, Germany, Belgium, Italy, and the United States rallied, amid applause from most of the benches, to emphasize that United Nations resistance in Korea represented a new and valuable factor in the slow and painful elaboration of a workable system of international defense of peace.

The majority view found expression in the ten principles which were formulated by the leading Yugoslav spokesman, Dr. Josip Vidmar, in his opening address. After wide-ranging and completely uninhibited discussion, this draft was embodied in the final resolutions adopted by the congress by an overwhelming majority, with eighty-seven in favor, nine abstentions, and no negative votes.

Point 1 urged mutual respect for the independence of states and full equality in relations among states. Point 2 emphasized the right of each nation to self-determination and to freedom from economic, political, or military pressure by other states. The Resolutions Committee added a provision "welcoming the fact that some nations prefer to follow an independent policy rather than to join one or another power bloc." Point 3 attacked military, economic, and propaganda pressures. Point 4 called for strengthening the United Nations in every way "as a mighty weapon for the peaceful solution of international disputes." The original Yugoslav proposal favoring the admission of all states to the U. N. was modified, in the Resolutions Committee, to exclude Franco Spain as a regime which had come to power by fascist interference and which continued to oppress its people.

Points 5, 6, and 7 called for the "just solution of the colonial question," rejected any claim of the Big Five to monopolize the power of international decision, and urged economic aid to underdeveloped countries. Point 8 urged a struggle for fundamental rights and freedoms throughout the world, including the right to

PHILIP E. MOSELY, professor of international relations at the Russian Institute of Columbia University, was an adviser to the United States delegation at the Potsdam conference and at the Council of Foreign Ministers in 1944-45. He attended the Zagreb Congress.

work and to social insurance and the elimination of national discrimination in multi-national states. Point 9 demanded reduction of armaments but realistically asserted that this must be preceded by the establishment of confidence among states and should not permit any state or group of states to carry out aggression and thus increase the danger of war. Point 10, on the development of cultural relations and the free flow of information among nations, was broadened in the Resolutions Committee to urge the free interchange of visitors. The Resolutions Committee, composed of twenty persons from thirteen countries, became a continuation committee, and the congress voted to meet again in some other country one year later.

The national groups varied greatly in strength and representative quality. This variation reflected primarily the degree of success of the Yugoslav effort in issuing the invitations and eliciting cooperation. The strongest national group, that from France, included outstanding deputies from the Socialist and the M. R. P. parties, among them André Denis and Léon Boutbien; influential editors, such as Pierre Corval of *L'Aube* and Elie Péju of the *Franc-Tireur*; and Michel Collinet and André Lafond of the *Force Ouvrière* trade unions. The

Belgian and Italian groups were also strong. If a broadly representative international committee had undertaken the preparatory work, the other delegations would no doubt have been more distinguished.

On balance, the Zagreb Congress was a success for the Yugoslav position. Many speakers referred warmly to the Yugoslav struggle against Hitler and against Soviet dictation; some praised highly the country's effort toward economic reconstruction. The proceedings assured the Yugoslav people that they are not alone in their struggle for independence. The Congress was also designed to show influential people abroad that the Yugoslav dictatorship differs from the Soviet system in welcoming the free expression of many divergent views. If anything, the Yugoslav organizers leaned over backward to facilitate the freest possible exchange of opinion on the problems of peace, human rights, and international cooperation. A serious blemish on this record is that in reporting the proceedings influential Yugoslav newspapers like *Borba* omitted most of the statements which showed that economic and social progress is by no means a monopoly of "socialist" regimes or which praised the Atlantic Pact, the Schuman and Pleven plans, and, in general, the positive role of the Western democracies.

Collier's Wins World War III

BY D. F. FLEMING

ON OCTOBER 27, 1951, *Collier's* magazine won World War III. The entire issue—ten months in the making—was devoted to the story of "Russia's Defeat and Occupation, 1952-1960." Thirty-four celebrated authors collaborated in the winning of the war, all engaged on "Operation Eggnog," a 60,000 word office blueprint of the conflict based on "study and consultation with political, military, and economic thinkers, including high-level Washington officials and foreign-affairs experts both here and abroad." It was therefore a quasi-official American plan for World War III.

The leading article, by Robert E. Sherwood, begins the war on May 10, 1952, with an abortive attempt on the life of Marshal Tito and carries it through many pages of carnage until, after years of destruction, "the light is now shining in Russia and in all the other darkened places of the earth."

The Russians virtually wiped out our Hanford, Washington, atomic plant, Detroit, New York, Washington, Philadelphia, and Chicago with atomic bombs. At first

we used the bombs only against military targets. Our great weapon was atomic artillery, which destroyed the massed "concentrations of docile flesh and blood" of the Soviet armies in Europe. It was only after our great cities had been bombed a second time, months later, that Moscow was finally, and somewhat sadly, A-bombed "from bases in the United States." Edward R. Murrow describes the mission. Then from Middle Eastern bases a great air-borne expedition, reported by Lowell Thomas, raided the Soviet A-bomb nest in the Urals. Widespread revolt broke out, and the monolithic Soviet empire finally disintegrated. Only Eastern Europe and the Ukraine, plus Moscow, were occupied by our troops. The magnanimous Denver declaration of the U. N. had already weaned China away. Afterward UNHOPE, the United Nations Housing and Providing Enterprise, assisted the not too devastated or unhappy Soviet peoples to recover from the terrible struggle.

The horrors of Soviet rule, especially as portrayed by Arthur Koestler, made liberation by force an unquestionable necessity. It was a frightful ordeal for the Americans, the war going through three long and bloody stages, described by Hanson Baldwin. He and other writers review the thirty-eight years of the Soviet regime's

D. F. FLEMING is professor of political science at Vanderbilt University and the author of a number of books on international politics.

history and end it definitely in the year 1960. The reader puts the magazine aside with a clear impression of this terminal date for the red menace. Soviet Russia is consistently mentioned in the past tense.

After the conquest Stuart Chase found the Russians well supplied with food. "Plenty of horses and oxen" remained in the supposedly mechanized countryside. The industries of the cities had been destroyed, after ten- or thirty-day warnings to the people, and "an industrial vacuum" had resulted, but "strangely enough the whole economy did not collapse," and the peasants "somehow remembered their handicraft patterns." After "years of famine and chaos," marked by "gangs of juvenile criminals" and "a resurgence of the plague on a scale never before equaled" (Koestler), there was a satisfactory return to normal conditions.

J. B. Priestley's contribution is entitled *The Curtain Rises*. There was "a huge, excited demand for anything foreign and Western, for books and plays, pictures, films, ballets, and operas." Unfortunately commercial radio was impossible in Russia, but a system patterned after the BBC was set up. Erwin Canham of the *Christian Science Monitor* tells how the presses were started as the Russians "turned hungrily to the world." There was not much newsprint but the newsstands were loaded with Russian editions of *Collier's*, *Life*, *Time*, *Newsweek*, *Reader's Digest*, and the *Saturday Evening Post*. "Free thoughts, free words," became the order of the day. Allan Nevins found the schools "healthfully decentralized" and "a surprising supply of teachers."

No long, costly, backbreaking occupation was necessary. The Soviet peoples were forbidden to have a dictatorship, and force was not needed to carry out the decree. True, twenty parties entered candidates in the Kharkov municipal election and many voters at first said "yes" to everything, but the Russians soon learned about democracy from us. There was little corruption, of course. By 1960 Walter Reuther, who writes on *Free Men at Work*, found labor unions unhampered by any Russian counterpart of the Taft-Hartley act. Russian workers had already "got the idea of one world, of one side, of people everywhere working together to build a good life, of striving together to fashion the future in the image of peace and freedom."

The liberated women of Russia felt the greatest relief. The wives of MVD and prison officials were summarily dispatched. Marguerite Higgins "personally had counted several score naked female bodies hanging in the bombed desolation of Red Square." By 1960 black markets had disappeared—except one in high-heeled shoes. The longing of Russian women for "perfumes and silks" was gratified by fashion shows held in the huge Dynamo Stadium. "Queues of women, many miles long," waited to get in.

In 1960 the Olympic "carnival" was also held in the

Moscow stadium. As reported by Red Smith of the New York *Herald Tribune*, the Russian papers conceded that "the big team from the United States will carry off the major share of the honors, as usual" but were confident the Russians would win some championships. There would be some wrangling and bickering, naturally, but "that sort of furor is a healthy thing. It is the voice of a friendly world at play." The American passion for winning every game had nothing to do, of course, with the struggle for world mastery.

WHAT was the purpose of this pregnant issue of *Collier's*? To what extent has it been achieved? What are the likely results?

The editors say they had three aims, of which the first was "to warn the evil masters of the Russian people that *their* vast conspiracy to enslave humanity is the dark, downhill road to World War III." Total evil on the Russian side and total purity on ours are taken for granted. If this assumption is true, then all the wonderful things described in the magazine will eventually come to pass. In the meantime, however, the "evil masters of the Russian people" have been presented with 130 pages of evidence showing that the West means to force its superior way of life on the Soviet peoples. There are pictures of the destruction of Moscow, of the Red Army Theater staging a production of "Guys and Dolls," of the Moscow stadium filled with Russian women gazing raptly at an American fashion model. Just for emphasis, the cover is a picture of an American M. P. dominating a map of the Soviet Union with his bayonet. If there is any power at all in the Communist ideology, these predicted scenes should be grist to its propaganda mills, from Britain across Eurasia to Shanghai.

The editors' second purpose was "to sound a powerful call for reason and understanding between the peoples of the West and East—before it is too late." I can find nothing in the issue which furthers this aim except possibly the portrayal of the other-worldly restraint with which we conducted the war—in contrast to the way we, along with everybody else, conducted World War II—and the boundless magnanimity with which we treated the Russians afterward.

The third was to demonstrate that if the War We Do Not Want is forced upon us, we will win. This thesis is abundantly supported, but the disturbing thought remains that wars do not always go according to *Collier's*. The magazine does not suggest, for example, that the Russians might turn up with our decisive weapon, atomic artillery. And even the most devoted blueprint for victory may overlook some imponderables which could prove decisive. By failing to include atomic bombing of Russia from European or African bases the *Collier's* plan betrays grave doubt that our European allies would permit such use

of their bases, but it does not otherwise even suggest the natural reluctance of the British and West European peoples to be destroyed in a struggle between the two giant antagonists. Yet the passion to survive in Western Europe may be the factor which will dislocate all our calculations.

Every intelligent inhabitant of Western Europe knows, in the marrow of his bones, that a third world war will finish his country—its people, its cities, its future. Two world wars have toppled the region from a position of world ascendancy to one of weakness and dependence. Another must complete the destruction. Americans may survive the loss of their great cities to carry their way of life to the Soviet peoples deep in Eurasia, but Western Europe knows that the third knock of the grim reaper will be the last.

This issue of *Collier's* should powerfully reinforce its determination to find some way to avoid the war which American immaturity in world politics is shown likely to bring on. We are a young people on the world scene. We were involved in two world wars against our will; now for the first time we have deliberately taken a hand in the game of global power politics. And we are an impatient, impetuous people, never defeated and therefore invincible. The vulnerable Europeans will find in these pages convincing evidence that if they cannot avert the clash they must take refuge in neutrality.

The *Collier's* editorial, headed *The Unwanted War*, begins by rejecting "emphatically" the concepts of inevitable war and preventive war. At the same time it makes it clear that the responsibility for the unwanted war to come rests wholly on the men in the Kremlin. Everything is up to them. They "must make the choice. They can roll up the Iron Curtain. Or they can start a war and have it shot down." They can "cease to subjugate their captive neighbors . . . or . . . see those countries' independence restored by force." The Soviet government "must change its outlook and policies . . . or . . . disappear from the face of the earth. The Kremlin must decide."

Each of these ultimatums contains the saving phrase "if they start a war," but each unmistakably threatens doom for the Soviet government unless it changes its ways. As one reads the whole issue, one can only ask: What would we think if a Soviet magazine devoted an entire number to picturing in detail a Russian conquest of the United States and the destruction of the American way of life? Would we conclude that the Soviet Union was bent on avoiding a fight with us?

THE effects of the issue upon the several million Americans who will see it will doubtless vary. I gathered that it wished to make four chief points: (1) The Soviet regime is so intolerable that it must be ended. (2) It is so vicious that it intends to start a world

war and A-bomb our greatest cities. (3) Our power is sufficient to destroy the red rulers and liberate their slave subjects, from Berlin to Vladivostock. (4) The war will be a severe ordeal for us, but afterward life will go on as before in a free world of our own making, dedicated to eternal peace, really organized this time by us.

Some Americans, reading about the destruction of our chief cities, may doubt this benign outcome, but most people will refuse to believe that the Soviet A-bombs will get through—not after we have our radar screens, clouds of planes, guided missiles, and all the other miraculous weapons hinted at in official statements and the press. Being the world's greatest gadget makers, we shall hardly fare as badly as *Collier's* predicts.

This skepticism is strengthened by the character of the distinguished authors. *Collier's* could have easily assembled a galaxy of radio commentators, columnists, and others who have for years been steadily preparing the American people for war with Russia. Yet with the exception of Walter Winchell, this group is not represented. Instead, the table of contents shows a long list of people of moderate views, of progressive, non-belligerent instincts, people who have not joined in sounding the war drums. As one reads, one wonders how each author came to take part in the enterprise, and whether any of them really understood what the impact of the whole would be. If many of them did, then it is much later than we thought.

IT IS indeed late for anyone to suggest that war is more likely to destroy free American institutions and democratic capitalism than to spread them triumphantly over the earth. Out of World War I we got communism in the nation covering the greatest single land area on the globe; out of World War II we got communism in the most numerous nation on earth, which is also the oldest, toughest, and most indestructible. In both cases the thing happened because of the dislocations, disintegrations, and chaos of war. In both cases also the West did its level best to stem the revolutionary uprising of the people and failed. In 1945, as on a smaller scale in 1918, the engines of war had blasted the old order to bits and it could not be put back together again. The result in Europe has been suggested—loss of empire, direction, and purpose; nearly half the people turned Socialist or Communist. We cannot annihilate homes, livelihoods, and capital goods—the very lifeblood of capitalism—without smashing the old way of life. It is tempting to think that just one more epoch of bombing would really settle everything. Quite probably it would, but would the settlement be what we anticipate? Would not the forces loosed in the other two wars grind through to their final conclusion?

A number of humane, imaginative Americans have

constructed a picture of 200,000,000 Soviet citizens embracing their American liberators, after thirty-eight years of subjection to their "evil masters." Against this comfortable expectation it will probably avail little to quote Count Schulenberg, the experienced German ambassador to Moscow who tried to dissuade Hitler from attacking Russia. The Rumanian ambassador to Moscow, Grigore Gafencu, has left an arresting report of his colleague's basic reason for opposing the adventure. Schulenberg and his corps of specialists in Moscow had studied Communist Russia long and thoroughly, in years when it was much easier to do so than it is now. They concluded that if the German armies did destroy the Soviet government, nothing but "profound and irremediable" anarchy could be substituted for it. The Germans would then advance "through indescribable confusion," provoking "a new revolution, a revolution of general disintegration," which would strike at both the victors and the vanquished.

The few hundreds of men who are, in the main, forming our attitude toward another world war should not assume that democracy and capitalism will survive on this continent, a bit bruised but permanently safeguarded. The contrary assumption is the "realistic" one. The advancing tide of witch-hunting, character assassination, purges, and thought control in the United

States would rapidly submerge all our freedom if we went to war with Russia. A war which became, however it was begun, an effort to exterminate world communism would bring a fascist dictatorship in the United States strong enough to suppress every vestige of dissent in the Western nations and to obtain the endless levies of men and resources we should require to control a ruined and barbarized world.

In our time the business of fighting world wars, whether nationalistic or ideological, is played out. Never again can any victory be won which will promote the values we are most concerned about. These values, whether inherent in private enterprise or in civil liberties, can be conserved only by exerting ourselves mightily to prevent a third world war.

Another world war is neither inevitable nor necessary, but unless many powerful voices are raised in this country in favor of moderation and restraint we are headed straight toward a "war of liberation" "for unlimited and unattainable objectives," to quote the remarkably wise and pungent letter of William R. Matthews, publisher of the *Arizona Daily Star*, in the *New York Times* for October 31. He warned that "we are being shouted into a catastrophic war by the opinion makers of this country." The bell does not toll alone for the men in the Kremlin. It tolls for all of us.



"OKAY, WE PROVED WE CAN LICK 'EM. WHAT DO WE DO NOW?"

The Supreme Court Reconsiders

BY HARPER FOWLER

THE Supreme Court, in an action with rare precedent, reversed itself recently and decided to reconsider its refusal to review the case of the lawyers convicted of contempt of court in the trial of the eleven Communist leaders. On the last day of the 1950 term the court had disposed of the principal case, in which Dennis and his co-defendants were convicted, by upholding the constitutionality of the Smith act, and had also denied certiorari in the lawyers' case. Justices Black and Douglas dissented from both actions.

The court's rule requires full review of a case if as many as four justices so vote. Thus at least two members of the court other than Black and Douglas must now consider the case of the lawyers of sufficient national interest to warrant review. To be sure this does not mean that the four who so voted will wish to reverse the conviction. It is conceivable that the lower court will be affirmed by a unanimous opinion. This is unlikely, however, in view of the highly controversial issues involved. The decision of the Court of Appeals was not unanimous. Judges Augustus Hand and Jerome Frank wrote separate opinions upholding Judge Medina, while Judge Clark dissented sharply. The Supreme Court will not review the question whether the behavior of the lawyers was in fact contemptuous but only the procedural and constitutional questions implicit in Judge Medina's summary disposition of the matter. Here they are.

The federal Rule of Criminal Procedure on punishment for contempt is supposed to codify the Supreme Court's past decisions on the subject. These, in turn, reflect a legislative and common-law tradition which has evolved over the years. The rule provides that "a criminal contempt may be punished summarily if the judge certifies that he saw or heard the conduct constituting contempt and that it was committed in the presence of the court." Contempts other than these may be prosecuted only "on notice," stating the time and place of hearing and "allowing a reasonable time for the preparation of the defense." Moreover, "if the contempt charged involves disrespect to or criticism of a judge, that judge is disqualified from presiding at the trial or hearing except with the defendant's consent."

Clearly Judge Medina proceeded in summary fashion. After the jury brought in its verdict of guilty against Dennis and the others, he looked at the lawyers and said, "Now I turn to some unfinished business." He then

read from a contempt certificate which found the lawyers, collectively, guilty of some forty specified contempts. Were they committed in his presence, so that he saw or heard them? This is what the judge himself said:

By way of preliminary, I may say that I would have overlooked or at most merely reprimanded counsel for conduct which appeared to be the result of the heat of controversy or of that zeal in the defense of a client or in one's own defense which might understandably have caused one to overstep the bounds of strict propriety. Before the trial had progressed very far, however, I was reluctantly forced to the conclusion that the acts and statements to which I am about to refer were the result of an agreement between these defendants, deliberately entered into, in a cold and calculating manner, to do and say these things for the purpose of: (1) causing such delay and confusion as to make it impossible to go on with the trial; (2) provoking incidents which they intended would result in a mistrial; and (3) impairing my health so that the trial could not continue.

The judge, it appears, was charging a conspiracy without which the misbehavior of the lawyers would have been "overlooked" or at most brought merely a reprimand. This "agreement" or conspiracy was not certified to have been made in the judge's presence—certainly an unlikely thing—nor did the judge state that he saw or heard it. If the rule means what it says and if Judge Medina meant what he said, this was not an offense which could be punished summarily without notice or hearing. Indeed, since the judge stated that he found one of the purposes of the lawyers' alleged misbehavior was to impair his health, he could not punish them at all. He was disqualified.

That the rule does mean literally what it says seems pretty clear from the cases on which it is based. The principal example here is a case in which Chief Justice Taft wrote the opinion. "Punishment without issue or trial," he said, "was so contrary to the usual and ordinary indispensable hearing before judgment, constituting due process, that the assumption that the court saw everything that went on in open court was required to justify the exception." Justice Black, in a later decision, made the point with even greater emphasis:

The narrow exception to these due-process requirements [notice and hearing] includes only charges of misconduct, in open court, in the presence of the judge, which disturbs the court's business where all of the essential elements of the misconduct are under the eye

HARPER FOWLER is a member of the faculty of the Yale Law School.

of the court, are actually observed by the court. . . . If some essential elements of the offense are not personally observed by the judge, . . . due process requires . . . that the accused be accorded notice and a fair hearing.

All this is vital. Summary punishment is to be based only on evidence within the personal knowledge of the judge, so that no hearing or trial is necessary. But if, as Judge Medina himself states, the contempt inhered only in the alleged prior conspiracy, presumably if not necessarily out of court, then the accused must have an opportunity to present evidence that there was no conspiracy.

A conspiracy requires a prior agreement for an unlawful purpose. In this case, the evil purpose relied upon by Judge Medina was repeatedly set forth. At one point in the trial he stated:

There has been a wilful, deliberate, and concerted effort here to delay the proceedings. . . . I might just as well let you know that this dragging-on, slowing-down process that I have observed and have now found to be a deliberate and concerted effort is one of the reasons for my rulings and will be from now on.

And at a later point:

The finding made the other day was based not only upon occurrences that appear in the minutes but what I have observed in the conduct of counsel before me here, sneering, snickering, obvious indications from one to another to get up, "it is your turn now, go at it next," keep the thing going, and so on.

Still later, the judge said:

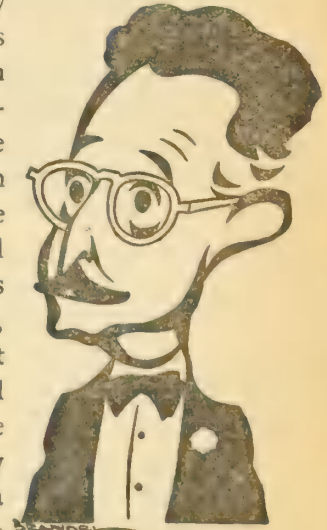
The effect of it all is confirming my view that there has been this deliberate effort here to make a mockery of justice and to, in effect and in the aggregate, sabotage the administration of justice, and I just won't have it.

IF MEDINA was right, of course he shouldn't "have it." The question is: was he right? Under the legal principles which up to now have governed in such cases, hearing, notice, and trial are required to determine whether he was right. Obviously the intention of the lawyers was not "seen" or "heard" by Judge Medina, as the law required. At a hearing they might offer credible evidence that there was no "deliberate effort . . . to make a mockery of justice" or to "sabotage the administration of justice." Until this case lawyers in political trials have been accorded such an opportunity.

Summary punishment, in our traditional legal *mores*, is a last resort. Government by law necessarily excludes arbitrary decision by anybody. Accordingly, punishment for contempt on the decision of one man is a practice which demands justification. Among other factors, the immediate necessity of the punishment has been emphasized in our law. The general rule is notice, opportunity to be heard, a fair trial by a disinterested judge. If a lawyer, or for that matter anyone else, so obstructs the

orderly administration of justice that a trial cannot go on, the judge is given the most arbitrary of all powers of government—the power to say, "You go to jail *now*, for contempt of court." But necessity there must be; the power to punish summarily is not given as a safety valve for the escape of pent-up judicial emotions.

That summary punishment for contempt is an emergency measure is emphasized by the rule that the power must be exercised immediately if it is to be exercised at all. Indeed, it exists only when the judge determines that he cannot go on with the trial unless the disturbance is stopped and the likelihood of its repetition eliminated. Thus if the judge can regain control over his court by warnings or other less drastic means, contemptuous conduct must be punished in the usual course, as outlined in the federal rule. In the Foley Square case Judge Medina decided that immediate punishment was not neces-



Judge Medina

sary, and the decision, as Judge Clark put it, was made "with perspicacity." He did retain control over his courtroom and waited, in some instances for months, before he meted out punishment. This the law does not permit him to do.

Judge Medina's contempt decision met with almost unanimous applause from press, pulpit, and the bar. On the first occasion that offered he was richly rewarded by promotion to the distinguished Court of Appeals which had upheld his action. Honors and acclaim were showered on him from almost every conceivable source.

But while this was going on, other things began to happen. The judge's performance in dealing with these lawyers as he did seemed to touch off a chain reaction both in and outside legal circles. Disbarment proceedings were instituted against several of the convicted lawyers. Loyalty oaths for lawyers were proposed in several state legislatures and by a number of local bar associations. The House of Delegates of the American Bar Association even urged the disbarment of all lawyers found to believe in "Marxist-Leninism," whatever a court should decide that to be. The commander of the American Legion advocated that local legion posts purify the bar in their communities, and the Attorney General of the United States—now Justice Clark—suggested that state bar associations would do well to take lawyers who defended Communists to "the legal woodshed." To top it off, the House Un-American Activities Committee let out a terrific blast at the National Lawyers'

Guild as "the legal bulwark of the Communist Party," because a few members acted as counsel in such cases.

All this, of course, could have but one result. Lawyers became reluctant, and in some hundreds of instances refused, to accept as clients persons professing unpopular political beliefs. In the case of seventeen "second string" Communists, Judge Ryan was forced to request all New York bar associations to name a panel of lawyers who would act as counsel, since every one of the attorneys whom he had appointed had asked to be relieved. Indeed, the situation became so serious that the President thought it necessary to remind the American Bar Association at its recent New York meeting of the right of every man to legal counsel when accused of crime, regardless of his political beliefs or the unpopularity of his cause. The President had apparently forgotten that he had himself contributed to the prevailing hysteria by promulgating loyalty orders so vague as to constitute a trap for the innocent as well as the guilty, and by promoting a judge whose hasty and exasperated contempt decision frightened the pants off defense counsel in other Communist cases.

The right to counsel is vital to free institutions. In criminal cases it has constitutional guaranties. A citizen whose life or liberty is in jeopardy must be told of his right to counsel, and if he is too poor to pay for legal service, the state will pay. And he is entitled to *adequate* counsel, for inadequate counsel is none at all.

But this right does not flourish in an atmosphere which encourages the imputation to counsel of the client's hated political or social views, whether a Harry Sacher is defending a client of the extreme left or a Rudolph Halley one of the far right. For when men are so hated that they are limited in their choice of a lawyer to those willing to risk their livelihood to defend them, their rights are seriously impaired. A reversal of Judge Medina's contempt ruling by the Supreme Court, after full review, would dampen the zeal of those who want to outlaw lawyers for doing their duty and go a long way toward restoring a basic democratic right at a time when too many such rights are being whittled away.

The Supreme Court of the United States is an experiment in government. Whether the Fathers planned it that way or not, the last hope of the individual lies with the court. Of late years that court has blown hot and cold. Sometimes it has upheld the claimed right; more often it has denied it or, through the technical device of denying a writ of certiorari, ducked the question altogether. In the Medina contempt case it originally took the easy way out: it refused to review. Now it has decided to face the issue. It is possible that the nine American citizens who by good or bad fortune shoulder the terrible responsibility for the last word have reached the crossroads. In one direction, if we go far enough, lies fascism; in the other, if we go far enough, is the freedom of our heritage.

Will He Boss Texas?

BY HART STILWELL

Austin, Texas

IN ITS 105 years of history as a state Texas has never been bossed by one man. Many have tried it. Thirty-four years ago James E. Ferguson, then governor, made the attempt, but the legislature threw him out on his ear. More recently W. Lee O'Daniel tried to run Texas as a one-man show, but the legislature slapped him down. In sharp contrast to conditions in states which have been bossed by a Crump or a Long or a Hague, the Texas legislature has merited its title of watch-dog of the people's liberties.

But something is happening to that legislature. As things stand now, Herman Brown, multi-millionaire contractor, banker, utilities and oil man, seems able to

secure the passage in the Texas Senate of practically any bill he chooses to have introduced, and to be able to block the passage in the Senate and House of any legislation he does not like. For example, the legislature recently rushed through a bill, largely at his insistence, making it illegal for an employer or employee to enter into a contract requiring membership or non-membership in any organization as a condition of work.

Even more alarming are developments on the judiciary front. In October last year Brown filed a petition in the 98th District Court in Austin seeking a sweeping injunction to prevent ninety-two labor organizations from engaging in any activity against his various companies. For 180 days the unions were restrained by a series of ten-day restraining orders, and at the end of that time a temporary injunction was issued. Among other things it enjoined the unions from picketing any Herman Brown job and from entering into any agreement not to handle an article or commodity because it was destined for Brown. Brown admitted on the witness stand that he

HART STILWELL formerly edited the Brownsville Herald. He now lives in Austin, Texas, and is the author of two novels, "Border City," which dealt with the "wetbacks" in Texas, and "Campus Town," which concerns academic freedom.

did not know just what unions were on the list. But all were enjoined. It is obvious that if injunctions as sweeping as this continue to be issued, labor unions in Texas may be strangled to death.

Though Herman Brown has amassed the bulk of his tremendous wealth on government-financed or government-sponsored jobs, he has proceeded from the start as though organized labor did not exist. The injunction against the ninety-two unions was merely the latest development in a relentless battle against organized labor that began to take on significant proportions in 1937, when Brown and Root, the parent contracting company of Herman Brown's far-flung enterprises, obtained the contract to build the Mansfield Dam, a government project near Austin. This brings out what would appear to be an astonishing inconsistency on the part of the federal government. On the one hand it sets up minimum wage scales and adopts various measures to protect labor's rights. On the other it awards huge contracts year after year to a big contractor who is certainly not in sympathy with these goals. Only recently Brown was awarded, on a cost-plus basis, a contract to overhaul army tanks which will probably total \$10,000,000. Brown is one of three contractors building the great naval base at Guam. He is doing extensive work in Alaska. In fact, he seems to be able to get one government contract after the other. Doubtless his bids are low, but are they low because his labor costs are low? Unwittingly or otherwise the government seems to be undercutting its own labor policy.

Since the earliest days of his work for the government Brown has received kindly treatment at the hands of federal agencies—some people laughingly refer to him as a "socialized millionaire" because he has made most of his millions as a government contractor. And he has close friends in public office, including two such able and influential legislators as Senator Lyndon Johnson and Representative Albert Thomas of Houston.

UNLIKE most of the other very rich men in Texas, Brown is deeply involved in politics and has a positive program. Most rich Texans spend a lot of time letting off steam against something, usually taxes, but seldom work for a definite political goal and hesitate to spend much money to achieve the goals they seek. But Brown is much more than a man with a lot of money. As he accumulates money, he builds power—deliberately. How he will use that power is of vital interest to everyone in Texas, and to people elsewhere in the nation.

The amount Brown has spent in elections in Texas remains a matter of conjecture; no legal provision requires a public accounting. But it costs a lot of money to conduct a vigorous campaign for the office of United States Senator in a huge state like Texas. Lyndon Johnson, for example, waged an extremely expensive campaign in

1948. But public interest centers not so much in what campaigns Brown has financed or what sums he has spent as in the continuing flow of big government contracts to a non-union contractor who has often been at war with organized labor and the National Labor Relations Board.

Brown's activities in the field of lawmaking in Texas are much more obvious and must be nearly as expensive, for he has two and sometimes three lobbyists on the scene during sessions of the legislature. No other single individual in Texas maintains lobbies at Austin. Even the richest Texans dole out their lobbying funds through organizations which maintain lobbies, such as the Texas Manufacturers' Association, the Texas Good Roads Association, the Mid-Continent Oil and Gas Association, the Texas Medical Association, and so on. But Brown operates individually and on a large scale.

The Texas legislature represents a pretty fair cross-section of the state and the nation. It is no more venal than most other state governments—better than some. But a legislature does not have to be directly controlled in order to pass or block laws in accordance with the wishes of outside interests. At least two-thirds of the members of the Texas Senate gaze upon the economic and political scene through the same glasses that color Brown's views. For years Brown was content with maintaining enough influence in the Senate to block legislation that displeased him. But in 1947 the temper of the public was right for positive action, and his lobbyists stepped into the picture to help push through nine restrictive labor bills. Labor, in the opinion of many people, had waxed rich and sassy during the war. It needed "discipline." Brown, having done nothing more than pick up a few million dollars on war contracts, needed only sympathy and help.

In recent years Brown's holdings have become more extensive and varied, his connections more significant, his interests broader, and his power greater. Politically he is already the most powerful man in Texas and close to bossing the entire state. With his large oil and gas holdings, he is certain to become interested in the question of whether Texas will increase taxes on natural resources or saddle a sales tax on the people. Brown and his associates own the Big Inch and Little Big Inch pipe lines, two tremendously profitable ventures. He is chairman of a bank in Austin, owns valuable hotel properties. He is one of the biggest highway contractors in a state that spends more than \$100,000,000 a year on its roads. Recently unions went into court to force the highway department to make a thorough study of conditions, taking into consideration union wage scales, before setting a minimum wage for an area. The unions lost in the state Supreme Court. And the matter is not likely to be remedied in the state legislature.

The by-products of Brown's far-flung activities are

sometimes disturbing in unexpected ways. Stuart Long, a newspaperman, has been for years one of the most popular radio commentators in Austin. He is also a liberal. And he is state Democratic committeeman from his district. Recently KVET, the station for which he has broadcast news for years, suddenly fired him. The manager said that a battle between giants—Brown and labor—was shaping up, and he didn't want to get caught in the middle. The principal owner of KVET is the law partner of Brown's chief counsel and the former secretary and assistant of Senator Lyndon Johnson. Senator Johnson owns Radio Station KTBC, in Austin, which is located in the Brown Building, owned by Herman Brown.

It is rather generally believed, also, that the recent action of the Texas legislature in slashing the salary of Chancellor James P. Hart of the University of Texas may have been another by-product of Brown's anti-union drive. As a practicing attorney Hart had handled some routine labor cases, and later, as a member of the Supreme Court of Texas, he had voted with the majority in holding one of the Brown-sponsored 1947 anti-labor bills unconstitutional.

As things stand now, Brown is riding high. He has ninety-two labor unions hog-tied in court, and he expects to keep them there for a long time. The court fight may bankrupt the unions, but it won't hurt Herman. He can charge it off as a legitimate deductible business expense, and even if he had to pay the whole cost, it

would not make much of a dent in the three million dollars his various companies made in 1950. There is even the ironical possibility that at least part of the court costs might be charged up against one of Brown's cost-plus jobs for Uncle Sam. In that event, the government would be helping to finance Brown's fight against union labor. Just where Brown will go from now on is uncertain. But it is reasonable to assume that he will continue his feud with organized labor, add more millions to his fortune, and become still more powerful in the political life of Texas.

It is not easy to understand why this man is so bitter against organized labor. When Paul Sparks, executive secretary of the Texas State Federation of Labor, asked him, he declined to discuss the matter. His attitude probably stems from an unwillingness to concede labor's equality of rights. His idea of labor-management relations seems to be: "I am the boss." Labor's answer has been a determined war against Brown—picketing of his jobs, refusal to handle goods destined for his jobs. But this war has been stopped, for the time being at least, by the courts.

As Brown moves on to wider fields, it is interesting to speculate on what his attitude will be toward those outside the ranks of labor—toward lawmakers, judges, even governors—and toward the people of the state. Will the day come when he will be reluctant to grant equality to them too? This is the question that is beginning to bother many Texans.

THE BATTLE FOR FREE SCHOOLS

Big Business and the Schools

BY J. AUSTIN BURKHART

JIM SMITH returned from his first teachers' convention cheering for classroom motion pictures. Just think—no more lagging classes, never again hear the click of eyes and ears closing tight at the beginning of a lecture! Furthermore, the representative of a film distributing company had assured him, "these pictures are yours for the asking. They are educational films made available by business and industry for the classroom teacher."

Three weeks later "Enterprise," a "documentary" story of the American economy, arrived for projection in the American Problems class. As the classroom win-

dows were darkened, the students snapped to attention and focused their eyes on the screen. The picture had everything: home and mother, God and the American flag, the Statue of Liberty and action shots of World War II, the ole swimming hole and peach pie.

When the film ended, Jim Smith turned, somewhat apologetically, to the class and asked, "What did you think of it?" The reply was unanimous: "It was good!" One C minus, minus student exclaimed, "It was marvelous!" Others commented, "Was it not through hard work and enterprise that every big business was built?" and "The picture is dead right when it says that the federal government cannot give prosperity as a gift." Only in the closing minutes of the hour did a minority report show up: "The picture seems to say: 'You, too, can have a wealthy town, happy people, and healthy children. All you have to do is build a shirt

J. AUSTIN BURKHART is a teacher of political science at Stephens College, Columbia, Missouri. This is the third article of a series of eight on the dangers confronting democratic education.

factory.' The commentator emphasizes that the label on the shirts is not important; yet ——— signs are posted all over. Mr. Smith, do you wear ——— shirts? Does free enterprise mean that small towns should provide plant-expansion space for large industrial corporations?"

The investigations of the Buchanan committee on lobbying shattered the old-fashioned conception of the lobbyist as a cigar-chewing individual soliciting the votes of legislators with champagne and fan dancers. Its findings clearly recognized the ever-expanding character of pressure politics, the constant discovery and use of new techniques, the manufacture of public opinion at the grass roots, the impact of concentrated economic power on our national life, and the increasing financial and social cost of lobbying.

All these facets are visible in the educational lobby. Conventional methods are combined with the latest offerings of educational psychology to reach tomorrow's voters through today's classroom indoctrination. Reminiscent of the days of Insull, the National Association of Real Estate Boards has instigated the writing of textbooks on real estate which are currently being used in 127 colleges and universities. This organization has also encouraged colleges to offer special courses in which the general point of view of the association is presented. Mervin K. Hart's National Economic Council sends out gift editions of its publications* to innumerable schools and colleges; the leaflets distributed by the Committee on Constitutional Government to school children have reached a circulation of five or six million.

BUT more potent instruments are also being used to tell the Big Truth, to give the business story greater visibility, and to sell the economic system to the American public: motion pictures, posters, plant tours, radio programs, film strips with records, television shows, and even comic strips. No technological device is dismissed, no method of communication overlooked. Unfortunately, the American economy is too often presented as the sponsor conceives it, from a narrow, defensive point of view, and the image, therefore, fails to square with the facts. More reprehensible is the advancement of many other interesting ideas under the cover of explaining the American system.

The National Association of Manufacturers, for example, has 5 photoplays and 1,858 prints which are free for the asking. More than two million students witnessed these films last year. "The Price of Freedom," a typical release, tells the story of a young newspaperman, Fred Vollmer, who goes to work on his father's paper. He visits Germany and fears that democracy slipped away in that country because of public indifference to the expanding powers of the state. When he returns to America he sees the same threats to our demo-

cratic institutions and resolves to write about these dangers in stirring editorials. At first his father, for some unexplained reason, refuses to print these articles but later is brought around to his son's position.

Ninety per cent of a cross-section of high-school and college students reacted to the picture along these lines: "The yearning for security in this country will bring about the same effects as did the coming of Nazism in Germany"; "the security we seek must come from within ourselves." About 5 per cent of those who saw the picture objected to minor aspects—for example, "There were too many sticky scenes between the father and son." Only one student made the thoughtful comment: "Instead of casting a favorable eye on future change, the film looked backward for what was good. The chant of the good old days was carried through with such phrases as, 'start at the bottom and earn my pay,' 'individual effort,' 'the government can't solve your problems,' 'government promises take a little freedom at a time and then take over thinking.' One gets the impression that any change takes us away from the good old days of grandfather and closer to a Hitlerian regime. The picture subtly knocks welfare measures."

"In Balance," sponsored by Burroughs Adding Machine, pictures what happened to a Gloucester fisherman who divided his profits with his crew and then applies this lesson to modern business. The impression left with the student is that profit-sharing does not work. Dozens of such message films are now being circulated in schools, painlessly proselyting a captive audience. Unlicensed teachers, they do not need to pass state boards or meet any certification requirements.

Many company films underline the high ideals of business and the resourcefulness of management. The Aluminum Company of America presents its record in "Unfinished Rainbows," a technicolor production starring Alan Ladd as the scientist who discovered the process of making aluminum. Judging from student reaction, had pictures like this been shown earlier, Theodore Roosevelt would have never made a reputation as a trust buster. After seeing "Unfinished Rainbows" students commented, "There is little danger of a monopoly, for the large companies seem to welcome smaller ones to manufacture the same products." Or, "In Alcoa there wasn't any political backing, no dirty dealing; everything was up to the highest American ideals."

The sixteen-millimeter picture is by far the fastest growing in the motion-picture field. Numerous corporations have from \$300,000 to \$3,000,000 invested in production and prints and spend as much as \$100,000 a year on promotion and distribution. The competition which these films are giving the theatrical circuit for the Great Audience is striking. Several companies can claim yearly school audiences of over ten million; one corporation reports that a hundred and fifty million individuals

* See Fever Spots in American Education, by Morris Mitchell, in *The Nation* of October 27.

have witnessed its offerings since the inauguration of the audio-visual program. Needless to say, most of the films are released for public-relations purposes and have no legislative ax to grind.

THE field trip is as old as Pestalozzi, but only recently, in the wake of audio-visual emphasis, has it received enthusiastic support as a teaching device. Recognizing its cogency, business has gone all out in recommending sponsored plant tours as "vital" learning experiences for both teachers and students. In addressing a group of Chicago public-school teachers and principals taking a plant tour, Robert E. Wilson, chairman of the board of Standard Oil of Indiana, called for thousands upon thousands of meetings in which representatives of industry could tell educators about what is going on in business. Apparently disturbed by a survey in a test high school in Connecticut which showed 61 per cent of the senior students favoring closer government regulation of business, Mr. Wilson spoke of current misconceptions regarding the oil industry. Systematically he tried to prove that the oil industry is not monopolistic and that it does not earn inordinately high profits. What the oil industry needs, he said, is freedom from excessive taxation and from attempts to break up established methods of doing business.

Almost as if the wish were father to the act, hundreds of plant tours are springing up everywhere in the form of Business-Industry-Education Days. Under the guidance of local chambers of commerce, B-I-E Days were held in some three hundred cities last year and more than a hundred thousand school teachers participated. On these occasions school is dismissed for the day, and the teachers are taken in small groups through industrial plants and business firms. In the South a separate day is set apart for explaining the American opportunity program to Negro teachers. Similar days are planned for college faculties and the clergy.

Obviously, the danger does not lie in business-education communication per se but in the manner in which mass media can be perverted. Since extra-class activity of this type is not controlled by school officials, it should be given careful scrutiny. While Business-Education Days may not pervert the educational process, they are likely to be exploited by individual sponsors. A number of labor men have discovered that the labor-relations discussions may be loaded in favor of management and against the unions. Brendan Sexton, educational director of the United Automobile Workers (C. I. O.), argues that if the B-I-E Days are approved, the programming ought to be handled pretty rigidly by the schools.

There can be no doubt that something more than a desire to enrich the curriculum is behind much of the sponsored instruction through mass media. The results of three surveys of student opinion conducted in widely

separated states are invariably mentioned in selling the idea of a Business-Education Day or in alerting a local Chamber of Commerce to the need for a business-sponsored movie program in the schools. According to these opinion polls, students have a decided preference for a secure rather than a risk-taking job, feel that jobs for all is a government responsibility, and approve of the government competing with private industry in housing, in providing medical services for all, and in regional developments like the TVA. They lack knowledge of the average investment per worker, the annual return to stockholders, and the average profit of American industry. Certainly deficiencies in factual knowledge should be supplied. But the line between educating and influencing political thinking is a fine one, as the attempt to regulate lobbying has brought out. A publication of the United States Chamber of Commerce, "Plant Tours," states, "Students are reached at a crucial age, shortly before they attain voting status." Parenthetically, it might be noted that twenty-four state banking associations have definite school-contact programs.

THE old idea that one interested group balances another and in the end all conflicting pressures are canceled out is made ridiculous by the use of instruments of mass communication. Many of them are shockingly expensive. A well-made, two-reel, black-and-white motion picture may cost \$20,000; its equivalent in color \$75,000 to \$125,000. A few years ago it was estimated that the money spent on business-sponsored teaching aids exceeded the educational budgets of Delaware, Idaho, Nevada, New Hampshire, Vermont, and Wyoming.

The social costs of such indirect lobbying in terms of general confusion and public conflict cannot be measured. A lobbypop solution of our problems by pat formulas contributes little to enlightenment and much to an atmosphere of hysterical oversimplification. This in turn prevents an honest analysis of pressing issues. The manufacturers and distributors of opinion have discovered that emotional clichés can effectively discourage the enactment of needed social legislation. Federal aid to education, public health, and hydroelectric dams are being parked at the siding for the "Stop Socialism" streamliner.

Business-Education Days, business-education fellowships, sponsored motion pictures, subsidized speakers who will stand without hitching, are only some of the methods used to tell the Big Truth in the schools. Should the effort be intensified, we shall need a Supreme Court decision to separate business and the state in public education. A principle is at stake. We must uphold the objectivity of the sources from which we draw teaching material just as staunchly as we guard against bias on the part of the professor.

BOOKS and the ARTS

Parable Without a Moral

THE CONFORMIST. By Alberto Moravia. Farrar, Straus, and Young. \$3.50.

THE CONFORMIST," beautifully translated by Angus Davidson, is, like "Two Adolescents" and "Conjugal Love" which preceded it, the meticulously told history of an obsession. But with a difference. The sufferings of Agostino and Luca and the self-imposed torment of the buffoon in "Conjugal Love" occur in almost complete moral and physical isolation. Marcello Clerici's obsession, though he remains always isolated from most human concerns, propels him into public life and involves him in political situations. The fine and sharp lines of the small sketches have been replaced by the larger canvas of Italy from 1920 to the fall of Mussolini and by complications of light and shade.

Marcello's is a double trauma. At thirteen he recognizes in himself sadistic impulses which, he feels, set him apart from the rest of humanity. And he is alone with his conviction that he has killed an unfrocked priest who attempted to seduce him. The book is a study in what Moravia calls "the terrifying isolation of abnormality" and in the guilt produced by it, because "to be different meant to be guilty." In his frenetic desire to set the rest of his life in order Marcello achieves a precarious conformity. One never questions the veracity of this picture of a sensitive and intelligent adolescent who develops into a minor Fascist official and a government spy. He becomes ever less human as he succeeds in identifying himself with a regime which attracts him because in its inhuman order he finds an ideal human normality.

Every step in this unflagging pursuit of the normal is marked by an absurdity reminiscent of the ridiculous misfortunes which the heroes of Italo Svevo contrive for themselves. The conventional lower-middle-class virgin he marries—because she is conventional, a virgin, and lower-middle-class—turns out to have been, to the day of her wedding, the mistress of an evil old

man; the one woman he thinks he might have loved makes advances to his wife; the political murder which he helps bring about is countermanded, too late, as a positive disservice to the regime; and so on, until, on the day the Fascist government falls, he discovers that he had, after all, not killed the priest. He watches his normality crumble, like the bronze-coated plaster bust of Mussolini he sees being dragged through the Corso by the Roman mob. Immediately after his marriage he had learned that "he was revolving in a topsy-turvy, sterile world in which real love did not occur, but merely sensual relationships," and that his "benumbed, gray normality" had been established at the expense of personal joy and spontaneity. Now he sees that normality is "a purely external thing entirely made up of abnormalities." When the man he has not killed points out to him the obvious truth that we must all lose our innocence, he ponders what is, for Moravia, the central thesis of the novel:

... even if, in fact, nothing had happened, he would still have done what he had done simply because, in any case, he would have had to lose his innocence, and consequently, would have desired to regain it. Normality was precisely this desire—as wearisome as it was vain—to justify a life trapped in its own original guilt.

This is the wisdom which, like some Fascist Parsifal, he slowly masters only to have it rendered innocuous by a death as absurd in the moment of its occurrence as the absurdities of his life.

The 376 pages it takes to arrive at these conclusions are dull only if one finds the question of Marcello's moral sensibility dull. His is not the classic gambit of the insulted and injured finding security in identification with an authoritarian regime: "He had done what he had done for reasons entirely his own, regardless of any communion with other people." This fiction broods heavily on events, translating them often into symbols. It is crowded with visions and revisions which spring out of Moravia's sense of the inescapable connection of every

human action with every other human action. What faults the book has lie in its structure. It is a parable decked out with a multifoliate plot, necessary to Moravia's meaning but occasionally cumbersome as fiction. Too much is made to happen explicitly; the pattern of absurdity is too insistently called to our attention. The concentration of feeling which made the earlier and shorter books so exciting is present here only in the opening chapters. It is passionately serious and it seriously lacks humor, irony being supplied in excess as a substitute. Finally, since it is a parable, one expects a moral, which Moravia's wisdom does not allow him to formulate but which the form demands. "The Conformist," in this sense, is a curious hybrid, a didactic novel which teaches no lesson.

ERNEST JONES

A Mission and a Missionary

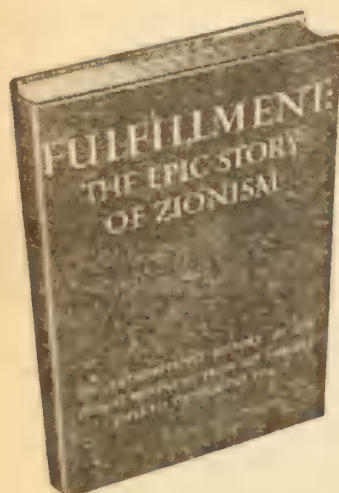
MY MISSION IN ISRAEL. By James G. McDonald. Simon and Schuster. \$3.50.

THE REVOLT. By Menachem Begin. Henry Schuman. \$4.

WHEN James McDonald concluded his term as the first ambassador to Israel, a cynic remarked that a diplomat less openly friendly to Zionism might prove more advantageous to Israel. There could be no better refutation of this *Realpolitik* than Mr. McDonald's unpretentious and amiable account of his mission. The American ambassador's sympathetic understanding of the young state's problems proved to be a significant political asset.

Mr. McDonald's narrative is intimate, homely, and full of unmalicious anecdotes. But the book is more serious than appears on its engaging surface. Beneath the gentle drift of Mr. McDonald's confidences, which range over such territory as his young daughter's gifts as a housekeeper and amusing involvements with the touchy Russians over questions of protocol, one is conscious of unremitting moral energy. McDonald may appear alarmingly undiplomatic in his candor and simplicity, but he had a deeper grasp of essentials

**The most wonderful
homecoming
in history**



FULFILLMENT
The Epic Story of Zionism
by RUFUS LEARSI

author of
Israel: A History of the Jewish People



November 30, 1947: thousands of displaced Jews marched in jubilant procession under Rome's famous Arch of Titus, erected in 70 A.D. to celebrate the very downfall of the Kingdom of Judea. Now the UN had finally voted to establish an independent Jewish state in Palestine—and an ancient people had survived to a vindication of faith and hope such as mankind had never seen. This is the full history of the return of the Jewish people to their homeland—of all the men and women of giant mold and vision who only fifty years ago launched and nurtured the daring and quixotic Zionist movement. Rufus Lears's complete history of Zionism will thrill you—as all people are thrilled by bitter-earned victory, when the dangerous years melt away and become “as yesterday when it is past and as a watch in the night.”

416 PAGES, ILLUSTRATED



\$5.00 wherever books are sold

THE WORLD PUBLISHING CO.
Cleveland and New York

than many a career diplomat. Those who were in Israel from 1948 to 1951 recall with what earnestness he tried to get to know the people among whom he served. His service as High Commissioner for German Refugees and as a member of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry in Palestine had given him experience and background. Nevertheless, he was unique among foreign representatives in Israel in his personal attempt to acquaint himself with the complex problems of the country. His tall, benign figure was familiar and beloved in Israel. The result of this intimate concern was more than human-interest stories. It enabled McDonald to advise his government intelligently at such crucial moments as the assassination of Bernadotte and during the negotiations concerning the Negev. While McDonald indulges in no dramatic revelations, it is clear from his account that hostile factions in the State Department deliberately ignored his advice. It is equally clear, however, that President Truman and his advisers gave adequate weight to his reports. In the tug of war between the President and the pro-Arab elements in the State Department, McDonald's on-the-spot interpretation frequently played a decisive role.

Mr. McDonald has some enlightening things to say about his fellow-diplomats. The contacts with the Russians appear to have been routinely irritating. This reviewer remembers the original hopefulness with which Israelis viewed the American and Russian flags flying from the Gat Rimon Hotel during the brief period when both ministers were lodged under the same roof. Unfortunately, the Russians, according to McDonald's account, proved to be resolutely unconvivial.

A private conversation with the British Minister indicated the shift in British opinion in regard to Israel. Sir Knox Helm told McDonald that he considered the resumption of Israel-Arab hostilities “as playing directly into the hands of the Soviet Union.” McDonald quotes the British Minister as saying: “The moral of all this is that United States and United Kingdom interests demand a strong Israel at peace with its Arab neighbors. I have been urging this policy as strongly as I can upon the Foreign Office at home.”

The views of an experienced observer like McDonald on future Arab-Israel relations is worth noting. He does not anticipate the “second round” which the Arabs have been threatening. At the same time he has small hope for greater friendliness because of the intense nationalisms of the Middle East at the present time. He does, however, believe in a measure of economic rapprochement, because, “despite handicaps, Israel is certain to remain industrially and technically the most advanced country in the Middle East.” Divested of its usual Machiavellian costume, diplomacy wears an unexpectedly guileless and informal aspect in Mr. McDonald's story, but the pull of international forces and his own unequivocal role in the struggle are none the less unmistakable.

A different kind of mission is described in “The Revolt,” the story of the Irgun as told by Menachem Begin, “commander-in-chief” of the terrorist organization. It is impossible to review this book seriously as a history of Israel's struggle for independence. The omissions and distortions of fact are so numerous that an attempt to correct them would involve a page-by-page commentary. On the basis of “The Revolt” an uninformed reader would get the following picture: The underground Irgun drove out the British, brought in the illegal ships, defeated the Arabs, and established the Jewish state. These achievements took place despite the weakness and stupidity of the official leadership, which included such poltroons as Ben-Gurion, Golda Myerson, and Moshe Sharret. Occasionally a secondary organization known as the Haganah appeared on the scene to do a little mopping up after the brunt of battle had been borne by the brave lads of the Irgun.

A few years ago, when Irgun bombs and bombast had a tragic fascination for some American Jews, it would have been necessary to dignify this romance with refutation. By now only stubborn disciples put credence in the Irgun mythology, and it would be pointless to expose for the hundredth time either the central thesis or the individual fable, such as the Irgun version of the Altalena episode. Nevertheless, though the book casts little light on actual events in Palestine, it offers a good deal on the mentality of the author and his asso-

ciates. In this sense, "The Revolt" is a fascinating psychological study.

Begin intrigued many of the correspondents and diplomats who came to Israel. They wanted to know what made him tick. Most of them, James McDonald included, commented on his mild, schoolmaster exterior. Those who heard his shrill, hysterical voice over the radio recognized the demagogue without being able to understand the secret of his personal influence. "The Revolt" provides a partial answer. The reader feels the power of Begin's absolute faith in himself and his cause, ■ well ■ his ability to impart this faith. One recognizes the paradoxical combination of fanaticism and opportunism which has become so familiar to us, and which can create martyrs ■ well ■ stooges, heroes as well ■ charlatans. The mixture of sincere passion and unabashed impudence which Begin dishes out can readily be stupefying, perhaps not only to the simple and ignorant.

Begin's clamant self-righteousness is equal to all occasions. He even goes so far ■ to defend the Irgun massacre of the peaceable Arab villagers of Dir Yassin, an act which filled all Jewish Palestine with horror. His technique is characteristic. In the first place, the killing of women and children was not "butchery" but an act of war. In the second place, the "false atrocity story" was responsible for the Arab mass stampede. Begin has it both ways: "Not what happened in Dir Yassin but what was invented about Dir Yassin" won the day. Of course, the plain facts are that the Arab flight started long before Dir Yassin on the instructions of the Arab High Committee in preparation for the coming Arab invasion. Begin naturally fails to mention that ■ few days after the massacre an Arab mob ambushed a Hadassah convoy to Mount Scopus and proceeded to slaughter the passengers, including some of Palestine's foremost scientists and physicians, to the cry of "Vengeance for Dir Yassin." The immediate "practical" result of Dir Yassin was not the Arab evacuation but the Hadassah tragedy. Begin's version is ■ good illustration of Irgun ethics, political sagacity, and fidelity to facts.

The role of terrorism in obtaining the Jewish state was not only negligible but negative. Irgun outrages served to give

*The first biography of one
of this generation's greatest teachers
and most influential philosophers of education...*

WILLIAM HEARD KILPATRICK

TRAIL BLAZER IN EDUCATION

By Samuel Tenenbaum, Ph. D. Introduction by John Dewey. "... the author has not only traced the development of this 'trail blazer in education' from a child in a small Georgia town to one of the most widely known professors in any university, but he has also interwoven the developments in Dr. Kilpatrick's own thinking with the educational movements to which he was related and of which he was an outstanding leader... fascinatingly interesting... a real contribution to the literature of education."—HARRISON S. ELLIOTT, Late Professor, Union Theological Seminary. \$4.00

Constructive Contributions For All Educators

RELIGIOUS VALUES IN EDUCATION

By Ward Madden, Assistant Professor of Education, Brooklyn College. "With insight and originality Madden solves the problem that has baffled many educators. He shows how to conduct education in a way to make the religious quality both the end and the method of teaching, at the same time keeping clear of controversial, sectarian differences." —HENRY N. WIEMAN, Professor of Philosophy, University of Oregon. \$3.00

CREATIVE EDUCATION IN THE HUMANITIES

By Arnold Didier Graeffe, Associate Professor of Humanities, University of Florida. "A provocative and stimulating book... (The proposals) constitute a point of view which must eventually be incorporated within any embracing philosophy of higher education." —DEAN WILLARD B. SPALDING, College of Education, University of Illinois. \$3.00

EDUCATION IN THE HUMANE COMMUNITY

By Joseph K. Hart. Here one of the ablest exponents of progressive education "has given us the broad outlines of a way of thinking and proceeding which will help school and community efforts to become integrated in a common educational approach." —HORACE S. FRIES, University of Wisconsin. \$3.00

THE WORKSHOP WAY OF LEARNING

By Earl C. Kelley, Author of "Education for What Is Real." "... it supplies the missing and much needed factor in development of the theory of progressive education. For it applies to the *training of teachers* the principles that have been set forth as applicable to and in the education of those under instruction."

—JOHN DEWEY. \$2.75

At your bookstore or from

49 E. 33rd St. HARPER & BROTHERS New York 16, N. Y.

British repressive measures a semblance of legality. British and world opinion yielded to the relentless pressure of the illegal immigration from the D. P. camps and to Jewish Palestine's furious battle to keep the gates open. Both aspects of the struggle were led by Ben-Gurion and executed by the Haganah; both aspects were frequently jeopardized by the irresponsible antics of the Irgun. Later, during the Arab invasion, the fiery Irgun members, contrary to Begin's extravagant claims, failed to prove their mettle. Accustomed to the tactics of individual terrorism, they often proved inadequate to the discipline of open battle. Such is the testimony of the leading commanders in the field.

Today the Irgun, transformed into the political party of Herut, plays no more constructive part than in the past. Its "militancy" consists of noisily clamoring for a Jewish state "on both sides of the Jordan," and in an alliance with the most reactionary elements in Israel. The pattern defined in Begin's interesting autobiography continues.

MARIE SYRKIN

Fearful New World

WHAT'S THE WORLD COMING TO? SCIENCE LOOKS AT THE FUTURE. By A. M. Low. J. B. Lippincott. \$3.

ACCORDING to the jacket, the author of this extraordinary book is an important inventor of gadgets, some of them for the British government. He must have heard of Aldous Huxley, for he mentions "Brave New World," but he was obviously not impressed since he proceeds to scare the reader out of his wits by seriously promising him blessings worse than those Huxley was able to imagine; and by the time he has finished one is almost prepared to hope that we shall not, as he believes, escape destruction by the atom bomb after all. Those who are afraid that the world of super-weapons, super-machines, and super everything else might prove a bit hard on the nerves are assured that drastic methods of mental hygiene will take care of all that, even though certain difficulties will be created by the fact that "everyone resents restraint on

mental freedom even more than upon their physical ability to do as they please."

Those who also fear that there may be difficulty in feeding the stupendous populations which he predicts are similarly assured not only that chemical foods made in factories will become increasingly important but also that—though this is much farther off—the "happy time" may come "when food can be taken in tablets or electronically while we sleep." We shall soon give up the foolish attempt to preserve even in parks what is now called breathing space. "In a small country where space is so important we shall soon begin to build in our parks with the advantage that there will be less beauty for people to destroy. Vast congregations of flats will certainly spring up. They will be fitted with television, hot water, pneumatic post tubes, and perhaps even milk [chemical milk I suppose] laid on from a central depot; everything will be done to prevent the need for visiting one's neighbors in person." It is true that on the very next page something is said about week-end trips to Africa. It is also true that something had previously been said about the fact that "material prosperity is in itself quite purposeless." But by this time the reader is too depressed to care whether these apparent contradictions are reconcilable or not.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

James Michener

whose bestsellers **TALES OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC** and **RETURN TO PARADISE** established him as the greatest living

writer on Asia and the

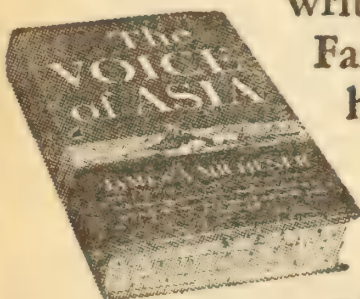
Far East, now brings you his report on what Asia

means to America

today—and how the

people of Asia are

reacting to our policies.



The Voice of Asia

by JAMES A. MICHENER

\$3.50 at all bookstores, RANDOM HOUSE, N. Y.



The Versatile James

THE PORTABLE HENRY JAMES.

Edited, and with an Introduction by Morton Dauwen Zabel. The Viking Press. \$2.50.

NO EXPERIENCED reader of James," remarks Mr. Zabel, and we detect a somewhat rueful note in his words, "need be told the acute problem an editor encounters when he attempts to represent in a limited space an author of such bulk and diversity." It has been Mr. Zabel's triumph that he has compiled a volume for the peripatetic reader whose crammed pages suggest the bulk and proclaim the diversity. We have become so accustomed to a Jamesian stereotype—that of the top-hatted Master lost in endless sentences—that it is a very real

pleasure to find him in these pages not only telling his tales and writing his *nouvelles* but indulging in those informal relaxed reveries that mark his travel writings and much of his criticism; a kind of grave spontaneity pervades them, a good-natured social ease touched with grace and liveliness and humor. It is always a relief to be reminded that between the starched and stuffy James of the legend and the creative artist there exists a marked disparity.

Many other portables and anthologies could be derived from the works of Henry James, each with its valid claim to be read. The claim of Mr. Zabel's is that he gives us not only the prose artist or the fictional virtuoso; he allows us to see the sage of Chelsea and Rye of the final years but restores the Henry James of the earlier time, the explorer of the pathways worn by passionate American pilgrims on the Continent, the prodigious letter-writer, the energetic expositor of the art of fiction, and the critic who practiced "perception at the pitch of passion." Mr. Zabel's "portable" James is also the versatile James; lifted from material that could fill at least sixty volumes, it represents an act of editorial courage, a challenge met and bravely conquered.

Henry James created in an era when fiction could be leisurely and was written to be read in the old-fashioned Victorian "three-deckers." His narrative is always unhurried and copious though disciplined. Consequently Mr. Zabel's selection was dictated often by length. To have chosen one or two of James's longer works would have quite filled up the space and deprived the editor—and the reader—of the opportunity to have James in all his variousness, his insatiable curiosity about life and about people, and his critical acumen. The editorial solution had to be a series of compromises and they are happy ones, since long or short, Henry James never sacrificed quality. The five tales chosen, ranging from the sentimental-pathetic of the early "Four Meetings" to the sophisticated-psychological of the late "Round of Visits," show James's virtuosity in handling large themes within small compass. The *nouvelles* include the now-celebrated and much-reprinted "Beast in the Jungle" and the remarkable story of a young boy, "The Pupil,"

drawn from James's own boyhood wanderings on the Continent with his restless parents; they demonstrate the novelist's capacity for writing what amounts to a novel within the frame of the long short story.

We can discover in these pages the young critic of twenty-two taking brilliant measure of Charles Dickens in the newly founded *Nation*, or evaluating the Walt Whitman of "Drum Taps" with the words, "It has been a melancholy task to read this book; and it is a still more melancholy one to write about it." Nevertheless, he does write about it with an exuberance that betrays no melancholy and a critical sharpness that may be unpleasing to the contemporary Whitmanians, but that has validity in the context of its own time. Inevitably Mr. Zabel has reprinted an essay on Balzac and a less well-known, but highly valuable, essay on Turgenev in which James discourses on Tolstoy ("a reflector as vast as a natural lake") and, while recognizing his great appeal, finds him wanting in James's cherished methods and disciplines of fiction. However much we may argue today with James

the critic, we get from him invariably a direct and always intense communication of feeling and experience: the critical intelligence, sympathetic, curious, subtle, functions with an unswerving loyalty to principles and standards expressed by two words—"truth" and "life."

Above all, it is a pleasure to renew acquaintance in these pages with James's epistolary art, his breathless exploration of Europe when young, his detached views of the British aristocracy during his middle years, his play of wit, fancy, and irony, as in the long letter to Walter Berry thanking him for an elaborate gift—flattering to the recipient yet expressing all too clearly James's embarrassment. There is a remarkable letter to Grace Norton. "Remember," he writes, "that every life is a special problem which is not yours but another's, and content yourself with the terrible algebra of your own." A long row of James's novels deals with people who did not content themselves with their own "terrible algebra" and describes the havoc they wrought by meddling in others' lives.

Mr. Zabel's notes are succinct and

FREE EXAMINATION OFFER

on the famous *Manchester Guardian*

YOU ARE INVITED to read the next four issues of the *Manchester Guardian*, weekly air edition, at our risk. This famous publication brings you a fresh viewpoint on British and international affairs—especially on the confusing questions of Korea, Suez, Egypt, and the internal situation in England today. The *Guardian* is fearless, honest, liberal. It will stimulate your thinking as it does for the great opinion makers throughout the world who read it regularly. Accept this Free Examination Offer by mailing the coupon with your payment today. Money back if not delighted. *Manchester Guardian*, 53 East 51st St., New York 22.



"The *Guardian* is far more important than its circulation indicates . . . It is known and read throughout the world." (*N. Y. Times*.) "Unquestionably, one of the world's half-dozen great newspapers." (*Time Magazine*.)

MAIL COUPON FOR SPECIAL FREE OFFER

THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN
53 East 51st Street, New York 22, N. Y.

Please enter my subscription to the *Manchester Guardian*, Weekly Air Edition, as checked below. If not satisfied after seeing the first four issues, I may cancel and get a full refund. My payment is enclosed.

☐ 1 year, \$6.50 ☐ 20 weeks, \$2

Name

Address

City Zone State

informative, and his preface is an admirable summary of the scope and significance of a creative career too long underestimated and still not sufficiently appreciated.

LEON EDEL

Good-Will Is Not Enough

THIS AMERICAN PEOPLE. By Gerald W. Johnson. Harper and Brothers. \$2.75.

GERALD JOHNSON is one of our most skilful popularizers of history. In a long series of volumes he has shown the ability to assimilate the research of scholars and to present it in a meaningful and stimulating manner. "This American People" will, however, do him no credit; nor is it likely to enlighten its readers. It is a poor performance, confused in conception and slipshod in execution.

We can grant it good intentions. Mr. Johnson here focused on the dilemmas of our current crisis. Convinced that the ideas of the Founding Fathers can contribute to an understanding of the present, he has attempted to draw from the heritage of their wisdom clues as to what we ought to do about civil liberties, free enterprise, international relations, and the other problems that plague today's democracy.

Unfortunately Mr. Johnson's effort has not been successful. The only general conclusion—that free government is hazardous and demands from the people the courage to take risks—is practically platitudinous.

In part, the failure arises from the assumption that these political problems can be resolved by common sense and simple principles. The book affects a cracker-barrel style and draws frequently on homely analogies that by-pass critical steps in the argument. At too many points, when the going gets rough, Mr. Johnson is content to cover up with vague hortatory sentiments and with the calm affirmation that it is all very clear.

Alas, the political issues of our own time, as of the eighteenth century, are not so simple as Mr. Johnson makes them out to be. The complex questions raised by setting limits to free speech or by the extension of government into the economy can only be answered with the aid of the most rigorous critical thinking. We shall hardly be satisfied that such thinking has gone into a book that treats the American polity as if it were created on a single day in 1776. The preposterous discussion of the Twenty-second Amendment, the disorderly analysis of minority rights, the undefined usage of such terms as "justice" and "democracy" will add to our skepticism.

This is altogether apart from the fact that the work shows evidence of hasty writing and is full of inexcusable errors of fact. To make John Adams a member of the Constitutional Convention, to impute to Patrick Henry anti-Unionist sentiments, to assert that an inaugural address has the force of law, or to confound the term "welfare" in "welfare state" with that in the constitutional phrase "general welfare" must be the result of downright carelessness.

Most distressing is the implication that rule-of-thumb common sense can run counter to reason and morality. I can hardly believe Mr. Johnson means what he says. But he does use "people with logical minds" as a kind of epithet (pp. 83, 178). In an interesting paragraph he states that Karl Marx supported his prediction of inevitable class war "with impeccable logic" (p. 79), a dubious statement in itself, but more

dubious still when used as a decisive refutation of Marxism. And what shall we conclude from a generalization that a faction can subvert "public liberty" only when it embraces "a group professing high moral principles" (p. 129)?

We shall conclude, I suspect, that it takes more than good-will and common sense to deal with these problems.

OSCAR HANDLIN

Books in Brief

ZACHARY TAYLOR: SOLDIER IN THE WHITE HOUSE. By Holman Hamilton. Bobbs-Merrill. \$6. This second volume of the Hamilton biography covers the last three years of Zachary Taylor's life: his nomination and election to the Presidency, his administration, his relations with Clay, Webster, Benton, and other political leaders, his struggles with Congress, and his death in 1850. An interesting study of an exciting period and an unexciting man.

THE MAGIC PEOPLE. By Arland Ussher. Devin-Adair. \$2.75. A study of the mind, character, psychology, and philosophy of the Jewish race written by an Irishman with wit and understanding. ("Jewish mysticism makes man greater than the angels, as possessing freedom; Abraham shows toward Jehovah the firm if respectful attitude of a British Prime Minister toward the Throne.") One of those rare books that can truthfully be called thought-provoking.

VENTURE TO THE INTERIOR. By Laurens Van der Post. Morrow. \$3. Colonel Van der Post was sent to Africa by the British government to explore and report on two virtually unknown sections of Nyasaland. He describes the country and his adventures vividly and with a novelist's sense of style and significant detail.

THE HERMIT PHILOSOPHER OF LIENDO. By I. K. Stephens. Southern Methodist University Press. \$5. A biography of one of the oddest figures in the history of American culture. Edmund Montgomery was born in 1835, the illegitimate son of a Scottish lord, educated in Germany, and married to Elisabeth Ney, a brilliant and somewhat

BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

Just Arrived! VASIL AZHAYEV

FAR FROM MOSCOW

Novel in 3 Vols. — Illustrated

In English — 1420 pp. — Set \$2.75

Latest Soviet Records and Handicrafts

1952 SUBSCRIPTIONS OPEN FOR ALL

SOVIET NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS

Ask for Complete Catalogue P-51

FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.

85 W. 56 Street, N. Y. 19 Murray Hill 8-2060

Buy Your Books through *THE Nation*

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C. O. D. No C. O. D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to
Miss Le Pach

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
20 Vesey Street New York 7, N. Y.

erratic German sculptress. In 1871 this singular couple came to America and eventually settled in a tough and remote village of Texas popularly known as "Sixshooter Junction." There Montgomery lived in social and cultural isolation until his death in 1911, developing his "philosophy of vital organization" and urging the reexamination of current philosophical concepts in the light of the biological sciences. This study of his life and works is painstakingly detailed but fails to add up to a picture of the living man.

THE LOST YEARS. By Oscar Lewis. Knopf. \$2.50. Lincoln, it appears, did not die as a result of the assassin's bullet, but recovered, served out his term, and then went to visit a friend in a little California village where he charmed everyone with his modesty and homely wisdom. One of those cute notions that the author (a Californian) should never have bothered to put on paper.

CHICAGO: CITY ON THE MAKE. By Nelson Algren. Doubleday. \$1.50. Another book that should have remained a gleam in the author's eye; a kaleidoscopic and somewhat adolescent prose poem celebrating the "hustlers' town" by a Chicagoan in love with its uproar and toughness. Mr. Algren wrote "The Man with the Golden Arm."

THE PRICE. By Red Cilien. Published by the Reverend A. Wendell Ross, Los Angeles, California. \$1. A collection of paintings depicting the cost of war, documented with facts and figures, which shows with terrifying realism what is in store for us if there is a third world war.

Films

MANNY
FARBER

THOUGH "The Red Badge of Courage" is a thin study, over-directed and underwritten, about the havoc war plays in the souls of common citizens, it is also the most sharply focused view of soldiering yet presented by Hollywood, and, in the pure sense, one of the most uncompromisingly artistic films ever made in this country. (In my opinion, this is not especially to its credit.) Writer-director John Hus-

ton tells his story of the great death as it appears to an average American farm boy, suddenly plucked out of his peaceful Ohio adolescence and thrown into the terrible annealing-vat of battle against the Johnny Rebs. This soldier-hero (Audie Murphy), who is worried sick over the prospect of not being as brave as he wants to be, is tossed up and down like a cork during his first skirmish near the Rappahannock, the main part of which is actually fought and won far from the picture-postcard grazing-land where the boy evolves through much pain and humiliation into a ferocious, inspiring, foolhardy warrior. Murphy's infantryman is a more worrisome, innocent version of the deft, resilient handyman-hero of all the earlier Huston films. Like his forerunners (Spade, Dobbs, "Dix"), the young soldier is an emotionally snarled man of action, the bitter, confident pessimist, who was first revealed in "The Maltese Falcon" and has since virtually splashed the chaotic diary of his inner life all over the American screen. Murphy, the genuine article as men of action go—he won a carload of medals in the war—is hardly the type to project so much hot, florid perplexity and despair at what the world is doing to him. Neither is his cinematic comrade in arms, Bill Mauldin. Both of these baby-faced veterans are obviously suited to getting things done in life without fuss or feathers, and their agitated quiverings in "Red Badge" make you feel that here, more than in any previous Huston film, the actors have been harried and pushed into great, baroque, disproportionate demonstrations of feeling.

But if Huston torments his actors as one might torment a fly with a pin, he still knows the ways of self-conscious, thoughtful, hard-rock individualists better than anyone else in movies; and this shows through in his casting, which is invariably precise and subtle: discounting the emotional ejaculation they have to go through, Murphy and Mauldin are right out of Stephen Crane's cold furious brain; the boyishly shy, pristine, elegant Douglas Dick is even more accurate as an earnest, romantic, somewhat effeminate lieutenant; the quiet, huge-boned John Dierkes—a man you will be seeing more of—exactly portrays the tall farmer-soldier whose death is as awesome as that of a falling

oak tree; while for bit players, Huston has somehow derricked from central casting a whole regiment of men who might well be the uncouth, unaware recruits from the Ohio villages of 1862. A past master at working a performer away from any pet manner of acting, Huston has done such things in this film as make Dick abandon the deadening, inflexible seriousness with which he always in the past tried to counteract his all too apparent effeminacy; here Dick is merely a tender, perplexed, surprised boy to whom things happen in unexpected violent ways. And then, surrounded by his men in the smoking battle area, he shows the toughening effect of combat in one split-second look of unbelieving astonishment, the same look seen on the faces of halfbacks or steelworkers who have come through what seemed like a hopeless, endless orgy of hard work.

In spite of virtues like this, "Red Badge" is one of the least warlike films ever made. The chief trouble seems to be that it was put together by a director and a photographer (Hal Rosson) less impelled and excited by

Thousands in
the cast! Three years
in the making! Filmed
in Rome by M-G-M!

QUO VADIS

Color by
TECHNICOLOR

NOW PLAYING

Twice Daily
at the
ASTOR
B'way at 45th St.
Reserved Seat
Performances at
2:40 and 8:40 p.m.

Continuous at
Popular Prices at
CAPITOL
B'way at 51st St.
Doors Open
Daily
8:30 a.m.



Crane's story of war than by the untouched natural setting they found to shoot it in—a low, flowing, pastoral plot of ground that inspired them to make one of those stylish, Renoir-ish studies, all delicacy, poetry, beauty, trees, bark, sunlight, euphoria. The terrain, in fact, is the true hero of this production, which is proved in a number of Steinbeckian scenes, including the falling-oak business and a wonderful sequence in which a dying Confederate flag-bearer squirms up a little hillock like a broken-down ant. Every composition seems cast in the character of the land, which in real life forms part of Huston's ranch; the result is to make the soldiers, their drums, flags, muskets into little more than handsome adjuncts of nature. There is something wrong with any picture that must rely for climax on straight-up views of sun-drenched foliage; and in this particular case, the fancy camera work seems far out of line with the essential drama of small-time figures caught on the darkening plain of battle.

30% Less than List on LP Records

Send 15¢ for LP catalog to:

DISCOUNT RECORD CLUB

DEPT. N-35

Box 175, Radio City Station, New York 19, N. Y.

Add 15¢ per record postage and handling charges
(50¢ minimum) SAME-DAY SHIPMENT

WHAT'S THE SCORE?

Pocket-Sized, Low-Priced Editions

*From "Bach-Gesellschaft" 1 From "Urtext" ed.
BACH* Well Temp. Clavier, 2 vols. each .98
MOZART Violin-Piano Sonatas, 3 vols. each .98
CHOPIN 25 Preludes, 2 Sonatas, Fantasy, comp. .98
& MANY OTHERS—WRITE FOR FREE CATALOG
Order from Your Dealer, or direct from

LEA POCKET SCORES Dept. W, Box 138
New York 32, N. Y.

PULITZER PRIZE and CRITICS' AWARD
RICHARD RODGERS & OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd
 present in association with
LELAND HAYWARD & JOSHUA LOGAN

ROGER RICO
MARTHA WRIGHT
 IN
South Pacific

Music by **RICHARD RODGERS**
 Lyrics by **OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd**
 Book by
OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd & JOSHUA LOGAN
 Adapted from JAMES A. MICHENER'S Pulitzer
 Prize Winning "TALES OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC"
 Directed by **JOSHUA LOGAN**
 Scenery & Lighting by Jo Mielziner
 with **MYRON MCCORMICK**
MAJESTIC THEATRE, 44th St., West of B'way
 Evenings 8:30. Matinees Wed. & Sat., 2:30

Music

B. H.
HAGGIN

TO READ the text of "Rigoletto" is to discover that it makes no coherent, believable, or even understandable dramatic sense; and maybe the most carefully and intelligently contrived sets and staging cannot produce such sense in a performance; but little care and less intelligence were evident in what one saw in the New York City Opera performance. Instead there was the usual neglect of essentials like the make-ups and movements of the chorus for the usual bright ideas like showing the Duke bribing Giovanna to conceal him in Rigoletto's house, which increased the absurdity of later entrances and exits. Nor was there any dramatic illusion or compulsion for me in David Poleri's Duke. As for his singing, it was full of the affectations and airs of someone conscious of having made a sensational success that was not accounted for by what I heard. By affectations I mean the constant playing with tone, phrasing, tempo; by airs I mean the occasional ostentatious ignoring of the conductor, which resulted in Poleri's getting perilously out of gear with the orchestra. Lawrence Winters sang and acted well as Rigoletto (but should have whitened his hands and neck as well as his face); Graciela Riviera used her small voice exquisitely as Gilda; and Morel's conducting again gave me the impression that he doesn't do well with Verdi.

The point of interest in the "Meistersinger" performance I attended was Mack Harrell's Sachs, which turned out to be beautifully sung (though not always audible) but dramatically ineffective: like Pease's in its excessively youthful appearance, but without the rich and subtle detail and the force of presence and projection with which Pease overcomes that handicap. There was also a new Beckmesser, Rolf Heide—very experienced and skilful in the deplorable and embarrassing kind of humor that Wagner put into this beautiful work. And again, though one appreciated the excellence of the general lay-out of the performance on the stage, one was disturbed by the carelessness with detail of make-up and movement,

of which Sachs's youthful beard and unlined face were the outstanding example.

An opera company may have to put on performances with inadequate singers in some of the important roles; but it is difficult to understand a record company recording an opera with such singers—and specifically Urania recording "Die Meistersinger" with as bad a tenor as Bernd Aldenhoff. In addition there are Lemnitz with her voice in more deteriorated condition than on other recent records, and Ferdinand Frantz with the coarseness of his voice made worse by recording that has all the singers too close to the microphone, and the orchestra, as a result, barely audible behind them. This version is in all ways inferior to the London Act 2; Columbia's Bayreuth Festival recording I haven't yet heard. But I can report that the most beautiful singing of Sachs's monologues I have heard on records is Hans Hotter's (Decca); and with it is similar singing of excerpts from "The Flying Dutchman" and "Die Walküre." The orchestral sound is dim; surfaces are gritty; and the space on the envelope that should be given to the texts is as usual given to chit-chat.

The great event in opera recordings is of course RCA Victor's transference to LP of the "Traviata" performance broadcast by Toscanini in 1946. A musician I know once remarked that records ought to give us the performances we hear normally, with the imperfections that make them the products of fallible human powers; and I take Toscanini's willingness to release the "Traviata" recording to indicate his own shift from his insistence that records must go out with nothing less than absolute perfection, to an acceptance on records of the imperfections he could not prevent in his broadcast performances and their sound on the air. As a result the world now has a recording of "La Traviata" which, even with its imperfections—Merrill's bawling, Toscanini's own tenseness in the first half, the compressed recorded sound—gives us the work "as fresh and glistening as creation itself."

The all-too-distinct German words are disturbingly incongruous in the passages from "La Traviata" that are superbly sung by Cebotari, Roswaenge, and Schlusnus with the chorus and orchestra

of the Berlin State Opera directed by Steinkopf (Urania). The recording distorts the voices occasionally.

Another important opera recording is the one of the second-act duet from "Tristan und Isolde" beginning with *O sink hernieder* and continuing to the end, sung by Flagstad, Svanholm, and Constance Shacklock with the Philharmonia Orchestra directed by Böhm (Victor). It is good to have this wonderful passage without the old Metropolitan cut after Brangaene's first warning that was made in the Flagstad-Melchior version, and with her second warning sung; but it is not so good to have Svanholm's harsh and loud singing in place of the astonishingly agreeable tone and sensitive inflection that Melchior achieved with a threadbare voice. Bass and treble must be stepped up; volume is not constant; surfaces are not quiet. On the reverse side is the previously issued first-act narrative with Flagstad and Höngen.

For the rest, a good "Faust," with superb singing by Steber (Columbia), and a good "Carmen" (Victor).

With one of the greatest of Balanchine's ballets, "Apollo," added, and two others, "The Fairy's Kiss" and "The Four Temperaments," restored to a repertory that includes his "Concerto Barocco," "Card Game," "Symphonie Concertante," "The Prodigal Son," "Serenade," and "Bourrée Fantasque"; with Balanchine in addition offering a new work, "Tyl Eulenspiegel," and his renovation of "Swan Lake"; and with Frederick Ashton also contributing a new work, "Tintagel"—the New York City Ballet's coming season at the City Center promises to be extraordinarily brilliant.

CONTRIBUTORS

ERNEST JONES is a member of the English Department of Queens College.

MARIE SYRKIN is the author of "Blessed Is the Match. The Story of Jewish Resistance."

LEON EDEL has edited "The Complete Plays" and "The Ghostly Tales" of Henry James.

OSCAR HANDLIN, a member of the History Department of Harvard University, has recently published "The Uprooted."

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Author's Objections

Dear Sirs: It is regrettable to note that Mr. A. J. P. Taylor, who has a reputation as an imaginative historian, has proved himself—in his review of my book, "In Defense of the National Interest" in the September 8 issue of your magazine—to be also an imaginative reviewer, who obviously has limited his research in the main to the blurb and the table of contents. Let me point out the most glaring of the misstatements of fact of which Mr. Taylor has been guilty, and point in passing to some of the patent absurdities of his own position.

1. "He attacks American foreign policy as utopian, sentimental, legalistic." What I have actually done is to point to the process of forgetting the errors of the recent past, such as utopianism, sentimentalism, legalism, and isolationism, and of remembering the great truths of early American statecraft, in which American foreign policy is at present engaged.

2. "The theme is not so new as Mr. Morgenthau makes out. Though he quotes only Toynbee and Winston Churchill, plenty of modern writers have emphasized the dangers of utopianism in foreign policy." Nowhere have I claimed that the theme of my book is new. Quite to the contrary, the whole argument tries to apply the lessons of the past, as exemplified by the foreign policies of Washington, Hamilton, John Quincy Adams, Pitt, Castlereagh, Disraeli, Salisbury, to the present. Since, however, Mr. Taylor raises the point, where are the "plenty of modern writers" who have pointed to the dangers of utopianism in American foreign policy?

3. "Mr. Morgenthau admires Metternich; it was ideas that brought Metternich down." I have expressed admiration of Metternich neither in this book nor elsewhere; the name of Metternich is not even mentioned in the book. The name of Metternich is, however, mentioned in the blurb!

Here and elsewhere in his review Mr. Taylor implies that I am opposed to "ideas" and "ideals," whatever that may mean. What I have actually opposed in this book is the confusion between a nation's national interest and power, of which the moral quality of

its principles and actions form an important part, and the assumption of a moral mission to make the world over in its own image, if necessary with fire and sword.

4. "His picture of the world is simple—a conflict for world-mastery between Russia and America. No one else counts; Luxemburg and Great Britain, China and Siam, you can write them all off. Moreover, this is a straight struggle of empires; communism and democracy have nothing to do with it." There are more falsehoods in those three sentences than I am able to dispose of in a letter to the editors. Even a perusal of the table of contents must show that I have paid considerable attention to the strength of the countries of both Europe and Asia, and that I had something to say about the moral revolution of our age in the form of the rise of the political religion of Bolshevism and of the revolt of Asia.

5. "The truth is that Mr. Morgenthau, like all realists from Metternich onward, is a system-maker. Foreign policy will not satisfy him unless it is universal. A more realistic approach would forget all about the struggle for the world and set its attention on the problems as they turn up. For example, if we could settle the German problem, there would be peace in Europe for a long time; if we could settle Korea and Formosa, there would be peace in Asia—until the next explosion."

As a general statement concerning the relationship between realism in foreign policy and system-making, this is demonstrably absurd. From Pitt and Castlereagh through Disraeli and Bismarck to Churchill, all the realists have been blamed by their opponents as being opportunists, devoid of principles, without a system. As concerns my own position, what Mr. Taylor suggests by way of argument is exactly what I have advocated in this book and elsewhere as the practical steps toward peace which should be taken by the United States.

To give only three samples of the patent absurdities of Mr. Taylor's own position, he criticizes me for overrating the material strength of the Soviet Union; he claims that the United States is ten times stronger than the Soviet Union, and that this disparity of

strength provides the key to Soviet policy. If Mr. Taylor were correct, then obviously the foreign policies of both the United States and the Soviet Union would be insane; those of the United States for not using that overwhelming power, and those of the Soviet Union for attempting to resist it. The truth of the matter is, of course, that there is nobody in the councils of the American government—and, we can be sure, of the Soviet government as well—who takes even approximately so favorable a view of the power of the United States.

Mr. Taylor criticizes me for not understanding that "communism is the principal Soviet asset. If the czar still ruled Russia, the balance of power would be already in complete collapse; the whole world would be at the disposal of Washington." Does Mr. Taylor suggest that if a czar's government would command 200 Russian divisions and an air force and a submarine fleet second to none, the lack of Communist ideology would deprive this military establishment of its striking power?

Mr. Taylor is critical of my opinion that the struggle in Asia is for the minds of men, while the struggle in Europe is primarily a military one. "Yet the Russians are strongest ideologically in Asia and strongest militarily in Europe; therefore, according to realism, we should fight them on ground of their choosing." Does Mr. Taylor suggest that we should fight the Russian armies in Europe with ideological weapons and oppose the revolutions of Asia with armies?

Chicago HANS J. MORGENTHAU

PERSONALS

ANY NUMBER can play YAHTZIE, successor to Canasta. Great as a gift game for ages nine to ninety. Complete introductory set postpaid anywhere, \$1.00. P. O. Box 1505, U. Station, Austin, Texas.

exit loneliness

Somewhere there is someone you would like to know. Somewhere there is someone who would like to know you. We can help you find a richer, happier life through discreet, dignified "social introductions."

Write for booklet, or phone
MAY RICHARDSON
Dept. TN, 111 West 72 Street
New York City E 2-2033



WOULD YOU LIKE TO MEET, if unmarried and matrimonially minded and able to furnish references, **SOMEONE WHO MIGHT LIKE TO MEET YOU?** Method of operation duly copyrighted and filed with the Better Business Bureau of New York City. Write for particulars without obligation. Address **Personal Introduction Service, (Suite 415), 2112 Broadway, New York 23, N. Y.**

Reviewer's Rejoinder

Dear Sirs: Mr. Morgenthau is entitled to make any criticism he likes of my review except to say that I did not read his book. If I misunderstood it, the fault is perhaps not all on one side. I am still bewildered. What is the difference (his point one) between "attacking American foreign policy" and listing "the errors of the recent past"? If they are no longer being made, there was no purpose in criticizing them. The real points of difference between us are brought out at the end; and there I am unrepentant. Mr. Morgenthau says that the relationship of the United States to the Soviet Union is as 100 to 70. Soviet steel production claimed to be 27,000,000 tons last year which is probably an exaggeration. American steel production, before the rearmament drive, was 90,000,000 tons. I am pretty confident that America's atomic power in relation to Russia's is more than ten to one. If you add America's allies, the difference is even greater. It is true that both American and Soviet policy is "insane," though it does not follow that America should use its power or that the Soviet Union should not resist it.

Further, it seems to me obvious that if there were no Communist movement in Europe or Asia, Russia would be no great headache—this despite the 200 divisions that are paraded round by every writer like so many turnip-ghosts. Russia has always had an enormous army on paper which has kept statesmen awake at night; they would have been better asleep. Of course Europe has to be defended. An ideological struggle can be conducted in Europe with some chance of success because we have ideals which can appeal to Europeans, but I doubt whether these ideals count for much in Asia. The best we can hope for in Asia is a color revolution which will turn against the Russians as well as ourselves.

I apologize for assuming that Mr. Morgenthau, like most authors, writes his own blurb. But surely at least he reads it and can correct it if it is wrong. Oxford, England A. J. P. TAYLOR

A Fifth Estate

Dear Sirs: I should like to comment upon Morris Mitchell's Fever Spots in American Education (*The Nation*, October 27), in which he argues that the attacks upon public-school education come from "four related groups—real-

estate conservatives, super-patriots, dogma peddlers, and race haters."

If I may generalize from what I know about the situation in Minneapolis, which is second on his list of fever spots, opposition to progressive education is not confined to the four groups he mentions. In Minneapolis, at least, there is a fifth group, which consists of people who own little if any real estate, wave no flags, peddle no dogmas, and hate no races; people who are genuinely interested in good public education, but who disapprove of much that goes on in the public schools. If this fifth group exists in other parts of the country—and I believe that it does—Mr. Mitchell does wrong to ignore it. For people in this group may construe his article as an attempt to smear anyone who is critical of educational policies in the public schools, even though he may not—and probably he does not—intend it as such. They may conclude that their efforts to dissociate themselves from the other four groups have been in vain.

MARTIN STEINMANN, JR.
Minneapolis, Minn.

How to Fight Segregation

Dear Sirs: A few interested people have joined the Congress of Racial Equality in purchasing shares of Greyhound stock in order to compel the company to review its policy of segregation—which has been declared unconstitutional—at the next Greyhound stockholders' meeting. Some of these new shareholders have written the company management urging that the issue of segregation be placed on the agenda of the next annual meeting. The secretary refused the request, ignoring the legal aspect of the question, and stated that proposals urged for "propaganda purposes" or constituting a "general political, social, or economic problem" are not proper subjects for action by the stockholders.

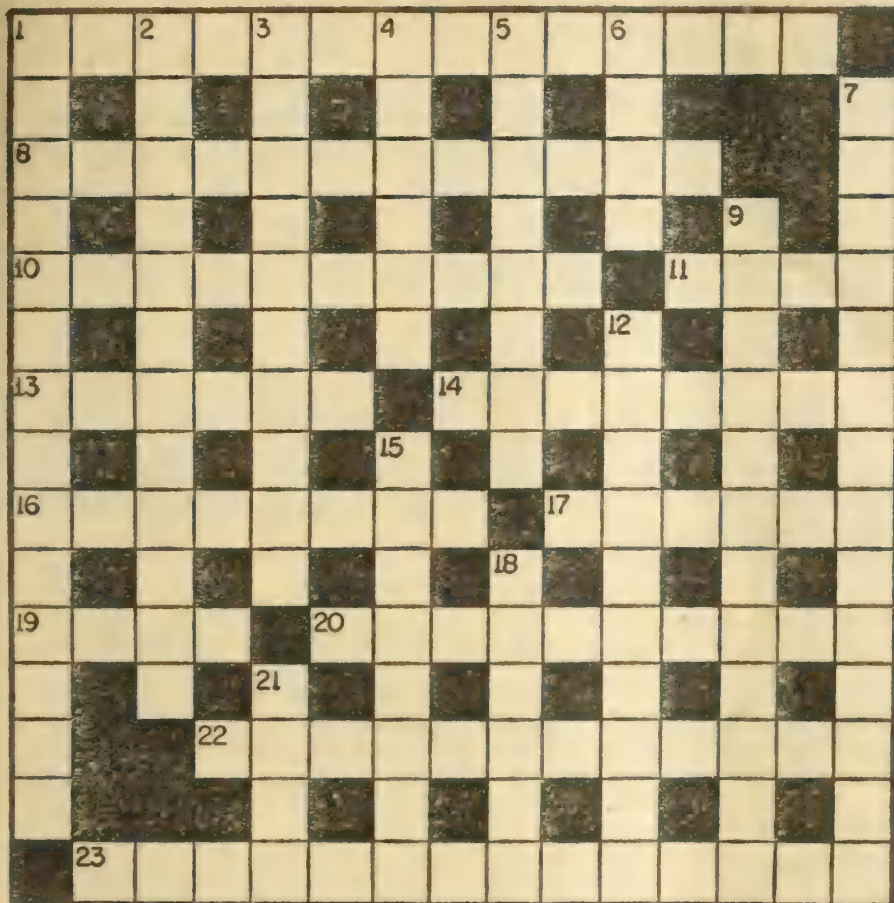
These stockholders have now retained an attorney to institute proceedings before the Securities Exchange Commission to require the company to include the segregation issue on the agenda of the next annual meeting.

The expense of the legal action we have now taken may amount to as much as \$1,000. Contributions, however modest, would be very welcome and should be sent, together with all other communications, to C. O. R. E., 513 West 166th Street, New York 32.

CAROLINE F. URIE
South Euclid, Ohio

Crossword Puzzle No. 438

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 The sort of predeterminist that is not understood. (Tongue twisted, no doubt!) (14)
- 8 Chapters go on being abracadabra and mumbo-jumbo! (6-6)
- 10 Boat that gets the party under way. (10)
- 11 Half speed in China? (4)
- 13 Where some Britishers go for amusement is something to talk about. (6)
- 14 Not quite sure about an upset boat? Might be the work of one! (8)
- 16 Longfellow's forest was. (8)
- 17 See 7 down.
- 19 Esau brings back the proper style. (4)
- 20 Tale of the gingham dog and the calico cat? (6, 4)
- 22 The true character of a debauched fellow confused between a Russian and Spanish girl. (4, 8)
- 23 Shrink before crossing? Game for it, anyway. (8, 6)

DOWN

- 1 A broken hip seems to help like the very devil! (14)
- 2 The projector of a poster notice. (12)

- 3 Dry fruit biscuit? Or just a crazy under-privileged southeasterner? (10)
- 4 Search for a scab here. (6)
- 5 Indicates a setting. (China is over it.) (5, 3)
- 6 Blood and a giant are altered accordingly. (4)
- 7 and 17 across. More or less disagreeable things? (11, 3, 6)
- 9 Straight over it! (5, 2, 1, 4)
- 12 Animal found exclusively in California? (6, 4)
- 15 What a sight! Father correlative to a mother! (8)
- 18 It's art, perhaps, in a narrow sense. (6)
- 21 Fly smack up! (4)

.....

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 437

ACROSS:— 1 REST HOME; 5 SCARCE; 8 CHAPLET; 10 WOMBATS; 11 PERFORM; 12 NURSERY; 13 WATER MOCCASIN; 15 SHOOT THE WORKS; 21 HEIFERS; 22 SAVANTS; 23 WRITERS; 24 ECLIPSE; 26 ASBESTOS.

DOWN:— 1 RECIPE; 2 SPARROW; 3 HOLD OUT; 4 METAMORPHOSIS; 6 CAMBRIC; 7 and 25 READERS DIGEST; 8 ESSAYING; 10 WINDOW WASHERS; 14 ESCHewed; 16 OPINING; 17 THESEUS; 18 REVOLVE; 19 SUNSPOT; 20 USERS.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

RESORTS

RESERVE NOW FOR THE
THANKSGIVING HOLIDAYS!

Glenmere
wood-burning fireplaces
in most rooms

the GLENMERE, Chester, N. Y.

Phones: Chester 2151; N. Y. Rector 2-5047

50 MILES TO FOREST HOUSE

Near enough for easy travel, far enough for an unforgettable vacation. Forest House achieves new levels of gay relaxation in inspiring surroundings. Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality. Two grand lakes. All sports.

FOREST HOUSE

Lake Mahopac, N. Y. • Tel. MAhopac 8-3449

REAL ESTATE

NEWARK, N. J.—Ripe for great super market or super service station. Entire block; 862 feet frontage. Mt. Prospect & 2nd Aves. One block from Mutual Benefit Life home office building. Owner, L. N. Rosenbaum & Son, 565 Fifth Avenue, N. Y. 17.

PUBLISHING SERVICE

TALENT AND GENIUS!

Especially on short-short stories, in the 1,000-word class. Unlimited field, go after the dormant riches brought out in writing.

TOM BENDER

11610 College View Dr., Silver Spring, Md.

AUTHORS! Sales Department available for your short stories, articles, books and plays. Free booklet, write today! Mead Agency, 419 Fourth Avenue, N. Y. 16 (OR 9-1150).

FACT FINDERS

ARE YOU seeking unusual information? We guarantee the answers. Natural History, Natural Sport, Outdoor Life, Animal, Ethical, etc. RALPH K. MAY COMPANY, Fact Finders, 1834 N. 5th St., Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING analysis. Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel. WA 4-1575. Cooperating with doctors, psychologists, schools, firms, industries. Lessons by appointment, evenings. Marital, educational, vocational, psychological problems. Fee, \$5.00.

HOME STUDY

NOW YOU CAN LEARN touch typewriting at home in 4 hours! Practice at your own convenience. Simple step-by-step instructions. Complete with speed typing lessons and FREE typewriter keyboard chart. All for \$1. Satisfaction or money back! Rush order to: LERNER, 15 East 208 St., N. Y. C. 67-N.

Advertising Rates

CLASSIFIED

74¢ a line (6 words)
Three-line minimum

CLASSIFIED DISPLAY

\$7.42 per inch (minimum)
Remittance must accompany all orders

The NATION

Twenty Vesey Street
New York 7, New York
BARclay 7-1066

MONEY-SAVING MAGAZINE COMBINATIONS

For Your Convenience

THE *Nation* with

☐ Harper's Magazine...\$9.50

You Save \$2.50

THE *Nation* with

☐ Consumer Reports...\$10.75

You Save \$1.25

These club combinations are for one year and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses. Remittance must accompany all combination orders.

THE *Nation* by itself:

☐ One Year \$7 ☐ Two Years \$12

☐ Three Years \$17

SERVICEMEN'S RATE \$5 A YEAR

Canadian and Foreign Postage \$1 a year extra

The NATION

20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

- ☐ I want to subscribe to *The Nation* for _____ years.
☐ Remittance enclosed. ☐ Bill me.
- ☐ I enclose my remittance for the following *Nation* combinations as listed below.

NAME _____

STREET _____

CITY _____

ZONE _____

STATE _____

11/10/51

SPECIAL NOTICE TO NATION READERS:

To Subscribers:

We are asking subscribers who wish to change their address to give us at least three weeks' notice, indicating the old as well as the new address.

If you will renew your subscription on receipt of the first notice of expiration, your cooperation will be much appreciated. It will help us simplify our record-keeping, saving us time and expense, and shield you from further renewal letters. At the same time you will avoid interruption in receiving *The Nation*.

To Newsstand Readers:

Since *The Nation* is distributed on key newsstands only, you may have difficulty in obtaining your copy. Therefore, the only certain way of getting *The Nation* regularly is to enter a subscription. By doing so you will not only be sure of receiving your copy promptly every week but save considerable money.

The Foot in the Door—*Jerome Nathanson*

THE *Nation*

November 17, 1951

Mr. Justice McGrath?

"With Howard, Howard Comes First"

BY HENRY H. SMITH

*

Peace Moves in Europe *Rhetoric Versus Hard Facts*

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Churchill's "Last Great Prize"

BY ANDREW ROTH

*

The New Taft Act

BY WILLARD SHELTON

AROUND THE U. S. A.

Workers' Education: New Style

Monteagle, Tennessee

I'VE BEEN hearing about this democracy for a long time," said the Negro trade unionist from Texas. "Now that I've seen it, I'd be right proud to have more." This statement by a student at the Highlander Folk School is one illustration of the ability of this Southern labor school to set its students on fire with the conviction that real democracy is possible and that they can help people to attain it. It explains why the United Packinghouse Workers of America (C. I. O.) has broken with a long labor tradition and intrusted the direction of the union's national education program to the Highlander Folk School.

In a day when union education is mostly a one-way belt to transmit policy from the national to the local level, the Packinghouse Workers' leaders have shown rare confidence in the membership. "We believe that the strength of a union," says President Ralph Helstein, "lies in its rank and file and that this strength can be tested by the degree to which members participate in union affairs. The U. P. W. A. education program aims to stimulate this all-important interest while developing at the same time local union leaders."

Myles Horton, who has been director of Highlander during its nineteen years as a workers' education center, will administer the Packinghouse program under the supervision of Vice-President Russell R. Lasley. "The program will be worked out on the percolator system," Horton explains. "Ideas will come from the workers up and not, as in the drip system, from the top down." A staff of five field workers will see to it that the ideas begin to perk. Highlander's approach to workers' education is at variance with the current trend of sending local union leaders into college classrooms and to labor "institutes." Horton believes that leaders are developed, and that the maximum of union education takes place in the plant, the union hall, the community, at labor conferences and conventions, in organizational and political campaigns, in strike and contract negotiations.

The U. P. W. A. program will focus attention on issues which Highlander has long stressed. The large racial and nationality groups in the packing industry make the union's strength dependent upon its ability to integrate minorities. In some districts almost half the union's membership is Negro. After its 1950 convention the union established an International Anti-Discrimination Department. It insisted upon, and regularly enforces, a clause in its contracts which prohibits discrimination because of "race, sex, color, creed, or nationality" not only in hiring but in promotion. Negroes living in communities near organized plants are encouraged to apply for employment. Violations of the anti-discrimination clause by the employer are treated as any violation would be treated; a major strike has been called on this issue at the W. W. Pickle Company's plant in Montgomery, Alabama.

The packinghouse union, like Highlander, has long stressed farmer-labor cooperation as well as political action. Through publications, exhibits at state and country fairs, and farmer-labor committees in local unions it has constantly admonished farmers and packinghouse workers "to lean into the collar and pull together." *The Meat of It*, a sheet issued monthly by the union, goes to farmers in every major farming region.

In fact, U. P. W. A. first became interested in Highlander because of its work with farmers, which President James G. Patton of the National Farmers' Union has called "a most significant program in training rural leaders to build a new people's movement in the rural sections of the South." For years the school has been bringing small farmers and industrial workers together in a program of mutual help despite their so-called "natural" enmity. A Highlander staff member is employed full time by the Farmers' Union, at present in Tennessee and Alabama. Another staff member represents the Farmers' Union in Virginia and parts of Tennessee.

Farmer-labor cooperation is more likely to assume significant form in the South than in any other region. The flight of so-called "runaway" Northern plants to the South has created a decen-

tralized industrial pattern. All over the South farm people drive five, ten, or twenty miles to jobs in small industrial towns. For example, E. K. Bowers, who owns and operates a farm near Gadsden, Alabama, works in the Gadsden plant of the Goodyear Rubber Company. His union, Local 12 of the United Rubber Workers of America (C. I. O.), sent him to Highlander for training as a local union leader. On his return he did such an outstanding job in building the local and in making it an important factor in community life that he was elected its president. Part of his job as he saw it was to help organize his neighbors in the Farmers' Union. Recently they elected him chairman of the board of the Farmers' Union cooperative. In the minds of the people living in and around Gadsden there is no conflict between the interests of workers and farmers. This attitude is already a potent political fact in the South and will become more potent as the pace of industrialization is stepped up under the influence of the large atomic centers now beginning to dot the area.

Highlander's staff have been used by the Farmers' Union community groups as Labor Workshop of Rural Community school's executive purpose the development for the strengthening "this democracy." that democracy is workers are given try through unions resented in the cooperatives. It a army of democr with the lives, struggles, and traditions of the American people must be created. Democracy, it maintains, is limited where freedom of thought is limited and where segregation divides the people. Lyle Cooper, research director of the Packinghouse Workers, pointed up Highlander's contribution to the labor movement by saying: "Besides being up on what democracy is all about, you folks possess the 'know-how' to put it across. It's a rare combination."

CATHERINE WINSTON

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 173

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • NOVEMBER 17, 1951

NUMBER 20

The Shape of Things

ALMOST ANY GENUINE PROPOSAL TO REDUCE armaments could be sure of a warm response on both sides of the Iron Curtain, for the momentum of war preparation is everywhere producing economic misery, unrest, and plain fear. If the so-called three-power plan, outlined first by President Truman and then presented to the General Assembly by Secretary Acheson, aroused no popular enthusiasm even among our allies, the reason should be discovered and examined. Part of the trouble, we are sure, lay in the plan itself. People were waiting and longing for something new, some genuine effort to conciliate differences and end the deadly diplomatic stalemate. But apart from two or three items, the Acheson proposal offered nothing new. To make the plan conditional upon acceptance of the Baruch formula for atomic control was enough to raise doubts of its sincerity. More important, it by-passed the immense political road blocks in the way of disarmament: Mr. Acheson mentioned only the necessity of ending the war in Korea. But apart from these and other questionable aspects of the proposal, its face value was badly damaged by Mr. Acheson's manner of presenting it. Even if every harsh word he spoke about the Russians was true, it is still a fact that a man does not attack a person whose agreement he is honestly seeking. Obviously, Mr. Acheson had no idea of getting a favorable response from Vishinsky. By making this apparent, he transformed his proposal into propaganda; it became less a plan than a maneuver to gain the initiative in the cold war—and this is not what the world was waiting for. That Vishinsky's reply was insufferably crude and mocking, and his counter-proposal even less convincing, only added to the cynicism of the occasion.

★

THE TREND DISCUSSED IN *THE NATION'S* Dilemma of Reform articles which appeared in the issue of October 27 was confirmed at the polls in Philadelphia, Boston, and New York on November 6. Ignoring regular party labels, voters in the three cities registered an emphatic protest against mounting civic corruption and machine politics. In Philadelphia, where the G. O. P. had controlled the city since 1883, the Democratic team of Joseph S. Clark and Richardson W. Dilworth drove the Republican drones from all but one minor office. Disclosures of widespread graft helped, of

course, to overcome a nearly three-to-one Republican registration. In Boston the veteran James M. Curley, who has twice governed the city from a jail cell, abandoned an elaborate personal campaign and concentrated his fire on the New Boston Committee even before the votes were counted. Curley's rallying cry—"I want to keep Democratic Boston Democratic"—fell on deaf ears, and the New Boston Committee's entire slate won by the largest majority in the city's history. Rudolph Halley's victory in New York was perhaps even more spectacular, based as it was on an unusual combination of three independent groups—Liberals, Independents, and Fusionists. Writing in the *Christian Science Monitor*, Richard L. Strout attributes the results to "something abroad in the land" which would seem to be a strong trend toward independent non-party voting motivated by revelations of corruption.

★

THE TORY GOVERNMENT'S FIRST GIFT TO Britain is more austerity. On November 7 R. A. Butler, the new Chancellor of the Exchequer, sounding like Cripps at his grimmest, told the House of Commons that imports from both the dollar area and from Europe must be sharply reduced in order to check the drain on Britain's reserves. Moreover, since this will mean reduction in goods available for the home market—which would by itself tend to increase inflationary pressures—steps are to be taken to restrict credit and shrink the supply of money. Interest rates are to be raised, the Bank of England is to limit the volume of Treasury bills which it rediscounts—a move which will tend to reduce the lending capacity of the commercial banks—all new building projects except housing are to be halted for three months, and an excess-profits tax is to go into effect on January 1. Credit restriction, it is hoped, will lead to some liquidation of inventories and so help to check further increases in price; together with the ban on new building it should slow down investment and thus cause some workers to lose their jobs. However, in view of the large number of unfilled vacancies in the armament industries, unemployment is unlikely to increase very much, unless the monetary authorities decide to give several more twists to the screw. Considering how truly serious Britain's position has become, Mr. Butler's program can hardly be criticized as unduly drastic; it probably does not differ markedly from that which Mr. Gaitskell would

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

- The Shape of Things 413
 Hope for Kashmir 415

ARTICLES

- Rhetoric vs. Hard Facts by J. Alvarez del Vayo 416
 Churchill's "Last Great Prize" by Andrew Roth 417
 The New Taft Act by Willard Shelton 419
 "With Howard, Howard Comes First"
 by Henry H. Smith 421
 The Battle for Free Schools:
 The Foot in the Door by Jerome Nathanson 423

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

- The First Roosevelt by M. R. Werner 426
 The Scars of "Negroiness" by Rayford W. Logan 427
 Portraits by Ivan Bunin by Anita Marburg 429
 Books in Brief 430
 Drama by Joseph Wood Krutch 430
 Music by B. H. Haggin 431

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 439

by Frank W. Lewis

opposite 432

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Associate Editor: Carey McWilliams

Foreign Editor J. Alvarez del Vayo
Literary Editor Margaret Marshall

Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch **Music:** B. H. Haggin

Assistant Editor: Charles R. Allen, Jr.

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside

Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting

Staff Contributors

Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: Mary Simon

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1951, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$7; Two years \$12; Three years \$17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: *The Nation* is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

have adopted had the Labor government returned to power. But it represents a rude shock for uninstructed Tory supporters who now find that they are to be deprived of those luxury European foods which until now have mitigated the meagerness of rations.

★

THE C. I. O. CONVENTION IN NEW YORK LAST week seemed dull in comparison with the brawling meetings of earlier years, before the Communists had been expelled. There were no serious floor fights, no observable opposition to the programs laid down by the leaders. But two resolutions revealed that the C. I. O., now respectable if not middle-aged, still has a residue of the crusading zeal that organized steel, automobile, and rubber in the militant thirties. The first, denouncing racketeering, was aimed at labor racketeers as well as plunderers of public funds, at unsavory practices within the C. I. O. as well as in other circles: pay-offs to local C. I. O. leaders to check strikes have been reported, in some union halls slot machines have been installed, and some advertising for union publications has been obtained by pressure tactics. The C. I. O. told its internationals to do their own housecleaning and do it fast, and strongly intimated that a "little Kefauver committee" would be set up if necessary. A strong resolution on civil rights was passed after Philip Murray bluntly told the delegates that some C. I. O. members were as anti-Negro as the KKK and that the organization did not intend to tolerate it.

★

THE NEW YORK PAPERS BROKE OUT IN A rash of editorials deploring the C. I. O.'s flat warning that it would not accept economic stabilization at the expense of workers alone and Murray's implied warning that the United Steelworkers specifically would not be bound by current stabilization policies limiting the union to a four-cent or five-cent hourly increase in pending wage negotiations. But the metropolitan press is nearly always horrified by union labor's wage ambitions. The Wage Stabilization Board's delay in deciding the many contracts already negotiated, coupled with the absence of price controls, has naturally aroused labor to demand that equality of sacrifice be more than a pious phrase. Nathan Feinsinger, chairman of the Wage Stabilization Board, was realistic without being soft when he outlined to a skeptical convention policies that clearly left the way open for wage increases based on higher productivity. Unions helped hold wages stable under the Little Steel formula during World War II, and they will help again when they are persuaded that an equitable new formula has been devised. They cannot be expected to sit idle—obviously the C. I. O. will not—when prices are rising under the Capehart amendment and all the benefits of higher productivity are going to employers.

Hope for Kashmir

THE United Nations Security Council has adopted a resolution, sponsored by the United States and Britain, authorizing Dr. Frank Graham to continue his efforts to obtain agreement between India and Pakistan on the demilitarization of Kashmir so that the long-delayed plebiscite to determine the future of that disputed province may be organized. Although Dr. Graham's three months' mission last summer failed in its primary task, his report on the differences between the position of the two parties showed that the chasm between them was not absolutely unbridgeable.

Both India and Pakistan must bear some responsibility for the trouble in Kashmir which broke out more than four years ago. Whether or not India has legal title to this province, its moral title is dubious, since its claim depends on a deed of accession signed by the former ruler, Maharajah Hari Singh, after he had fled from his capital to escape his rebellious subjects. On the other hand, Pakistan undoubtedly committed aggression when it sent its army across the border to aid the Moslem tribesmen of the north organized in the Azad (Freedom) movement. It was then that Indian military forces were rushed into the state to assist the provisional government of the Sheik Abdullah, whose National Conference Party—also largely Moslem—stands for the inclusion of Kashmir in India.

Fighting continued until October, 1948, when the U. N. Commission on India and Pakistan (UNCIP) succeeded in obtaining a cease-fire and an agreement for settling the future of Kashmir by a plebiscite once arrangements for demilitarization had been concluded. The UNCIP plan provided that the Pakistani government withdraw its troops from Kashmir and do its best to secure the withdrawal of the Pakistani irregulars who had crossed the border to aid the Azad Kashmiris. When these steps had been taken, the Indian government was to remove "the bulk of its forces" from Kashmir, maintaining on its side of the cease-fire only troops "which in agreement with the commission are considered necessary to assist local authorities in maintaining law and order."

The cease-fire accord has been respected, but disagreement about the demilitarization plan has persisted. All efforts of UNCIP itself and of the three special representatives, including Dr. Graham, have proved unavailing in bringing the parties together, with the result that Kashmir has remained an open sore poisoning relations between Pakistan and India. The first contends that withdrawal of its own forces should be synchronized with that of "the bulk" of the Indian army; the second has insisted hitherto that the Pakistani troops should be evacuated unconditionally, after which the timing and extent of the reduction in its own strength should be

settled between UNCIP and the government of India.

On his arrival in the subcontinent last June, Dr. Graham drafted a plan for demilitarization and invited comments from both governments. Full agreement proved possible only on his first four points, which called on both parties (1) to reaffirm their determination not to resort to force; (2) to instruct official spokesmen and urge private citizens and organizations not to make warlike statements; (3) to reaffirm their will to observe the cease-fire; (4) to reaffirm the principle that the future of Kashmir should be decided by a free and impartial plebiscite under United Nations auspices.

But the old question of the demilitarization timetable continued to cause friction. The Pakistani government accepted Dr. Graham's proposal that withdrawals on both sides be completed within ninety days, but Premier Nehru expressed doubts about the feasibility of so short a period in view of "the spirit and temper of war" prevailing in Pakistan. On the other hand, he appeared to accept at least partial synchronization of withdrawals—an important concession. The chief remaining question was the size of the forces to be left on each side of the line. Pakistan suggested a total of four battalions in Azad Kashmir provided that the forces retained on the other side were of roughly equal strength. India wanted to keep sixteen battalions but hinted that it might be willing to reduce this figure if threats against the security of the state should diminish.

Obviously this difference in views will not be readily composed, but if any man can accomplish the task it is Dr. Graham, who, approaching the problem as an international civil servant, has impressed both sides with his impartiality and sincerity. We hope that both New Delhi and Karachi are now prepared to make sacrifices in order to remove what Dr. Graham described in his statement to the Security Council as "the chief road-block in the way of cooperation between India and Pakistan." Settlement of this dispute, which is burdening both countries with heavy political, moral, and economic costs, would facilitate the ending of other controversies impeding the peaceful development of the great subcontinent. More than that, a genuine rapprochement between India and Pakistan would immeasurably enhance the international stature of both, enabling them to play a much more influential part in voicing the aspirations of Asia and in promoting peace throughout the world.

CORRECTION: The author of the article, The Supreme Court Reconsiders, in *The Nation* of November 10 was Fowler Harper, a distinguished professor at the Yale Law School. By a regrettable error his name appeared as Harper Fowler.

Rhetoric vs. Hard Facts

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Paris, November 9

THE opening of the current Assembly on November 6 may turn out to have been an event of outstanding importance—I use the word “may” advisedly, not wishing to make any predictions—but the old Assembly came to an end, on November 5, in what was far from a blaze of glory. The routine ceremony of closing was transformed into one more exhibition of the antagonism of the two blocs by the political ineptitude of Secretary General Lie, whose long and unnecessary speech praising the Fifth Assembly as one of the most successful since the organization of the U. N. provoked a bitter reply from the Soviet delegation.

President Auriol of France, in his inaugural address to the Sixth Assembly, made up to some extent for the Secretary General's mistake, laying great emphasis on the need for a meeting of the heads of the great powers. “Personal contacts,” he believed, might be effective when other methods failed. Being himself a warmly human person, he made a deep impression on his audience. His appeal was reinforced by the election of Padilla Nervo, of Mexico, to the presidency of the Assembly—not as the candidate of the Latin American bloc but with the votes of the Big Four—for three years ago Padilla Nervo introduced a resolution in the Assembly, here in Paris, asking for meetings among the Big Four.

The enthusiasm with which many people had looked forward to this Assembly was somewhat dampened as it went to work. The much-publicized peace plan of Secretary Acheson is thought “too general.” In past sessions, it is recalled, the Russians were often reproached for offering “too ambitious plans,” for “making propaganda speeches instead of concentrating on concrete issues.”

Fortunately a new spirit of realism is apparent here, especially in the corridors, that is, in the private conversations among the leading delegates that are expected to accomplish more than the speeches on the floor. Facts are being looked in the face. Those statesmen and diplomats who are capable of clear thinking are beginning to realize that hard as it is to make peace, it is even harder to make war. General Eisenhower's visit to President Truman and the conditions that necessitated it are powerfully affecting the international situation. Today it is generally admitted that many of the Western European divisions which ought to be ready by January 1, 1952, exist only on paper and that at the beginning of the rearmament effort the finances of Europe are cracking

under the strain. In a word, it is easier to plan than to accomplish.

Paradoxically, the very difficulties experienced by the Atlantic coalition in carrying out its program of “peace through strength” constitute a peril to Russia. If Europe does not fulfil the requirements of the American military planners, the United States, faced with the possibility of being forced some day to fight alone, might decide to strike before Russia had built up a stockpile of atomic bombs. This is the risk Moscow takes in adopting the policy of waiting for revolution to take over a continent collapsing economically under the burden of rearmament.

THE opening week followed the expected pattern, with the two opposing blocs clashing violently the first day of public sessions. Yet there were a few subtle differences from preceding Assemblies. Secretary Acheson spoke quite differently from the way he used to talk—no longer the calm, judicial, almost detached orator but one full of fire and fighting spirit. The toughest anti-Russian Republican Senator would have felt, had he been in the Palais Chaillot last Thursday, wholly satisfied with the Secretary of State. Foreign Minister Vishinsky, on the other hand, was less incisive than usual. He was violent and uncompromising in his blunt rejection of the Truman speech and of the peace plan of the three powers, but he spoke as if he were not at all interested in the public debate and intended to concentrate all his hopes, if he has any, on back-stage talks that might take place in the near future.

Such talks, though limited so far to the three Western powers, have already begun. The inside story of this first week of debate carries a well-known title, “Korea.” Anthony Eden, who represents “personal diplomacy” in the Assembly, has been particularly active, exploring all possibilities in the direction of a settlement. His efforts were dramatized by the grave announcement in London of his Cabinet colleague, R. A. Butler, which immediately became a subject more talked about among the delegates than even President Truman's speech on Wednesday. People were forcibly struck by the language of this Conservative Chancellor of the Exchequer who used the word “bankruptcy,” talked of “drastic cuts in strategic materials,” and advanced measures far outstripping the famous austerity program of Sir Stafford Cripps, so much ridiculed in the past by the Tories.

The Butler speech will hang like a dead weight over the Assembly, which otherwise is in too early a stage to be described as a failure, although some nervous commentators did so yesterday after listening to Acheson and Vishinsky. This feeling illustrates better than anything else what I said above about Europe's incapacity to fulfil the expectations of the American military planners. It confronts the United States with this tremendous alternative: either to build the biggest army—but an

J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO will remain in Paris while the U. N. is in session and cover the proceedings of the General Assembly week by week.

American army—the world has ever known, an army including for propaganda and symbolic effect a few European units and, yes, with many flags of the Atlantic Pact nations (just as in Korea today, with a hundred American boys for every other United Nations soldier), or to seize the first real opportunity for negotiation.

Does this opportunity still exist? At least President Auriol believes it does. He risked his popularity with the Quai d'Orsay and the American delegation by inviting the Big Four—the *real* Big Four, including Truman and Stalin—to come to Paris to talk; that was the main purpose of his speech, and it was not merely a gesture. He

realizes that this Assembly, with all the hopes it had aroused, cannot be allowed to adjourn without a supreme effort being made toward a rapprochement with the Soviet Union. When he was respectfully informed that his speech had not pleased certain delegations, he replied in his direct, human, man-of-the-people tone, "Do they consult me when they deliver speeches?" He is convinced, and rightly, that if something is to be achieved it will not be in the full Assembly or in the Political Committee but through personal talks, through "human contact," and by abandoning too grandiose plans and coming down to concrete issues, Korea and Germany.

Churchill's "Last Great Prize"

BY ANDREW ROTH

London, November 6

DESPITE the widespread belief that Mr. Churchill's return would increase the danger of war, a combination of personal and economic forces is pushing him toward attempting a negotiated settlement with the Soviets. Not the least of these forces is Churchill's own pride in his place in modern history and his desire to wind up in a blaze of glory for himself and his country. In his election speech at Plymouth he emphasized that "the last great prize" he sought was to secure world peace through personal talks with Stalin. Of course this statement was partly for the purpose of refuting Labor's thinly disguised accusation that he was a "warmonger." But it is nevertheless true that such an achievement would assure to Mr. Churchill the final acclaim of his own country and of the history books.

Those who have watched him in Parliament these last months have seen that Mr. Churchill must hurry to earn this "last great prize." Not only is he, at seventy-seven, the oldest Prime Minister since Gladstone, but he is showing signs of losing his grip on details. Most newspapers did not report how badly he fumbled on his first day in the House of Commons as head of the government. In discussing the candidates for Speaker he turned repeatedly to his front bench to ask the name of the constituency for which the white-haired W. S. Morrison has sat since 1929. This sort of thing strengthens the reports that he intends to hand over his post to Anthony Eden in six months or so.

Mr. Churchill's dramatic gestures are virtually restricted to the field of foreign affairs because in the domestic field the Conservatives are completely hedged in

by the smallness of their majority, their promise to continue the "welfare state," and the silent threat of the 8,000,000-strong Trades Union Congress. The incoming Conservative ministers are reliably reported to be staggered by the economic burdens they have taken over and the frustrating knowledge that the measures which might ease the situation are certain to be unpopular. The anticipated tightening of credit is likely to drive many small marginal businesses to the wall, and though it will create the "moderate unemployment" called for by most Conservative economists, it will arouse the ire of both small business men and trade unionists. Reduction of imports and expansion of exports will intensify the austerity which the Conservatives have so often attacked. A small percentage of "fat" can probably be cut out of the National Health Service expenditure, but any substantially increased charge will be protested. It will be difficult to hold down wage levels because the trade unions will not show the same restraint toward a Conservative government as they did toward Labor. In short, the Churchill government has at its inception been brought face to face with the fact that unless the burden of rearmament is reduced it must either get considerable aid from the United States or undertake measures which will lose it the next election. The president of the Liberal Party, Philip Fothergill, has warned: "The real danger is that one false move, one unpopular step on the part of the Conservative government, may produce a strong emotional reaction and the election of an extreme Socialist majority."

Having found during the campaign that the peace issue was the one on which they got the greatest response, the Laborites are certain to take a stronger anti-rearmament stand when they are in opposition than they did when they formed the government. Thus with another election in twelve or eighteen months always in

ANDREW ROTH, a staff contributor, was for a number of years The Nation's correspondent in the Far East. He is now living in London.

prospect, the Conservative leaders must have some issue on which they can win wide popular support. A visit to Moscow in quest of peace would earn for the government the plaudits of many who voted for Labor because they felt it offered less risk of war.

The enthusiasm shown in the United States for the Conservative victory strengthens the belief that Mr. Churchill can negotiate with more chance of American support than almost any other person. President Truman's Administration has been too badly smeared by the McCarthyite accusation of having harbored and appeased Communists to take any initiative for peace. The Attlee government was similarly inhibited by the American charge that the Labor leaders were "Socialist appeasers" after they recognized Communist China. But Mr. Churchill, whose speech at Fulton, Missouri, in 1946 helped launch the cold war, cannot be thought to harbor any secret fondness for communism. He may even yield to American opinion and revoke recognition of China.

STRANGELY enough, Moscow has indicated in its own manner that it would welcome Mr. Churchill as a dove of peace. The Soviets have long had hopes of splitting Britain from the United States on the peace issue. This is clear from the contents of the English-language *News* published fortnightly in Moscow largely for this purpose. "There is no doubt," the November 1 issue says, "that Britain can always pursue an independent policy when such important matters as trade relations with the countries of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union are concerned." Experts on Russia here are convinced that the Kremlin would be delighted, particularly after the Kirk-Vishinsky exchange in October, to make better offers to a British Prime Minister seeking peace than to any American, if only in an attempt to widen the Anglo-American gap.

In September, just before his retirement, the British Ambassador, Sir David Kelly, was the object of friendly gestures which have had no counterpart in the experience of other Western diplomats. About the same time the Russians concluded a major grain deal with Britain involving the supply of one million tons of grain next year. And no sooner had Mr. Eden moved into the Foreign Office than Soviet feelers made known Mr. Vishinsky's desire to talk with him in Paris. Analysts of the Soviet press have all noted the care with which the Communist leaders have indicated that the door to negotiation remains open to Britain. The titles of "warmonger" and "interventionist" no longer precede Mr. Churchill's name. And Tass's report of the election emphasized that Labor's defeat was due to its betrayal of its "peace promises." It is presumably not accidental that the Chinese Communists have also been more conciliatory in the last few weeks.

In his war memoirs Churchill quotes Stalin as having

said to him: "We like a downright enemy better than a pretending friend." As Communists the Russian leaders would probably outdo themselves for Mr. Churchill as an inverted way of reproving the Labor government for never having dared such a step. There is little doubt that Tory diplomats are better equipped than Laborites for the sort of hard-boiled spheres-of-strategic-influence talk that seems to be preferred by the Soviets. The difference between the Conservative and the Labor approach to such matters was illustrated in Korea. Many Laborites were initially opposed to letting the U. S.-U. N. forces cross the Thirty-eighth Parallel, but having voiced its concern, the Labor government tailed along behind the American drive to the Manchurian border. Anthony Eden and other Conservatives urged having the U. S.-U. N. forces stop at Korea's narrow waist, below the frontier, and dig in. This was essentially a hard-boiled strategic proposal which might have prevented China's entry into the Korean war.

The London *Times*, which favored Churchill's return to power and which seldom wanders far from the point of view of top Foreign Office figures, has outlined what it believes to be the right road to a world peace settlement. In an editorial printed on November 2 it declared that a settlement hinges on two outstanding problems—Korea and Germany (with Austria). The West, it feels, should stop complaining about the treaty violations in Eastern Europe and the Soviets should stop complaining about the Japanese treaty, for both are water under the bridge. On the other hand, disarmament and the control of atomic energy must be put off. "Disarmament is the last and most difficult of all diplomatic feats, to be attempted only when confidence has been restored and some kind of equilibrium has been established. . . . It would be quite unrealistic to discuss it now, when the highest hope is to achieve a stable balance of power which will be recognized by both sides." Concerning atomic-energy control, "the truth is that the necessary conditions of trust do not exist; but if ever a system of international control could be established, it might be nearer to the Russian plan than to the arrangement proposed by Mr. Baruch."

For the present, this authoritative British voice believes that Korea, Germany, and Austria are "proper subjects for diplomatic talks and all of them offer some hope of agreement."

In Korea talks are in fact already proceeding with a view to finding a suitable armistice line. Since the Communists have apparently accepted that this line should be based on the actual position of the two armies and not on the Thirty-eighth Parallel [which, incidentally, the *Times* had suggested as the proper line a month before], there is now for the first time good hope that agreement will be reached and the fighting brought to an end.

The Soviet government may have some reason to fear a rearmed Germany when backed by the might of the Western powers, but it must recognize that the Western powers have just as much reason to fear a Communist Germany or a Germany allied to the Soviet Union. Any proposal would have to take account of these two equal fears and offer some guaranties against them.

The *Times's* own suggestion is free elections throughout Germany under the control of an international com-

mission, plus the guaranty that "an independent Germany, so created, should have the means to defend itself and should have some freedom of foreign policy. The idea of a strictly neutral and wholly disarmed Germany is quite impracticable and would not last nine months if it were attempted."

It is over this difficult German problem that talks seem likely to break down even if Mr. Churchill flies to Moscow in January after a visit to Washington.

The New Taft Act

Washington, November 8

THE loyal friends and faithful adherents of Senator Robert Alphonso Taft have been telling each other hopefully ever since the Ohio election last year that Senator Bob will have a good deal of labor support for the Presidency in 1952. And undeniably something is stirring within the powerful Building Trades Department of the American Federation of Labor. Taft is wooing the building trades, with their 3,000,000 members, and there are at least tentative signs that he is winning a friendly response; as a result the expected whole-souled, united labor drive against the architect of the Taft-Hartley act may be undercut.

When labor was shocked by Taft's reelection in Ohio last year by the only big plurality he has ever won, the first reaction of union leaders was to recognize the deficiencies of their own political campaign. Jack Kroll, director of the C. I. O. Political Action Committee, told a press conference that spot checks had shown that only 50 per cent of C. I. O. members in Ohio had registered for the Taft election and that only 25 per cent of the wives of these members had registered. George Meany, secretary-treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, said as recently as last week that checks of A. F. of L. members revealed that only from 11 to 62 per cent were registered to vote.

There is not the slightest indication that union leaders will slacken their emphasis on politics. On the contrary, the A. F. of L. convention in San Francisco in October called for larger contributions to Labor's League for Political Education, and a convention resolution urged A. F. of L. groups to work with other groups having similar political objectives. The C. I. O. convention meeting in New York this week heard a fighting political speech from Kroll, and cheered a sardonic reference by President Philip Murray to the fact that Taft's first speech

BY WILLARD SHELTON

after announcing his Presidential candidacy was made to a plush audience of bankers and industrialists in the Union League Club.

The C. I. O. is against Taft on Taft-Hartley grounds and also for much broader reasons. It disagrees with him on basic issues of both foreign and domestic policy. Jack Kroll at the convention referred to him sarcastically as "Mr. Reaction," adding that he did not like to call Taft Mr. Republican "because I don't want to libel the memory of Abe Lincoln. I don't like to slander other good members of the Republican Party."

Meany, talking to reporters at the A. F. of L. convention, denied that the federation's disruption of the United Labor Policy Committee had any relation to politics and specifically rejected the rumor that at least part of the A. F. of L. wanted to "clear the decks" for possible support of a Republican Presidential nominee. The new director of Labor's League for Political Education, James McDevitt of Philadelphia, supported Democratic nominees for the principal state-wide Pennsylvania elections last year.

Where, then, is the evidence of a possible reconciliation between Taft and some unions?

In the first place, Taft is working diligently to convince union leaders that he is not, really, their enemy but a reasonable fellow, only too happy to sponsor amendments to remove proved "inequities" in the Taft-Hartley act.

He was co-sponsor with Senator Hubert Humphrey, Minnesota Democrat, of an amendment actually passed to remove the requirement for National Labor Relations Board elections before unions could legally request a union-shop security clause. The amendment also validated hundreds of union-shop clauses already in contracts but termed illegal by the Supreme Court because when they were negotiated some C. I. O. leaders had not yet signed anti-Communist affidavits. The Taft-Humphrey amendment did not cure one of the worst evils of the Taft-Hartley act, the provisions specifically giving

WILLARD SHELTON was formerly The Nation's Washington correspondent.

November 17, 1951

state anti-labor laws priority over the more liberal federal law, but it got rid of a ridiculous and onerous requirement. Taft is also a sponsor, with Humphrey, of another amendment to liberate the building-trades unions from any requirement for the NLRB representation elections. This bill, now pending as S. 1973, is earnestly supported by Richard J. Gray, president of the Building Trades Department, and a parade of building-trades union officials has been going into Taft's office.

In the second place, some of the strongly New Deal and Fair Deal A. F. of L. leaders are gradually losing power, while other men with a Republican tradition or bias are gaining ground.

William Green, A. F. of L. president, is aging rapidly. Dan Tracy of the Electrical Workers is ailing and none too happy about the way he was talked to early this year by Mr. Truman's mobilization boss, Charles E. Wilson. Harvey Bates of the Bricklayers is advanced in years. George Harrison of the A. F. of L. Railway Clerks lost prestige for labor as a whole when, after being named as an adviser to Wilson at the insistence of the United Labor Policy Committee, he delayed for months before he went to work.

On the other hand, Dan Tobin of the Teamsters seems to bear a personal grievance against Mr. Truman and the Democrats; Tobin's teamsters as recently as 1944 furnished the forum at which Franklin D. Roosevelt made his "little dog Fala" speech. Rising to power behind Tobin in the Teamsters is the formidable Dave Beck, who in Seattle and elsewhere on the West Coast undoubtedly played footsie with Republicans. Big Bill Hutcheson of the Carpenters, whose dearest desire is to hand the presidency of his union to his son in a kind of royal succession, has always been a Republican. William McFetridge of the Building Maintenance Employees was the one nationally known union leader who formally indorsed Dewey against Truman in 1948.

THE center of power in the A. F. of L. is the Building Trades Department, which has economic strength, close connections with local political machines, and large membership. Add the Teamsters and you have substantial control of the A. F. of L. Meany, in line for the presidency behind Green, is a Building Trades man himself. The third piece of evidence, and perhaps the most significant, is that President Gray of the Building Trades has twice stated that support of a Republican nominee, even Taft, might be better for labor than support of the Democratic nominee in 1952.

In his October bulletin Gray violently criticized the Administration for failing to procure enactment of S. 1973. He criticized the decisions of Mr. Truman's appointees on the NLRB. He charged that his 3,000,000 members were "neither feared nor respected" by the Democratic Administration. He charged Mr. Truman

with hypocrisy in asking Taft-Hartley repeal because the President coupled that request with a demand for enactments of a civil-rights program. He concluded that while, among the alternatives available to labor, voting Republican, and for Taft, might appear "on the surface the least desirable," it would at least "wake up the Democratic Party" and four years later "force Democrats to respect us."

It would be unnatural if Senator Taft did not exploit his sudden emergence as a champion of the Building Trades by pushing hard in the next session of Congress for enactment of S. 1973—which is opposed, incidentally, by the A. F. of L. Machinists, the C. I. O., and at least one member of the NLRB. A word about S. 1973 and the union groups to which Taft is primarily appealing.

By freeing Building Trades leaders from having to prove their union majorities in NLRB elections, it would open the way for resumption of back-door deals. Present NLRB requirements are onerous because of the nature, seasonal fluctuations, and geographical diffusion of construction work. The Machinists and the C. I. O., however, think that even Building Trades leaders should in some manner prove that they actually represent groups of workers before bargaining for them. This requirement stems in principle from the Wagner act, not from Taft-Hartley. Taft, who once posed as a defender of helpless union members against autocratic labor bosses, is sponsoring an amendment to turn back the clock.

Mr. Gray is an upright, honorable man. But within the building-trades unions are precisely those groups with restrictive practices, high initiation fees, and arbitrary control that give labor a bad name. Taft will get no support from progressive, democratically operated A. F. of L. unions such as the Machinists and the International Ladies' Garment Workers. He may get some from the Hodcarriers, whose leaders did not bother to have a convention for two decades, and the Carpenters, who have the empty delight of realizing that Big Bill Hutcheson's son is presidential heir-apparent.

Disruption of the United Labor Policy Committee by the A. F. of L. may not prevent a continuation of A. F. of L.-C. I. O. political cooperation on state and local levels. But the growing anger of the C. I. O. against the Federation for torpedoing the committee and its increasingly hostile blasts at A. F. of L. motives and leadership will not make cooperation easier.

Labor has by no means come of age politically. Its registration program is spotty; the majority of union members are disinclined to contribute to the political committees. The Building Trades leadership may decide eventually to oppose Taft, and Gray's declarations may have been designed merely to frighten Democrats. But Taft will make hay if he can, and he will benefit even if he merely weakens active, coordinated opposition to his candidacy and election.

"With Howard, Howard Comes First"

BY HENRY H. SMITH

[Attorney General]. Howard McGrath may well be named by President Truman to fill the next Supreme Court vacancy. Henry H. Smith of the Providence Journal here recounts the story of McGrath's rise to power in Rhode Island politics. Next week Fowler Harper of the Yale Law School will analyze McGrath's record as Solicitor General and Attorney General.]

Providence, R. I., November 8

FOR Rhode Islanders there has always been something elusive about the personality of J. Howard McGrath. Political detractors have called the former governor of the state and organizational heavyweight of its Democratic Party cold, unsympathetic, and crafty. Yet even his detractors grant that McGrath is gregarious, patient, and never too busy to listen to what others have to offer in the way of advice or information.

His political record in Rhode Island mirrors these two aspects of his character. Whatever his motives, McGrath was more New Deal than the New Deal on several occasions. Such socially progressive projects as a state-wide juvenile court, cash sickness insurance for workers (the nation's first), and a state center for the treatment of injured workers were established during his slightly less than three terms as governor. McGrath worked hard for these projects and enjoys taking credit for them.

On the other hand, he has consistently shown a calculated coolness to labor, a distrust for federal sponsorship of socially progressive legislation that interferes with his version of state's rights, and a marked ability to gain the confidence—or at least the tolerance—of powerful business interests. Even the most hardened conservative will agree that he has no designs on free enterprise.

In warning against the dangers of federal invasion of state's rights, McGrath once advanced a scheme for a New England regional agency to offset competitive advantages granted by the federal government to other parts of the country. But his well-known ability to gain the confidence of conservative business elements was revealed most dramatically, perhaps, in 1945, when Royal Little, head of Textron, Inc., appointed him a trustee of Little's Rhode Island Charities Trust, a device for giving the Textron wizard tax-exempt investment mobility.

The key to this puzzling personality seems to be ambition. J. Howard McGrath has never allowed anything—difficulties, criticism, pleasure, delicacy of feeling—to stand in the way of his ambition to rise to social, political, and economic eminence. He is a living illustration of the truth of all the Victorian platitudes

about attention to duty, application, hard work, and the rest being the keys to realizing the goals of ambition.

McGrath was born on November 28, 1903, in Woonsocket, Rhode Island, a textile town. His father, an Irish immigrant, was foreman in a knitting mill. The elder McGrath had once organized a labor union and, more important,

was active in the Independent Order of Foresters, a fraternal group dedicated chiefly to the sale of insurance to members. The Foresters were to have a profound effect upon the future Democratic politician.

As a boy, McGrath showed an awesome determination to win, not athletic honors, but material things and the recognition of his will to succeed. Once he won a soldering kit (worth \$2) and a free photograph of himself in a soldering contest sponsored by a Providence department store. He won a camera for his work in a Salvation Army drive during World War I. Later, in college, he won a circulation contest sponsored by Senator Peter G. Gerry's old *Providence News*. The prize was a Packard automobile. The victory brought young McGrath to the attention of Gerry and his imported, ex-Tammany campaign adviser, General Henry Dewitt Hamilton.

At La Salle Academy, the big parochial boys' high school in Providence, and Providence College, a small Dominican institution, his academic record was always excellent, if short of brilliant. His extra-curricular interests ran to public speaking, managing school publications, running class social events. During most of his youth he was his father's constant companion in work for the Foresters. The elder McGrath went all over New England to outings, conclaves, initiations, and so on; Howard often went with him. He could make a good platform speech by the time he was fourteen. His knowledge of the membership lists and of organizational procedure became enormous. Forester membership lists were the basis of his victory in the *News* circulation contest.

On afternoons and Saturdays while Howard was in



J. Howard McGrath

high school he worked a flower concession in a Providence five-and-dime store. A youngster named Samuel Shore had the fruit counter in the same store. The two became lifelong friends and later organized a supermarket chain together. McGrath worked at the men's-collar counter of a Providence department store during college years and taught a Sunday School class at the state reform school for boys.

Already, his industry and virtue were beginning to bring dividends. He became a protégé of the Gerry-Hamilton political group and for a time spent two hours a day in the office of General Hamilton, learning what the aged veteran of New York politics had to teach. In college he organized and became the first president of the Young Democratic League of Rhode Island. He went from Providence College to Boston University Law School, and before he had finished law school, had been named vice-chairman of the Democratic State Committee. On Thanksgiving Day, 1929, McGrath married Estelle Cadorette, daughter of a Central Falls, Rhode Island, Democratic politician and Forester. The marriage was not without its advantages, for the Cadorettes are what is known locally as a "Franco-American" family and had considerable political influence with French-Canadian voters. Not long after the young couple began house-keeping in Central Falls, McGrath was named city solicitor. The following year he was made chairman of the Democratic State Committee.

McGRATH'S career for the next fifteen years has been described as meteoric and lucky, which it was. But to keep on top required extremely adroit log-rolling. The Rhode Island Democrats of that era were not thoughtful, humanitarian New Dealers but two-fisted individualists who sensed the trend of the times and were not above scrambling for the fruits of victory. There were Tom McCoy, the Pawtucket boss who wanted to be governor; Walter O'Hara, a rowdy race-track owner, for a time McCoy's ally; Colonel Patrick Quinn, the shrewd leader in West Warwick; his fiery nephew, Robert (O'Hara's sworn enemy), and Theodore Francis Green, the party's urbane "statesman." McGrath had to be sure his own star did not fade out of this constellation.

One of the methods he used was to keep a firm grip on patronage. When Rhode Island Democrats swept in with Roosevelt in 1932, McGrath became the contact man with Jim Farley for federal patronage. It was freely predicted that he would select a nice, ripe plum for himself. He did. He became the youngest United States attorney the district ever had.

The two most sensational cases which McGrath conducted as United States attorney were typically lucky for him. One was an investigation, under the Hatch act, of alleged contributions made to politicians by the Narragansett Racing Association—that is, Walter O'Hara and

his Narragansett race track. Indictments were returned by a grand jury but were dropped because of a procedural defect. McGrath, on advice from Washington that renewal of the investigation was up to his discretion, called off further inquiry.

The second case played brilliantly into his hands. It was an investigation into wire-tapping at the homes of Tom McCoy, then mayor of Pawtucket—whose antipathy to McGrath had waned—and Louis Jackvony, attorney general of the state. The governor at the time was William Vanderbilt, a Republican. During the famous Quinn-O'Hara feud the Democrats had fought their way valiantly to a Republican victory in 1938. Vanderbilt admitted having hired a private detective agency to do wire tapping but denied having ordered taps on the phones of McCoy and Jackvony. The result of the episode was to open the governor's office to McGrath.

After the Quinn and Vanderbilt regimes, Rhode Island was ready for the undramatic but competent kind of administration McGrath gave it. His mistakes were few. Although he had a Republican Senate against him, he rarely gave it a chance to quarrel with him, except perhaps over appointments. His progressive achievements, already noted, won at least the silence of liberals, and his organization of the State Council of Defense had no serious flaws.

One thing which helps to explain McGrath's rise to power in Rhode Island politics is the size of the Catholic vote; according to 1950 estimates of religious affiliations, Catholics number 431,240, Protestants 108,341, Jews 27,000. Rhode Island, of course, is a geographic freak—twenty by fifty miles in area, with 90 per cent of the population concentrated around the top of Narragansett Bay. Since it is a highly urbanized industrial state, the farm and small-town vote of the western half is not significant. In the normal course of events Rhode Island would have gone over to the Democratic Party seventy-five years ago, but nowhere were Yankee industrialists and financiers more successful in keeping political power. It was not until the mid-1920's that the property qualification for voters was removed. The Irish, first on the scene among the immigrants, were the first Catholic group to attain status and power; so they naturally furnished the leadership for the political upheaval which followed removal of the property qualification. McGrath was one of those leaders.

McGrath's energies, the record is plain, have been dedicated primarily to self and to party. An unknown lieutenant once wryly remarked, "With Howard, Howard always comes first." McGrath has never devoted time to evolving a political philosophy—except perhaps the philosophy of practical politics; he has never stood out as the imaginative creator of bold, well-documented plans for public service, for social welfare, or for governmental betterment. Even his medical-center and cash-

sickness-insurance projects were frankly designed as examples of the way states could halt federal developments in the field of social legislation.

His private business interests have multiplied. He is a law partner of Theodore Francis Green—he allied himself with Green as the Gerry-Hamilton star grew dim. In 1937 he organized and became president of the First Federal Savings and Loan Association of Providence. For a time he was a director of the Pawtucket Broadcasting Company, owned by his close friend, the late

Frank Crook, a Pawtucket car dealer. The radio property was sold recently to the Providence Journal Company. He is a director of Flightex Company and of the American Octenator Company and is a partner of Sam Shore in the supermarket chain. He and Crook also developed Bonnet Shores, a highly profitable Narragansett Bay resort colony. Estimates of his personal fortune range from two to four million dollars.

J. Howard McGrath has found it easy to combine politics and business and make the mixture pay off.

THE BATTLE FOR FREE SCHOOLS

The Foot in the Door

AMERICAN life is shot through with paradoxes. But though we accept them as temporary necessities, this does not mean that we ought to regard them as a permanent good. On the contrary, we should expose them for what they are in the hope of eliminating them as quickly as possible. In no area is this more apparent and necessary than in the relation of organized religion to public education.

To illustrate: gambling is nowadays deplored as a national scandal, which it is. The churches are in the forefront of its condemners, as they should be. Many of them attribute this and other evils in our common life to deficiencies in our public-school system. But education is not just a matter of schooling. Other social institutions play an important part in everyone's education, some a more important part than the schools themselves. Organized religion is one of these institutions. And the paradox is that the very churches which condemn gambling actually profit from it, through their use of lotteries, raffles, and bingo games.

Again: delinquency and moral confusion are attributed to the secular character of our public-school system. The churches avowedly want to reduce, and ultimately to eliminate, delinquency and moral confusion. Now modern psychiatry has demonstrated that emotional conflicts are largely responsible for the evils in question. These emotional conflicts, in turn, are frequently engendered by childhood experiences and attitudes, foremost among them being the sexual. An education which

BY JEROME NATHANSON

contributes to healthy attitudes about sexual and kindred matters, accordingly, is one that helps to prevent delinquency and moral confusion, which is what the churches say they want. Yet these same churches make it impossible for us to get this educational emphasis into most of our school systems.

And further: education for democracy rests on the proposition that, by and large and in the long run, human abilities are adequate to deal with human problems. The public-school system of a democracy, therefore, has as its primary obligation the instilling of faith in this proposition and the development of skills which can give reality to it. The churches persistently proclaim their support of the democratic faith. At the same time many of them are organized around a theology which denies that man is adequate to the tasks confronting him, and the religious insistence on human inadequacy is deemed a necessary part of democratic education.

This is a portion of the context in which we have to view the menacing inroads which organized religion is trying to make on our public-school system. The lack of honesty in much of the accompanying propaganda is a depressing commentary on some of the persons purportedly concerned with moral rectitude.

For example, we are sometimes reminded that since none of the founders of the American Republic were educated in secular schools, a religiously inspired education was responsible for our liberties, and that these liberties are now being betrayed because we have "banned God from the curriculum." Evidently, it is a matter of no moment to these critics of secular education that totalitarianism did not arise here but in Catholic Italy and Spain, in Orthodox Russia, and in Catholic-Lutheran-pietistic Germany. Now of course the founders of the Republic were educated in schools which were

JEROME NATHANSON is a leader of the Ethical Culture Society and chairman of the Committee on Federal Aid to Education. He is the author of "John Dewey: The Reconstruction of Democratic Life." This is the fourth of a series of articles on the dangers confronting democratic education.

religiously oriented: there were no other schools in America. But it was they and their children who laid the groundwork for the secular system we know today.

That system was a long time building, and instead of attacking it, we should be eternally grateful for its tremendous contribution to democratic civilization. *E pluri-bus unum*: out of the many, one; unity in diversity. This is not merely an American idea. It is the genius of American life. And no other institution has played so important a part in its development as the public-school system, which, while respecting individual and group differences, has also given generations of Americans a pervasive sense of their stake in a common life.

The public schools of this country became secular for the profoundly persuasive reason that they could not have existed at all on any other ground. They cannot today continue to exist on any other ground. And the more we Balkanize our educational system through resorting to parochial schools—Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish—the more we undermine our basic democratic faith in unity in diversity. That the parochial-school system is constitutional, as determined by the Supreme Court in the Oregon case, is by no means the same thing as its being desirable. It is high time that the laity, as well as the ministry, in each of the denominations started to think out again this whole proposition in its bearing on the future of the democratic way of life.

NOW there is an intimate tie-up between religion in education and the parochial school. V. T. Thayer's "The Attack upon the American Secular School," a brilliant survey of the entire situation, is enlightening in this as in other respects. In part, the parochial school arose in protest against the sectarian religious emphasis in our public schools of an earlier day. In the beginning schools had a denominational character. When members of different Protestant groups began to get their education in the same schools, denominational rivalries were eliminated only by giving religious instruction of a generally Protestant character. Obviously, this was offensive to Catholics as it was to Jews, to say nothing of agnostics and those of other faiths and attitudes. And since the Catholics, in addition, believe that religion should permeate the curriculum, and since it was patent that Catholicism could not do so in the public schools of predominantly Protestant America, they resorted to separatism.

This separatism in education has had serious consequences, as Paul Blanshard's articles in *The Nation* and his last two books have clearly demonstrated. Among other things, it has blocked desperately needed federal financial assistance to the public schools for thirty years. It has blocked it because the American hierarchy has steadfastly opposed any federal-aid measure which does not also provide support for parochial schools, and be-

cause Congress has cravenly sidestepped the issue. In one state after the other the hierarchy has gained free textbooks and free bus transportation for children attending parochial schools—thus, in the constitutional name of equal treatment for all children, receiving indirect public subsidy for its own separatist movement.

Nor has the Catholic church confined its efforts to the parochial schools. Its successful infringements on the independence of the public-school system—as in the case of the banning of *The Nation* from public-school libraries, the Fordham University professors' protest against the curriculum-guide bulletin used in the New York City schools, the employment of priests and nuns as public-school teachers, the control of local school boards—have steadily increased.

The activities of the Catholic church have been paralleled by those of other religious groups. Various Protestant denominations and some Jewish groups have begun to concentrate on the development of their own parochial schools. In part this has been a reaction to the growing strength and influence of the Catholic separatist movement, in part an attempt to deal with their own institutional insecurities. But as of now, the separatist movement among Protestants has been less significant than their forays against the integrity of the public-school system.

The most momentous of these, of course, has been the practice of released time, whereby pupils who have received parental authorization are released from school early in order to attend religious classes. A blatant violation of the schools' independence has been the holding of such classes in public-school buildings, a practice held unconstitutional by an eight-to-one vote of the Supreme Court in the McCollum case, but one persisting in a number of localities, doubtless as a religious contribution to moral law and order! The court has not yet clearly ruled on released time when classes are not held in public-school buildings. In the opinion of many of us, this too is a violation of the constitutional provision for separation of church and state, because of its use of public-school personnel and facilities for attendance and the keeping of records, and because dismissal from school work for religious instruction is taken to be within the scope of state requirements for school attendance. But constitutional or not, the practice of released time has had a destructively divisive effect on children, separating them in terms of religious affiliation at the very time and in the very place in which they should get a sense of united efforts and common aims.

Hardly less serious in its divisive implications is Bible reading in the public schools, a merely permissive practice in some states but compulsory in others. The constitutionality of the requirement is now being challenged in the New Jersey Doremus case. Seemingly the reading of the Bible is an innocent-enough practice, even if its

educational efficacy is highly questionable. But if it is done for purposes of subtle indoctrination—and if not for this purpose, why is it done at all?—then apparently this too is a breach of the wall separating church and state. Equally important is the consideration that the Bible is indisputably a sectarian book, even though various courts have held otherwise. The Protestant King James version is in some respects offensive to Catholics. The New Testament is in some respects offensive to Jews. While for those who are neither Catholics, Protestants, nor Jews—and there are at present more than 70,000,000 unchurched Americans—the Bible in whatever version, granted its importance, is no more sacred than many other books.

Precisely the same considerations hold with respect to recitation of the Lord's Prayer in public schools. Nor does there seem to be much doubt that the increasing custom of holding public-school commencement exercises in church buildings, or of having members of the clergy officiate at such exercises, helps to bring church and state closer than they ought constitutionally to be.

EACH of these practices is evidence of a concern for the religious education of American youth. And a number of spokesmen for organized religion are taking a new tack in their effort to get more of a religious orientation into the public-school system. They contend that the First Amendment to the Constitution, applied to the several states by the Supreme Court's interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment, does not mean what the court has taken it to mean. The court has said that the prohibition of an established religion means, in Jefferson's language, a wall of separation between church and state, and that neither one religion nor all religions together may receive state support. The present-day spokesmen in opposition are insisting, ever more vehemently, that this interpretation is a violation of American traditions, and that while the First Amendment clearly prohibits the establishment of any one church, it does not mean that religion as such is not to be aided or is to be barred from American education. This argument is used not only in behalf of released time and Bible reading in the public schools but also, and far more insidiously, as the rationale for long-range support of parochial schools. Despite the occasional persuasiveness of these spokesmen, the weight of objective scholarship and of the American tradition is decisively against them and with the court.

Quite apart from the constitutional argument, however, religion has no place in the public schools of the United States. Yet leaders in education are today of divided minds on this question, put on the defensive as they have been by the steady attacks on the so-called "godlessness" of our schools. Some believe that our moral life is in a precarious state, that morality depends

upon organized religion, and that the schools, therefore, one way or another, must provide religious instruction for the children of America. In their effort not to violate the principle of separation of church and state, they urge that while religious indoctrination would be unconstitutional, teaching about religion would not be, and ought properly to be as much part of the school curriculum as science or literature.

This contention sounds plausible enough, until one asks how it is to be done. If one could have instruction in religion analogous to instruction in science and literature, with a critical-minded approach not merely tolerated but actively encouraged, it would doubtless be a good thing. But the most vociferous spokesmen for organized religion in education do not want religious education in this sense, and they would be the first to cry bloody murder if their respective denominational tenets were subjected to critical examination. They want, not religious education, but religious indoctrination. They want, not a study of the Bible, but an acceptance of the Bible. And these things have no place on public-school premises in public-school time. If we are ever mature enough as a people to have genuine religious education in our schools, we shall be fortunate. Until then, the place for religion is outside the schools.

But this is not a counsel of despair. The premise from which the advocates of organized religion in education take their departure is a false one. We have only to look around us, to say nothing of examining the historical record, to learn that there is absolutely no necessary relation between organized religion and morality. There have been scoundrels as well as saints within the churches, just as there have been saints as well as scoundrels outside them. And analyses of criminal statistics have shown that the overwhelming majority of criminals have been church members, presumably in good standing.

That religious denominations have had to keep their hands off the schools has not meant a lack of moral and spiritual values in education. On the contrary, now as in the past, American education has been as effective in helping children to an appreciation of these values as any system ever devised. But schools were never meant to do the job of homes and churches, and compensation for weaknesses there should not be sought in the educational system. When it is, sectarian divisiveness displaces the sense of a unified community of interest and effort. When it is, sectarian "sacred cows" displace independent and critical thought. When it is, respect for ecclesiastical authority displaces respect for persons.

Education in a democracy ought to be education for democracy, and not for anything else. Nothing is more important for democracy than encouragement of the possibilities of every child, and only an education which has this and this alone as its central concern is worthy of a democratic society.

BOOKS and the ARTS

The First Roosevelt

THE LETTERS OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT. Volumes III and IV.

The Square Deal, 1901-1905. Selected and Edited by Elting E. Morison. Harvard University Press. \$20.

THE office of President of the United States was becoming to Theodore Roosevelt, and therefore these two new instalments of his voluminous correspondence are more engaging as well as more significant than the previous two volumes, published last April and covering the years 1868-1900. Before he was President as a result of McKinley's assassination and then became President by overwhelming vote in 1904, Theodore Roosevelt's biases were crude, and after he had left the Presidency they became bitter. During his term of office, covered by these letters, he remained intolerant of criticism except from close admirers, but he comes out as a man sure of himself without the necessity of being quite so cocksure.

These two volumes are fascinating because of the number of important subjects on which they reveal facts, motives, and nuances, and they bring out once more the amazing scope of Roosevelt's interests and energies. The relations of capital and labor during a critical period, the emergence of Japan as a modern power during the Russo-Japanese War, the attitudes of the German Kaiser and the Russian Czar, and the acquisition and construction of the Panama Canal are merely the main subjects of interest in these letters. Roosevelt's personal preferences and dislikes, his ebullient enthusiasm for his friends and family, and his exasperated impatience with opponents and critics gave savor to almost every letter he wrote.

The letters in these volumes concerning the great coal strike of 1902, which went on from May until October, illustrate vividly how much government influence, machinery, and authority have increased since the days of the other Roosevelt. Theodore Roosevelt did not feel able to use the great influence of his office to bring about a settlement until winter threatened a coal famine

and street disorders in large cities—and, incidentally, until almost time for the Congressional elections, when, if the Republicans lost the Senate and the House, Roosevelt's own reelection in 1904 might be threatened. Even then he did not really settle the strike, though in letter after letter he patted himself on the back for doing so. It was the pressure of J. P. Morgan the elder, upon whom the President of the United States had to call, that brought about the final settlement and caused the coal men, still arrogant, at least to sit in the same room with United Mine Workers' leaders and arbitrators.

In the course of his Presidency, Roosevelt gained experience with the stubborn selfishness of industrialists and financiers as well as with the efforts at pressure tactics of labor-union leaders. He kept insisting in his letters that he would not favor a rich man because he was rich or a poor man because of his poverty. He was wary of the Standard Oil Company bearing a \$100,000 campaign contribution, which he insisted should be returned, but which his campaign managers did not return. Some of these letters deal with the famous Northern Securities case and other attempts to curb monopoly. Roosevelt had the attitude toward trusts that he had toward other entities: he was not against them as such but against their violations of justice, or law. He believed in publicity for their structure and regulation through the Bureau of Corporations, but Theodore Roosevelt had no burning desire to destroy the trusts.

These letters indicate an intensely practical idealism on the part of a skillful politician and statesman. He worked with some of the most predatory political bosses in the United States and was impatient with reformers who thought it wrong of him to do so. He took sides in the interests of the United States against Latin American dictators and was enraged at critics who called him imperialistic for it as well as for his refusal to grant Philippine independence until he felt the Filipinos were ready for it. He was steadfast in his refusal

to bow to the pressure of the Roman Catholic church, and his courage in this respect, as amply revealed in these letters, was greater than that of his successors. He did not look for trouble from the church, but when it tried to make some in relation to church property in the Philippines, he remained firm in serving the public rather than private interests. In dealing with big business men Roosevelt soon found to his disappointment that they had little to offer him in the way of constructive programs and confined their attention rigidly to their own immediate welfare. He was aware, too, that he could only accomplish either development or reform when there was a large body of public sentiment behind him, and he knew, on occasion, how to stimulate that sentiment effectively.

In view of later events, the letters on Russia and Japan are perhaps the most fascinating in these volumes. The Russians of the days of Nicholas II were no easier to deal with than those of the days of Stalin, and Roosevelt's complaints of duplicity, mendacity, and seemingly eternal effort to wear down an opponent by sheer exasperation form a useful background for current cold-war tensions. In foreign affairs, these letters reveal, Theodore Roosevelt's insight and foresight were faultless. It is an oversimplification, to say the least, to call him a "jingo." He believed in the future of his own country if it remained militarily strong, and he believed in the future of other great nations. He wrote to Sir Cecil Spring Rice on March 19, 1904, of his admiration for the Russians and added: "But I do not believe in the future of any race *while it is under a crushing despotism*" (the italics are Roosevelt's). And he added in the same letter: "A society of which a bloated trust magnate is accepted quite simply as the ideal is in a rotten condition." The German people he felt were too much under the thumb of the Kaiser, whom he regarded as "altogether too jumpy, too volatile in his policies, too lacking in the power of continuous and sustained thought and action for me to feel that he is in

any way such a man as for instance Taft or Root." The Czar, he wrote to John Hay on April 2, 1903, "Is a preposterous little creature as the absolute autocrat of 150,000,000 people." The English of his day he found "heavy-witted" and tending toward decadence. Japan, he felt, had made wondrous strides but must be watched because it had been so much insulted by white men that it was likely to turn upon them when occasion offered.

These letters are full of interesting sidelights on the omnivorous character of a conspicuous man who devoured literature the way he did exercise. Whenever anything pleased or displeased him he rushed to grab a pen or fire volleys at secretaries. The telephone has probably made it impossible for us to enjoy so much of the gusto of our later leaders.

M. R. WERNER

The Scars of "Negroness"

ON BEING NEGRO IN AMERICA.

By J. Saunders Redding. The Bobbs-Merrill Company. \$3.

THIS brief auto-psychoanalysis is one of the most effective statements in recent literature of the constant conflict experienced by the Negro between his reactions as a normal human being and those which life in America requires of him. Professor Redding of Hampton Institute, the author of four other books (of which three will probably have more than passing significance), talks out his problem in the following key paragraph:

From adolescence to death there is something very personal about being a Negro in America. It is like having a second ego which is as much the conscious subject of all experience as the natural self. It is not what the psychologists call dual personality. It is more complex and, I think, more morbid than that. In the state of which I speak, one receives two distinct impacts from certain experiences and one undergoes two distinct reactions—the one normal and intrinsic to the natural self; the other, entirely different but of equal force, a prodigy created by the accumulated consciousness of Negroness.

He then cites an incident to drive home his point. As a normal human being he was moved to pity when he saw a woman, drunk or sick and clad only in a ragged slip, stagger into a neighbor-

November 17, 1951

Random House bestsellers

THE Farmers Hotel

A novel by JOHN O'HARA

The story of three women and five men thrown together for an evening of reluctant intimacy in a rural Pennsylvania hotel during a violent snowstorm. The people might have stepped right from the pages of A RAGE TO LIVE and PAL JOEY. \$2.00

Requiem for a Nun

A novel by WILLIAM FAULKNER

"Reading this novel is a way of going to the deepest pit in men's souls and looking up to see the stars."—*Boston Globe*. \$3.00

Limited edition, signed by the author, \$10.00

The Grass Harp

A novel by TRUMAN CAPOTE

"This story of some people who escaped life's problems by living in a tree house exhibits the maturing of one of America's best young writers. Remarkable for its humor."—*N. Y. Herald Tribune Book Review*. \$2.75

THE Voice of Asia

By JAMES A. MICHENER

"An engrossing, provocative and often amusing book, full of the authentic flavor of the East. Here is the same delicate feeling for character and drama in the everyday life of exotic places that he revealed in TALES OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC and RETURN TO PARADISE."—*N. Y. Times Book Review*. \$3.50

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF William Carlos Williams

"It will be surprising if the year produces a more vivid and enthralling book of memoirs than this. Rich, passionate, filled with many figures, great and small."—*Saturday Review Syndicate*. \$3.75

The Blessing

A novel by NANCY MITFORD

The author of THE PURSUIT OF LOVE describes in delicious detail the experiences of an English girl who learned how different Sex and Marriage could be on the other side of the Channel. "Don't miss it!"—*Clifton Fadiman*. A Book-of-the-Month Club Selection. \$3.00

Barabbas

A novel by PÅL LAGERKVIST

A novel about the thief whose place Christ took on the cross. "Nothing short of a masterpiece. If, as I heard predicted in Sweden, Lagerkvist gets the Nobel Prize next year, it will be richly deserved."—*Charles J. Rolo*, ATLANTIC MONTHLY. \$2.75

AT ALL BOOKSTORES, RANDOM HOUSE, N. Y.

ing backyard in Louisville on an extremely cold day. On the other hand, he felt "a gloating satisfaction that she was white."

Although the author wisely disclaims the right to speak for anyone but himself, his almost uncontrollable delight in the presence of the white man's misfortune is shared by large numbers of Negroes. Some of them have exulted in formal literature; others have contributed to an extensive folklore that would shock those who profess to "know" the Negro. Many others have probably rejoiced in silence.

While the author therefore reveals little that is new to students of Negro life and thought, his contribution requires serious consideration. For it is the mature, restrained, eloquent denunciation of evil by a sensitive man of good-will. Professor Redding has not suffered the physical brutalities that have led some Negro authors to pour forth their bitterness. He is no Communist. (I have a feeling that he devotes too much space to the interesting story of the party's unsuccessful attempts to woo him in the early 1930's, but the

incident in which he fled from the embraces of a woman member—fled not only because of his intellectual rejection of communism but also because of the fact that she was white—does develop his main theme.) His restrained indignation is all the more significant because he lays it bare at a time when the status of the Negro, even in the Deep South, has measurably improved. He has not hesitated to proclaim his adherence to integration through intermarriage even though he teaches in a state where segregation is still largely enforced and intermarriage is forbidden by law. Above all, his book will bring delight to lovers of literary craftsmanship, though the style is at times a bit lofty.

The talking out of the problem did not produce the therapeutic value that the author had hoped for. It was perhaps impeded by the fact that one of his sons, largely the result of a cruel incident when he was eight years old, also carries the scar of Negroness. In the end Redding finds solace in the thought that "Christianity promises a cure for our American sickness. But it must be made truly a way of life in

which the dignity and brotherhood of man is the first principle." White Americans must, of course, cleanse themselves of the sins which are largely responsible for Negroness. Too many Southern white liberals still believe that "in both the physical and cultural heritage of the South there are certain cumulative and tragic handicaps that represent overpowering factors in the situation." This belief on their part contributes to the reluctance of the government of the United States to include in the First Draft Covenant on Human Rights articles dealing with social, economic, and cultural rights. Despite Redding's lack of enthusiasm for gradualism, I hope that the combined efforts of gradualists, integrationists, and sincere "Christians" will accelerate the attainment of equal rights for all men.

None the less, I wonder whether, having been a Negro in America, I can ever throw off the curse of Negroness. I read the book while en route to France. My table mate was a German, a fundamentally decent man, who won my sympathy because of his evident poverty. On the other hand, I had diffi-

BOOKS and PAMPHLETS

ETHICS AS A RELIGION

David S. Muzzey.....\$2.75
Simon & Schuster

SPOKESMEN FOR ETHICAL RELIGION

Henry Neumann\$2.00
Beacon Press

NATURE AND HUMAN NATURE

Lawrence K. Frank.....\$3.00
Rutgers University Press

JOHN DEWEY, THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE DEMOCRATIC LIFE

Jerome Nathanson\$2.00
Scribner's

THE ATTACK UPON THE AMERICAN SECULAR SCHOOL

V. T. Thayer.....\$3.00
Beacon Press

THE CHURCH AND RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

Algernon D. Black.....\$.25

IF you are one of the seventy million Americans who do not belong to a Church or Synagogue;

IF you believe that what men do for one another in this world to achieve mutually creative and liberating relationships is the true test of religious consecration;

IF you are concerned about the growing attack on democratic freedoms and institutions by organized religious reaction;

IF you believe in scientific method as the way to knowledge of man and nature and in democracy as the way of living;

THEN you will find encouragement and rich intellectual and moral sustenance in these guides through contemporary ethical problems by Leaders of the American Ethical Union.

MENTAL HEALTH AND ETHICAL CONDUCT

Lawrence K. Frank.....\$.25

BEYOND CHURCH AND SYNAGOGUE

David S. Muzzey.....\$.25

ETHICS OF MARRIAGE

Jerome Nathanson\$.25

SEND FOR FREE PUBLICATIONS LIST

PLEASE SEND ME

ENCLOSED PLEASE FIND \$

NAME

ADDRESS

Check or Money Order payable to:

**NEW YORK SOCIETY FOR
ETHICAL CULTURE**

2 West 44th Street, New York 23

culty in not gloating over his genteel shabbiness because he belonged to the former Herrenvolk and I am a descendant of the Sklavenvolk. In brief, Redding's disturbing book has vital meaning not only for America in 1951 but for the world, and will have, I fear, for many years to come.

RAYFORD W. LOGAN

Portraits by Ivan Bunin

MEMORIES AND PORTRAITS. By Ivan Bunin. Translated by Vera Traill and Robin Chancellor. Doubleday and Company. \$3.

WHEN a literary man paints a series of portraits, the figure in the foreground, providing ideological unity, is often himself. This thirteen-chapter book opens and ends and is interspersed with autobiography. None of the portraits are full-length; none have an objective candor. In each case it is Bunin-Tolstoy or Bunin-Gorki. But more than that, the author's evaluations cannot be understood without reference to his personal story in old and new Russia. For just as Ivan Bunin's life broke sharply into two sections—before and after revolution—so does this book.

The reader is given little historical material in which to frame individual portraits and no dates of composition. One unfamiliar with literary Russia would draw fantastic conclusions from the evidence of this book. Nevertheless, three pre-revolutionary sketches—those of Leo Tolstoy, Ertel, and Chekhov—are valuable in themselves. Each of these writers is shown through observed detail, suggestively. The aging Tolstoy, for example, is described as having "a kind of clumsy dexterity"; he moved "with a quick, slightly bobbing gait"; his eyes were "alert like an animal's"; his beard "dry, flimsy, uneven, and transparent," and "he spoke as hastily as he walked." In the case of Ertel—known to Americans only through Tolstoy's introduction to his collected fiction—Bunin is interested in rescuing a forgotten writer from oblivion. There is a kinship between author and subject, and the reader too feels sympathy toward this Ertel, who preached moderation and struggled passionately to attain it himself. But the chapter on Chekhov is easily the best in the book.

(It was first published in English in 1921.) Bunin's viewpoint in this essay is not new, but his incidents are unforgettable. Chekhov is seen talking about literature to a fellow-craftsman, with his contradictions unresolved. He "says funny things without the flicker of a smile," and at somebody else's humor laughs "almost as if it hurt him." Believing that a writer, whether a big or little dog, should "bark with whatever voice God had given him," his worst insult is "untalented." Critics called Chekhov a gloomy pessimist, but his living was a denial of the charge, and this portrait is a further denial.

Such sketches come from the artist Bunin, familiar to Americans as the Nobel prize winner and the author of that flawless story "The Gentleman from San Francisco." Unfortunately, the other chapters in the book reach no such high level and cannot be judged by literary standards. For they reveal a non-political author who has been twisted out of shape by the course of politics. Instead of a restrained voice, Bunin shouts. Instead of the measured word, he pours on invective. Are these chapters notes from the author's files, accumulated over the years? Or are they the work of an eighty-one-year-old émigré who during the Nazi occupation of Paris was reduced to poverty? In any case the obsessive theme of success and failure runs through these portraits of contemporaries. And whereas Bunin is kind to the inconsequential prince, who tried to write and failed, and to Kuprin who sank lower and lower with the years, he cannot forgive those Soviet authors who achieved popular success.

Bunin's anger against Bolshevism and against the writers who came to terms with it sets the mood of the later essays. Whoever is raised to a high position in the U. S. S. R.—such as Blok, Mayakovsky, or Alexei Tolstoy—he demotes. His aim seems to be character vilification rather than literary appraisal. And Maxim Gorki is the arch-enemy. Not only is a chapter devoted to him, but there are references to him all through the book. Bunin knew him as a friend for two decades, and claims to feel no hostility toward him. Yet the ugliness of the author's images betray him: Gorki's smile is described as "comically stupid," his forehead as "wrinkled like a monkey," and his walk as hav-

ing "a certain slinking gracefulness typical . . . of thieves."

This reviewer, being unfamiliar with literary life in Soviet Russia and émigré Paris, is in no position to judge their rival claims. But if Soviet literary biographies need to be corrected, Bunin is not the critic to undertake the work. Like many another Russian author of this and the nineteenth century, he has found it hard to survive exile. These portraits of his focus upon trivialities and take on puppet rather than human shapes. And the reader is left speculating on the state of mind of the author.

Literary history makes strange part-

YOUR LIFETIME IN PICTURES



10-DAY TRIAL

'50) have all been praised by critics, educators, historians. Order your copy of two-volume set now and receive FREE GIFT OF TWO pictorial world news maps in color, portraying all key events of this the last 50 years.

SEND NO MONEY—Write today
1951 annual edition—\$5.95, Half-Century (1900-1950) Edition—\$6.95; two-volume sets of both books—specially priced; \$9.95 per set. SENT ON 10-DAY FREE TRIAL BASIS.

YEAR, Inc. Dept. H 113
11833 Wilshire Blvd., Los Angeles 25, Calif.

BOOKS OF ALL KINDS FROM THE USSR 1952 Subscriptions Open for All Soviet Newspapers and Magazines

PRAVDA, IZVESTIA, in Russian
NEW TIMES, NEWS, in English
Delivered to Subscribers by Airmail
Request Complete Catalogue "Periodica-52"
Latest Soviet Records, Handicrafts
Ask for Complete Catalogue "P-51"
FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.
W. Street, N. Y. 19 Murray Hill 6-2680

Buy Your Books through THE Nation

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C. O. D. No C. O. D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to
Miss Le Fuch

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
23 Vesey Street New York 7, N. Y.

nerships. Dostoevsky and Tolstoy, who never met, are forever linked in the classroom. So in the pages of criticism Gorki is likely to cohabit with Bunin—the Soviet and the émigré voice. Gorki as a literary biographer (Tolstoy, Chekhov, Andreyev, and Korolenko) has qualities of genius. In generations to come it will be Bunin's unhappy fate to have his own book assigned to students on the same day as Gorki's.

ANITA MARBURG

Books in Brief

SIDDHARTHA. By Hermann Hesse. Translated by Hilda Rosner. New Directions. \$1.50. A superb English translation by Hilda Rosner of the Swiss Nobel Prize winner's allegory of man's search for the meaning of life. Siddhartha, a contemporary of Buddha, submits to every form of human experience before finding peace in a death-conquering conception of the unity of time. The cool and strangely simple story makes a beautiful little book, classic in proportion and style; it should be read slowly and with savor, preferably during the lonely hours of the night.

WEEKEND AT DUNKIRK. By Robert Merle. Translated from the French by K. Rebillon-Lambley. Knopf. \$3. This

war novel, by one of the new school of Algerian-born French writers, was awarded the Prix Goncourt; but American readers, while recognizing its qualities of unflinching honesty and understated compassion, and appreciating its grimly nihilistic picture of the Dunkirk débâcle, are likely to feel that it tells them little that they have not already learned from earlier war novels, regardless of locale.

GODS, GRAVES, AND SCHOLARS. By C. W. Ceram. Knopf. \$5.75. The story of the great archaeologists and their discoveries at Pompeii and Troy, and in Crete, Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia, Sumeria, and Yucatan. An admirable book for the layman, written with zest and packed with information. Translated from the German by E. B. Garside. With many illustrations.

CONTRIBUTORS

M. R. WERNER is a journalist and biographer.

RAYFORD W. LOGAN, professor of history at Howard University, is at present in Paris, where he is making a study of French colonial administration.

ANITA MARBURG is a member of the faculty of the University of Colorado.

Drama

JOSEPH
WOOD
KRUTCH

IN THE routine practice of his profession your critic must be guilty of a double impertinence: telling his betters what they should write and his equals what they should enjoy. Only now and then does he feel called upon to aggravate his offense by undertaking, to give instruction to his fellow-impertinents. But the occasion does arise, and it has done so in connection with Maxwell Anderson's new play "Barefoot in Athens" (Martin Beck Theater). It got some favorable notices, but it got also some very bad ones in very important places. And to me it seems that the authors of those bad notices simply missed the point.

Since Mr. Anderson was the author and Socrates the subject, they not unnaturally expected a big bow-wow play—a Tragedy in all probability and certainly a ringing protest against the opponents of free speech. Often enough in the past they have rebuked the author for being too much given to precisely that sort of thing. Yet they failed to recognize the fact that what they are offered here is not a big play, but a little one—certainly not a Tragedy but

The 3 Secrets

**of how to retire without a lot of money
—and yet end your money worries forever**

1. Learn where it costs less to live the kind of life you like;
2. Find out where it is easier to make a small income through a part-time job or small business; and
3. Learn which ways thousands now follow to get such a small income.

If there is anything true of the U. S. A., it is this: *It costs less than you may think to live the kind of life you'd like to—less to retire while you still enjoy it—PROVIDED you know where to do this.*

Even today, there are hundreds of undiscovered towns, islands, and bigger communities just ideal if you want to take life easy now, earn a small income, and say goodbye to money worries forever.

**Whether your hobby
is fishing, hunting, boating,
gardening, or just plain loafing**

Norman D. Ford, America's leading retirement consultant, can help you find the ideal place to start the best years of your life. He has found many little known towns where the cost of living is surprisingly low, where you can find many opportunities for seasonal work, part-time jobs, or to open a business that will keep you active and make you a small income.

If you consulted Mr. Ford in his office or by letter, you'd pay \$25 to get his advice. He'd show that you don't have to be old or rich to retire now; he'd point out just where you can go with your present resources and take life easy.

You don't have to spend \$25, however. He has put all the facts you need into a wonderful book, *Where to Retire on a Small Income*.

With this book, you learn

- where you can go fishing, hunting, boating, and swimming practically from your front door;
- where living costs, rents, and real estate are less (even where you can buy a farm for only \$2500);
- where you can live today for as low as \$2 a day;
- where your hobby will bring you an income;
- where you stand the best chance of living as you want to.

Where to retire on a small income in Florida, California, Hawaii, etc.

This book covers cities, towns, and farms throughout America—from New England south to Florida, west to California, and north to the Pacific Northwest. It includes Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands. "Right now, as a result of reading your book," writes N. Humphreys from his small, attractive home on the west coast of Florida, "I am enjoying a wonderful retirement down here on only \$2 a day."

Sooner or later you will want to end the eternal rat race of commuting, and worrying about your job, your home, and those mounting living costs. You will want to take life easy and start to do the things you always said you would do "some day."

Why not see for yourself how easily you can do them now? Send today for Harian's 2-volume retirement kit. You get Norman Ford's wonderful book on hundreds of pleasure spots, hideaways, and resorts where you can live today on what most people spend just for lunch, cigarettes, and their daily commuting.

In addition, you get a 100,000-word book, *How to Make a Living in the Country*—your personal plan for real independence from the worries of a job. The complete kit of 2 books is yours for only \$2. Money back, of course, if not satisfied. Simply tear out ad, and mail with two \$1 bills and your name and address to **HARIAN PUBLICATIONS, 1 WILSON PARKWAY, GREENLAWN, NEW YORK.**

something which might be called, without an intolerable stretching of the term, Comedy. For a comedy can end in death provided only the right man dies and takes it in the right way. Which was exactly the case with Socrates.

As Mr. Anderson sees him, this Socrates was a humorous, gently pestiferous old fellow living in a cosy, small-town Athens which took itself seriously without quite realizing just how much its achievements were going to impress the twentieth century. He was utterly sincere, and he was courageous with a kind of unspectacular courage of which only the simple are capable; but he was not at all Heroic with a capital H. Now this is pretty much the figure which not a few scholars have thought they could detect behind the touched-up Hero of the Platonic dialogues, and Barry Jones plays the part in a subtle low key which makes that figure come very charmingly alive. This Socrates lives in loving discord with a Xantippe who, wife-like, is not always sure just why virtue cannot be combined with a reasonable degree of prosperity, and this part is also beautifully played by Lotte Lenya. He may even, in the remote past, have been guilty of a little casual dalliance with Theodote, the courtesan from Corinth.

Considered as a play about free speech, the tone of "Barefoot in Athens" is more like that of "An Enemy of the People" or "St. Joan" than like what one has come to expect in the simpler, more hortatory, more self-righteous discourses on the subject so familiar today. Socrates is a little like Dr. Stockman because he exemplifies an unworldliness which he realizes—as Dr. Stockman does not—cannot possibly succeed in the world. In method the play is a great deal more like "St. Joan," partly because Mr. Anderson, like Shaw, gives some of the best and most powerful speeches to the enemy, notably King Pausanias's little discourse upon the advantages of a totalitarian state where the people have the economic security which is the only important thing while enjoying freedom from the necessity of troubling themselves with political problems, and the much more powerful and persuasive speech of the chief prosecutor at the trial, who grants Socrates his intelligence and his good intentions but maintains that, just as the fundamental

desirability of life itself must not be questioned, so no society can possibly endure unless it be permitted to accept certain premises as beyond dispute. A skepticism which is actually universal produces a paralysis of which some people who believe in something will inevitably take advantage.

The differences between the thesis of Mr. Anderson's play and that of "St. Joan" are the differences between Joan and Socrates, which reflect, I imagine, differences between the temperaments of the authors who chose them. Joan is as positive and as downright as her opponents. In a sense she is no less intolerant. She is as sure of the rightness of her new ideas as they are of their old ones. But Socrates is the skeptical liberal, precisely the kind of man for whom our age has generally so little respect because, except perhaps in his own conduct, he puts so little into effect. He could not possibly be a Hero in so far as the term implies a leader of majorities, even liberal majorities, but just because he cannot be a Hero he becomes a Saint. He is too Greek not to be haunted by the suspicion that the ideal exists only in the mind and that the realizable always falls short. Utopia is literally nowhere, and the Republic will never exist except in the discourse of friends. He is surprised but not too much surprised, and he is not at all disconcerted when his death is voted. Even Athens is an actual city not an ideal one. Moreover, men will in the end understand the idea of freedom better because of his death. Had he been acquitted he would have been forgotten. Athens is the noblest city which ever existed, perhaps the noblest that ever will exist, but it cannot quite assimilate Socrates.

In the past Mr. Anderson has been accused of an easy pessimism, and if I read this play aright it makes clearer than he has ever made it before what his pessimistic liberalism means. To those driven by their optimism to say that because Americans are not completely free, what we call democracy is no different from totalitarianism, Socrates replies that what we have is at least as good as what any society ever managed to achieve for itself. Perhaps one should continue to ask for the impossible. But one should not be either too surprised or too distressed if one does not get it.

Music

B. H.
HAGGIN

MOST of Nicolas Nabokov's "Old Friends and New Music" (Little, Brown, \$3.50) was published originally in the *Atlantic Monthly*; and I find his discussion of Shostakovich as accurately perceptive now as when I quoted from it in this column years ago—by which I mean of course that I recognize in Mr. Nabokov's statements what I have heard in the music. On the other hand, rereading what he says about Prokofiev's music I again find that it doesn't acquire meaning for me in that way.

The accounts of personal experiences with Diaghilev, Prokofiev, Stravinsky, Balanchine, Koussevitzky also are as interesting and entertaining as they were—the products of a highly observant and effective raconteur. This time however I have been aware of the raconteur straining for color and humor in language and metaphor; and I have detected inaccurate details and formulations at certain points which have created uncertainty whether the stories are reliable at other points.

Even when I read the account of Nijinsky's 1927 visit to a performance of the Diaghilev Ballet in the *Atlantic* I noticed that Mr. Nabokov spoke of it as a performance of "The Firebird" when in fact it was one of "Petrouchka"; and the mistake was the more curious since he referred to the "now famous photograph" taken after the

PULITZER PRIZE and CRITICS' AWARD
RICHARD RODGERS & OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd
present in association with
LELAND HAYWARD & JOSHUA LOGAN

ROGER RICO
MARTHA WRIGHT
IN
South Pacific

MUSIC BY RICHARD RODGERS
LYRICS BY OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd
BOOK BY
OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd & JOSHUA LOGAN
Adapted from JAMES A. MICHELO's Pulitzer
Prize Winning "TALES OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC"
Directed by JOSHUA LOGAN
Scenery & Lighting by Jo Mielziner
with MYRON MCCORMICK
MAJESTIC THEATRE, 44th St., West of B'way
Evenings 8:30. Matinees Wed. & Sat., 2:30

performance, in which Karsavina is in the now famous costume of the Ballerina in "Petrouchka." But it seemed an isolated detail and less consequential then than now. The story takes off from the incident of Lifar's appearance before the curtain of City Center three years ago, which reminds Mr. Nabokov of Lifar's early days, and of the occasion when Diaghilev had Nijinsky brought from his sanatorium to the performance in order to get him to express admiration of his newest find. And one thing I am struck by now is what—in the course of a derisive de-

scription of Lifar as an "obedient show dog" of Diaghilev and his choreographers, and later as an absurd impersonator of Nijinsky—Mr. Nabokov says about him as a dancer: "Lifar, having acquired a splendid technical skill as a corps de ballet dancer, had quickly risen to the position of a star, and thus had become a *faute de mieux* successor of Nijinsky." This statement in its context is an example of Mr. Nabokov's way of stating fact with pejorative implications—in this case, that Lifar's artistic stature didn't equal his status in the Diaghilev company. A statement of the facts without these pejorative implications would be that Lifar, beginning in the corps, quickly rose to the position of star by virtue not of a brilliant technique but of extraordinary powers of presence and expressive projection which enabled this childish and absurd person—placed on a set and lighted stage in costume and make-up, directed by Balanchine, and kept under control by Diaghilev—to produce the appearances, the illusions of splendor, grandeur, beauty, and wit that it is the task of a great dancer to produce. And if Mr. Nabokov gives a wrong impression of Lifar in this respect, one wonders about his story of Lifar's wearing bathing trunks under his evening clothes to do Nijinsky's "Faun" at parties. More

important, one wonders about the reason he gives for the Nijinsky visit. For I have remembered what was given out at the time and believed until Mr. Nabokov's story: that Nijinsky was taken to the performance of "Petrouchka" in the hope that seeing this ballet in which he had danced and seeing Karsavina with whom he had danced in it might have an effect on his insanity. That, it seems to me, must have been Mme Nijinsky's and the doctor's purpose in the visit, whatever Diaghilev's use of it.

Again, in his account of a visit to Tanglewood to discuss with Koussevitzky a work which the conductor was commissioning him to compose, he tells of hearing Koussevitzky's performance of Tchaikovsky's Fifth Symphony. And in the *Atlantic Monthly* he wrote: "Flamboyant and exuberant, it was certainly the most romantic, the most Tchaikovskian performance of the symphony I have ever heard"; but in the book this is changed to "Whatever his detractors, his critics may say about his performance of this work, it was certainly the most inspired, the most romantic, the most Tchaikovskian performance of the symphony I have ever heard." Here—in the addition of "detractors" and "whatever his detractors, his critics may say" to minimize the legitimate criticism of Koussevitzky's distortions—we see the pejorative formulation in actual operation; and also the reverse procedure in the omission of "flamboyant and exuberant" and the insertion of "inspired."

Let me make it clear that I don't think Mr. Nabokov does this sort of thing consciously. What I think, instead, is that his is not the rare disinterested mind which can consider the facts objectively and report them accurately, but the more usual mind for which the facts assume whatever appearance is required by purpose or emotions—the appearance that is funnier for Mr. Nabokov's purpose as an entertainer, or more advantageous to someone he feels warmly disposed toward, or less advantageous to someone he feels hostile toward. And the result is a book which is highly interesting and amusing, but about which one doesn't know whether everything that is interesting or amusing happened the way he says.

PERSONALS

ANY NUMBER can play YAHTZIE, successor to Canasta. Great — a gift game for ages nine to ninety. Complete introductory set postpaid anywhere, \$1.00. P. O. Box 1505, U. Station, Austin, Texas.

exit loneliness

Somewhere there is someone you would like to know.
Somewhere there is someone who would like to know you.
We can help you find a richer, happier life through direct, dignified "aerial introductions."
Write for booklet, or phone
MAY RICHARDSON
Dept. TN, 141 West 72 Street
New York City EN 2-2033



AGENTS WANTED, capable of establishing and managing, under a license agreement and copyrighted system, branch of reputable introduction service. Method of operation also filed with Better Business Bureau of New York City. Minimum of \$750 investment required. Write for particulars without obligation. Address Personal Introduction Service, (Suite 415), 2112 Broadway, New York 23, N. Y.

FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE

The NATION

☐ with Harper's Magazine . . \$9.50 You Save \$2.50

The NATION

☐ with Consumer Reports . . \$10.75 You Save \$1.25

These club combinations — for one year, and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses. Remittance — accompany all combination orders.

THE NATION by itself:

☐ 1 Year \$7 ☐ 2 Years \$12 ☐ 3 Years \$17

SERVICEMEN'S RATE \$5 A YEAR

Canadian and Foreign Postage \$1 a year extra.

THE NATION, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

☐ I want to subscribe to *The Nation* for _____ years.

☐ Remittance enclosed. ☐ Bill me.

☐ I enclose my remittance for the following *Nation* combinations — listed below.

NAME _____

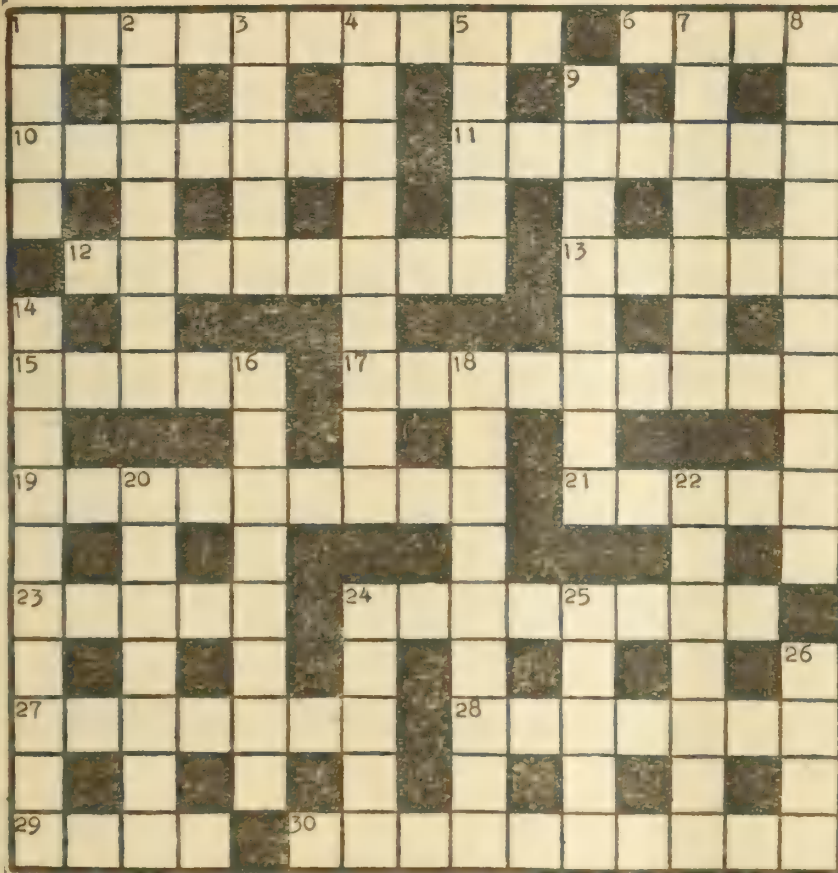
STREET _____

CITY _____ ZONE _____ STATE _____

11/17/51

Crossword Puzzle No. 439

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 You might find a hint of it in Manito. (10)
- 6 See 26 down.
- 10 5 down, 24 across Moccasin factory for Uncas (3, 4, 2, 3, 8)
- 11 Author, yet slightly more than a bad author. (7)
- 12 Is the opening only left on board? (8)
- 13 Is it spoiled if 16½ feet are left? (5)
- 15 See 26 down.
- 17 Coming out of the air, it hung in Germany. (9)
- 19 Busses shouldn't be stopped underneath it. (9)
- 21 Close to a petal—in fact close to all broken petals. (5)
- 23 Part of a lariat and another lariat. (5)
- 24 See 10.
- 27 Main hazard. (7)
- 28 This is a dumb way to get an idea across! (7)
- 29 Speed-up plant. (4)
- 30 Used to get acted around a sort of 25 down. (10)

DOWN

- 1 Little letter. (4)
- 2 and 14 The St. Thomas with the comparatively funny appellation? (3, 4, 3, 7)
- 3 One of those things with social

organization follows me, as intended. (5)

- 4 Bird equivalent to work with a shuttle? (3, 3, 3)
- 5 See 10 across.
- 7 Could gin ever be responsible for it? (The chalk-line test might say so!) (7)
- 8 How could Arthur be at the head of it! (5, 5)
- 9 Whims. (8)
- 14 See 2.
- 16 Rescues a sizeable number surrounded by Indians. (8)
- 18 I ate lunch? That's not right! (9)
- 20 Is their patron saint Vitus? (7)
- 22 Founder with 3? Include me out by this standard! (7)
- 24 Descriptive of the Mann Mountain. (5)
- 25 Just title—so you say! (5)
- 26 6 across, 15 across I'm the Prince of Cads? (4, 4, 5)

• • • • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 438

ACROSS:—1 MISINTERPRETED; 8 PRES-TO-CHANGO; 10 ICEBREAKER; 11 CHOP; 13 TOPICS; 14 SABOTEUR; 16 PRIMEVAL; 19 EDOM; 20 COTTON YARN; 22 ANNA KARENINA; 23 CONTRACT BRIDGE.

DOWN:—1 MEPHISTOPHELES; 2 STERE-OTICON; 3 NUTCRACKER; 4 ESCHAR; 5 PLACE MAT; 6 ERGO; 7 and 17 COMPARISONS ARE ODIUS; 9 THREE OF A KIND; 12 GOLDEN BEAR; 15 PANORAMA; 18 STRAIT; 21 GNAT.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

RESORTS

Christmas Is a Time for

MUSIC INN

Horse-drawn sleighing, sledging, ice fishing, skating, skating in the moonlight on our own rink, music by the fire, Richard Dyer-Bennett, caroling waiters, continental piano by Sylvio Flory. For New Year's—Edith Wilson singing songs blue and gay—music to dance to—and warmth within.

Write: MUSIC INN • Lenox, Mass.

50 MILES TO FOREST HOUSE

Near enough for easy travel, far enough for an unforgettable vacation. Forest House achieves new levels of gay relaxation in inspiring surroundings. Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality. Two grand lakes. All sports.

FOREST HOUSE

Lake Mahopac, N. Y. • Tel. MAhopac 8-3449

RESERVE NOW FOR THE
THANKSGIVING HOLIDAYS!

Glenmere
wood-burning fireplaces
in most rooms

THE GLENMERE, Chester, N. Y.
Phones: Chester 2151; N. Y. Rector 2-5047

FARMS • ACREAGE

COLONIAL; 6 rooms; new bath; new guaranteed roof; beamed ceilings; fireplaces, Dutch oven; new garage; 9 acres; exceptional view. \$5500. Berkshire Farm Agency, East Chatham, New York.

REAL ESTATE

NEWARK, N. J.—Ripe for great super market or super service station. Entire block; 862 feet frontage. Mt. Prospect & 2nd Aves. One block from Mutual Benefit Life home office building. Owner, L. N. Rosenbaum & Son, 565 Fifth Avenue, N. Y. 17.

PUBLISHING SERVICE

AUTHORS! Sales Department available for your short stories, articles, books and plays. Free booklet, write today! Mead Agency, 419 Fourth Avenue, N. Y. 16 (OR 9-1150).

HOME STUDY

LEARN SHORTHAND AT HOME. EZ longhand system. Free literature. Taught at Chautauqua. Zinman, 215-N West 91 St., New York 24, N. Y.

VOICE DEVELOPMENT

YOUR VOICE made loud, clear, dynamic, powerful—with my Diaphragm Exerciser, new invention. Write: VOICE DEVELOPER, Box 663 (25-V), St. Louis, Mo.

Advertising Rates

CLASSIFIED

74¢ a line (6 words)

Three-line minimum

CLASSIFIED DISPLAY

\$7.42 per inch (minimum)

Remittance must accompany all orders

The NATION

TWENTY VESEY STREET

New York 7, New York

BARclay 7-1068

A Seasonal Reminder

★ With Christmas approaching, we want to remind you that *The*
★ *Nation* offers a rewarding and effortless way to get some of your
★ shopping done.

★ A year's subscription to *The Nation* makes a substantial gift, and,
★ considering *The Nation's* dedication to peace and good-will, an appro-
★ priate one for the season.

★ There has been no advance in our gift rate. Five dollars still sends
★ 52 weeks of good reading to each friend on your list, a new remem-
★ brance every week from one year's end to the other.

★ Simply fill out and send the coupon, and we will do the rest—gift card
★ and all.

GIFT ORDER FORM

The NATION

Twenty Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

Dear Nation: Please send gift subscriptions of ~~one~~ year of *The Nation* to my friends as indicated below, at the special gift rate of \$5 each.

- ☐ Also renew my own subscription to *The Nation* at the regular rate for _____ years.
☐ Don't renew my subscription now. ☐ Remittance enclosed. ☐ Please bill me.

My name is _____

Street _____

City _____ Zone & State _____

Regular Renewal Subscription Rates:

One Year \$7 • Two Years \$12 • Three Years \$17

For Foreign and Canadian subscriptions add \$1 a year.

LIST GIFT SUBSCRIPTIONS HERE

Name _____

Street _____

City _____ Zone & State _____

Gift Card should read from _____

☐ Send Gift Card to me for mailing.

Name _____

Street _____

City _____ Zone & State _____

Gift Card should read from _____

☐ Send Gift Card to me for mailing.

Name _____

Street _____

City _____ Zone & State _____

Gift Card should read from _____

☐ Send Gift Card to me for mailing.

Name _____

Street _____

City _____ Zone & State _____

Gift Card should read from _____

☐ Send Gift Card to me for mailing.

11/17/51

Breaking the Circle—*Freda Kirchwey*

THE

Nation

IRLINGHAM
IC LIBRARY
ingame, Calif.

November 24, 1951

Ethics in Government

Cynics and Feeble Good Men

BY H. H. WILSON

✱

Expediency Above Principle

The Record of J. Howard McGrath

BY FOWLER HARPER

✱

Valhalla Rebuilt - - - - - *Carolus*

Florida: Murder Without Indictment - - *Stetson Kennedy*

"The Miracle" Case - - - - - *Margaret Marshall*

Germany Comes to Dinner - - - - *J. Alvarez del Vayo*

AROUND THE U. S. A.

Honor Thy Informer!

Cambridge, Massachusetts

THE sparks that flew when the Supreme Court tempered the Smith act have started a fire in the native state of the late Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes.

Dirk J. Struik, professor of mathematics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and Harry E. Winner, executive of a Malden rubber company, were indicted on September 13 by a Middlesex County grand jury on charges of conspiring to advocate the overthrow of the governments of Massachusetts and the United States. A third indictment charged Struik with simple advocacy. Mrs. Margaret Gilbert, formerly of Cambridge, Massachusetts, was arraigned later in Chicago on a secret conspiracy indictment. A fourth alleged conspirator, Mrs. Martha Fletcher, is in France. The penalties provided for the offenses with which they are charged are a maximum of three years in prison and a fine. Bail for Struik and Winner was set at \$10,000 each. These are the first indictments under a 1919 anti-anarchy statute, amended in 1948, barring persons convicted of violating it from teaching or administrative positions in schools or colleges. They are among the first state sedition prosecutions in our history.

The cases appear to hang on the word of a Melrose advertising man, Herbert A. Philbrick, an FBI informer for nine years, who testified at the Foley Square trial of the eleven Communist leaders in April, 1949, that Struik once lectured at the home of Mrs. Gilbert on Lenin's "The State and Revolution." Philbrick also said Mrs. Fletcher had advocated popular revolt in the event of war between the United States and Russia. She has denied his charges.

Philbrick first mentioned Winner publicly last July, when he told the House Un-American Activities Committee that Struik, Winner, and he had been members of a secretly Communist professional group in Cambridge which avoided membership in the party. What he told the grand jury is not known, but there is no open evidence that he has ever accused Struik or Winner of advo-

cating or conspiring to advocate the overthrow of the government. Struik does not recall him, and Winner knew him only slightly.

Twice in twenty-nine months District Attorney George E. Thompson of Middlesex County has announced that he was investigating possible violation by Struik of the state teachers'-loyalty-oath law. Nothing happened either time. There has been speculation why, if Struik and the others were plotting in 1947, the initial date given in the indictments, the state failed to act until more than four years later and the FBI has not moved at all. The job Thompson holds has in the past been a reputation-maker for Republicans seeking higher office. And the G. O. P. cupboard is about bare of candidates for next year's elections. It is reported that Thompson will deviate from his practice and try the case in person. No date for the trial has been set.

A noted geometrician, Struik was invited to M. I. T. from his native Holland in 1926 and became professor of geometry there in 1940. He is an editor of the Marxist periodical *Science and Society*, an executive of the Massachusetts Council for American-Soviet Friendship, a local Progressive Party leader, a former trustee and science lecturer at the Marxist Jefferson School in New York, and a founder and faculty member of the now defunct Samuel Adams School for Social Studies in Boston. He is the author of several books on geometry and of the delightful "Yankee Science in the Making."

Struik has expounded Marxism and socialism most of his life. He believes an accord with Russia is the key to peace, and he does not try to hide the coincidence of many of his aims with those of the Communist Party, which, he adds, he never joined, though he once considered it.

President James R. Killian, Jr., of M. I. T. said in 1949 and again last July that there was no evidence Struik had tried "improperly" to influence his students or colleagues and that he would be presumed innocent of any crime until proved guilty—with this catch: an indictment would bring suspension. It did.

Winner, strange to say, is a success-

ful small business man and respected community leader. A self-taught Marxist who never attended college, he has sought to translate a rather consuming sympathy with the underdog into community action. He too has been suspended from his job with pay.

Defense committees are being formed in behalf of both men. Struik's counsel is Oliver S. Allen, a civil-liberties-minded Boston attorney who has headed the state Progressive Party and who in 1946 was defeated for Congress on the Democratic ticket. Winner's lawyer is Hubert C. Thompson, former assistant United States attorney in Boston.

The indictments have whetted the appetites of witch hunters. Elements of the Boston press have long been keen in the pursuit of political heretics. Harvard and M. I. T. are ancient targets of a lively anti-intellectualism. The legislature has been swamped with a flood of restrictive measures, the strongest not yet passed but patterned after Maryland's Ober law. It has designated November 27 as "Herbert A. Philbrick Day" throughout the state. Struik and Winner have had few voices raised for them publicly.

Both prosecution and defense have been dutifully v literature. Struik occasions he dis Revolution" he c ments on Lenin the state. The S in its review of in 1943—the o the body of M significant: Just majority opinion the use of vio preventing a c constitutional o establishing the Since membership in the Communist Party is not here charged or admitted, an opportunity will be afforded the courts to ponder again the meaning of clear and present danger.

The spotlight has been fixed on Professor Struik because of the dramatic issue of academic freedom in his case. But Winner's predicament is more disturbing because he is an ordinary citizen with radical views.

JOSEPH E. GARLAND

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 173

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • NOVEMBER 24, 1951

NUMBER 21

The Shape of Things

THE CURRENT FASHION OF INSISTING THAT priority should be given to those social reforms that are important in "the fight against communism"—as if social justice were merely a tactic—has never been popular at *The Nation*. Nevertheless it is appropriate, we feel, to call attention to the effective use that Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Vishinsky made of the case of the two Florida Negroes discussed by Stetson Kennedy in this issue. "This," said Vishinsky before the Assembly of the United Nations in Paris, "is human rights in the United States." Dr. Channing Tobias attempted to reply by saying, as a member of the United States delegation and a Negro, that American Negroes were making progress toward full equality despite occasional lynchings, discrimination, and segregation. After all, he added, such incidents occur in the United States in defiance of law and not through law. Unfortunately, the facts of the Florida case refute this statement: it was the "law" that shot down the two Negroes. For some offenses there is no excuse, and this is one of them. Dr. Tobias would have shown more skill in international public relations if he had said just this. Even more effective would have been a statement from President Truman, in Florida at the time, castigating the local and state officials and pledging the full influence of his office to induce the Department of Justice to act if the local and state authorities did not. Mr. Truman may have taken such action—*The Nation* suggested it by wire. If he did, it should be made public. We would like to have Mr. Vishinsky hear about it.

★

FRANCE, LIKE BRITAIN, HAS BEEN FORCED TO take drastic action to check the deterioration in its balance of payments. In the second half of 1950 its combined dollar and sterling deficit was at the rate of \$40,000,000 a month, offset by surpluses in other currencies; the average for July and August this year was \$104,000,000, and at the same time France has incurred a large deficit with the European Payments Union. As a result, French dollar reserves are approaching exhaustion—one report estimates them as well below \$200,000,000—and although the Bank of France has a gold reserve of \$547,000,000, that could hardly be touched without precipitating a financial panic. In an effort to reduce the trade deficit the French government has decreed a cutback in dol-

lar imports to \$500,000,000 annually, which compares with a current program of \$825,000,000. This, however, is a dangerous remedy, since French purchases in the dollar area are mainly raw materials—coal, oil, cotton, and copper—supplies of which are already inadequate to meet defense and civilian needs. If output of consumer goods is reduced as a result, internal inflation, which is already getting out of hand, will be given a new fillip. That would probably lead to more industrial unrest and a succession of political crises. In Paris, government officials complain that their troubles have been aggravated by the failure of Washington to make available to France aid promised a year ago when the French defense budget was increased, at American urging, by nearly 50 per cent. Washington denies this, but the fact is that although we have been shipping considerable quantities of tanks and guns to France, we have neglected the more urgent necessity to support the French economy, which is far from sturdy enough to bear its scheduled rearmament load.

★

A WAITING POPULACE LAST WEEK WITNESSED the unveiling of Robert A. Taft's master-work, "A Foreign Policy for Americans," a slender compilation of old speeches put between board covers as a campaign document. By the time its author had explained to a press conference what he had meant in saying this or that, the feeling was still strong that Taft is no Vandenberg. He continued to give an extraordinary impression of a man arguing with himself, and though he hotly denies that he is or ever has been an isolationist, he is certainly no more than a "yes, but" internationalist. No, he does not now oppose the Atlantic alliance, although he voted against it. No, he does not oppose Point Four aid to foreign countries, viewed as "charity," but he doesn't think much of the idea that we can or should help raise the standard of living of other peoples. No, he doesn't really deny that the Soviet Union is capable of attacking us with atom bombs, although on page 101 of his book he expresses doubt on the matter, but he would not go so far as to state categorically that Russia has both bombs and the planes to carry them. No, he is not really sure we should not have intervened in Korea, but the President should have done it differently, and Taft awaits with interest General MacArthur's comments on his book, "so I can see where I've gone wrong." All of this seems accurately characterized by Senator McMahon's phrase "dynamic negativism."

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

- The Shape of Things 433
Breaking the Circle *by Freda Kirchwey* 435

ARTICLES

- When MacArthur Remained Silent
by Richard L. Neuberger 436
Germany Comes to Dinner
by J. Alvarez del Vayo 437
Cynics and Feeble Good Men *by H. H. Wilson* 438
The Record of J. Howard McGrath
by Fowler Harper 441
Florida: Murder Without Indictment
by Stetson Kennedy 444
The Battle for Free Schools: Jim Crow in Education
by Horace Mann Bond and Morton Piner 446
Valhalla Rebuilt *by Carolus* 449

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

- Notes by the Way *by Margaret Marshall* 451
Foreign Policy and Congress *by Willard Shelton* 452
First Novel *by Harvey Swados* 453
To Italy and Back *by Frances Keene* 453
Before Columbus *by Mildred Adams* 454
The Views of Nehru *by W. Norman Brown* 455
Books in Brief 456
Films *by Manny Farber* 457
Music *by B. H. Haggin* 458

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 459

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 440

by Frank W. Lewis opposite 460

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Associate Editor: Carey McWilliams

Foreign Editor J. Alvarez del Vayo *Literary Editor* Margaret Marshall

Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin

Assistant Editor: Charles R. Allen, Jr.

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside

Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting

Staff Contributors

Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: Mary Simon

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1951, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$7; Two years \$12; Three years \$17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: *The Nation* is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

THE EAST COAST-WEST COAST COMBINATION that beat Taft in the 1948 Republican convention came into play again when Governor Warren of California announced his candidacy for the Presidential nomination. New York, Massachusetts, and other Eastern delegations will support General Eisenhower if he allows it. Warren is first of all for Warren, but he is also definitely anti-Taft; he said in his announcement that Republicans cannot hope to win the next election "solely on the mistakes of the present twenty-year Administration, many though they are. . . . The Republican Party must present a definite constructive and workable program." Taft at present has the support only of the Midwestern bitter-enders, plus "captive" Southern Republicans, plus Joe McCarthy and former Republican National Committeeman Thomas R. Coleman of Wisconsin. Taft had stolen McCarthy from Harold E. Stassen, but he has not yet won over other Republicans who in 1948 felt that Governor Dewey offered a better bet. Taft is catching up with history. But history keeps moving, too, and "yes, but" is a sorry slogan.

★

ELMER RICE, PULITZER PRIZE PLAYWRIGHT, has advanced the campaign against McCarthyism in radio at least a hedgerow or two by courageously ending his association with the Celanese Theater on the ground that artists appearing on the program must first be "cleared" by the attorney for Ellington and Company, who represent the sponsor. Mr. Rice's contract for the production of "Counselor-at-Law" stipulated that he should have an active voice in casting. He had at first thought of Paul Muni or Gregory Peck for the leading role but later suggested John Garfield—whose name, incidentally, was brought into the story by persons other than Mr. Rice. The attorney, A. Walter Socolaw, refused to "clear" Garfield, who had denied under oath before the House Committee on Un-American Activities that he was a Communist. From a conference with Socolaw, Mr. Rice concluded that the attorney "conducts an inquiry into the alleged political opinions and activities of the actors and bases his acceptance or rejection upon his judgment of the propriety of their political beliefs." In the course of the conference Socolaw admitted that he was "under pressure from the publishers of 'Red Channels.'" Mr. Rice's blunt charges provoked, of course, a fine spasm of squirming. The advertising agency first sought to duck responsibility by saying that it merely "approved" the cast, then added, as an afterthought, "But when you get somebody who may cause a lot of bad publicity for your program, you do have to be a little careful. It's an ordinary business safeguard." Mr. Socolaw's contribution to this rationalization was even less convincing; he denied that he possessed a copy of "Red Channels." It would be equally plausible to assume that Ford Frick, baseball's commissioner, operates without a list of ineligible players.

THE ACTOR'S EQUITY ASSOCIATION HAS JUST won a smashing victory against segregation in the nation's capital. In 1947 Equity notified the National Theater that after May 31, 1948, its members would not be permitted to perform there unless the theater admitted Negroes to its audience as it did to its stage. The National was turned into a motion-picture house; the rule of segregation remained. Now comes the announcement that Aldrich and Myers, New York theatrical producers, have leased the National Theater, that legitimate stage productions will be resumed, and that segregation will be abolished. It was time.

Breaking the Circle

BY FRED KIRCHWEY

A CIRCLE broken at any point ceases to be a circle; continuity interrupted, a new direction becomes possible. Suddenly, after a seemingly endless period of stalemate and confusion, it looks as if the fighting in Korea might be stopped. The U. N. formula proposed last Saturday seemed as the week began to stand a chance of acceptance. The vicious circle of hostility and tension may be broken at Panmunjom.

What happened last week is not yet clear. But apparently the talks at Panmunjom had degenerated into such a mishmash of accusations, denials, near-agreements, new conditions, and threatened breakdowns that a worldwide revulsion occurred. At almost the same second soldiers struggling to gain or hold a hilltop in Korea, politicians in London, and U. N. delegates at Paris decided that the haggling must end, that men could not be asked to go on dying over insignificant differences or last-minute demands. For weeks the actual line of contact had been accepted by both sides as the cease-fire line. What remained were confusing disputes over such issues as whether the line should be set immediately or, as the U. N. insisted, only after the other conditions for an armistice had been agreed upon; whether or not active fighting should continue after the cease-fire line had been fixed; how to prevent the regrouping and reinforcement of military forces during an armistice.

Since the new delays had obviously resulted from objections raised by the Allied negotiators, U. N. soldiers in Korea began to ask questions. Many men of all ranks became convinced, as George Barrett reported in the *New York Times*, that "their own commanders for reasons unknown to the troops," were "throwing up blocks against an agreement." Whatever the real complications might be, said Mr. Barrett, "most of the circuitous proceedings and extensions of argument that have marked the meetings at Kaesong and Panmunjom are lost on the troops who have to fight the war. In most of the gatherings observed, the United Nations truce team has

created the impression that it switches its stand whenever the Communists indicate they might go along with it." These doubts were echoed in Britain, where press and politicians began to demand an end to the deadlock and to ask, belatedly, why only Americans were included in the negotiating team.

Last week's announcement by Colonel James M. Hanley of the killing of 5,500 U. N. war prisoners by the Chinese may have been as fortuitous as it seemed or it may have been aimed at improving the American position at Panmunjom. The report would naturally arouse bitter and legitimate anger among people of all nations with contingents in Korea and fortify the argument that no cease-fire should be ordered until all remaining U. N. prisoners had been exchanged. But this effect, if it was intended, was blurred by the news that neither General Ridgway nor the Pentagon was aware of the report or responsible for its release; nor was the President or the State Department. And while General Ridgway has since okayed Colonel Hanley's figures, they are being treated merely as new evidence of well-known Communist brutality—although no attempt has been made to explain why killings supposed to have taken place over a period of almost a year and a half had not been reported or protested against before now. What seems to have happened was a major and most heartless blunder by an officer who may have had his own ideas about how to influence truce negotiations. What remains is for an anxious public to demand a further, and strictly impartial, investigation into the Hanley figures, which were described by General Ridgway's public information officer, Colonel George P. Welch, as "maximum approximations rather than evaluated total," and which Peking has of course flatly denied.

Whatever part the atrocity story may have played, it did not prevent the steps which within two days produced the new U. N. truce formula. Last Friday in Washington Assistant Secretary of State Hickerson made a report to the representatives of the other U. N. nations with troops in Korea on the state of the truce negotiations and outlined the proposals about to be made. Presumably they were drawn up by the Americans and merely presented to their allies. But one can take it for granted that the attitude of those allies forced Washington to abandon the point it had most firmly insisted upon, namely, that the fixing of a cease-fire line should be put off until the other items on the agenda had been disposed of. The very day the meeting in Washington was reported, a story by the chief London correspondent of the *New York Times*, Raymond Daniell, described the growing "disquiet" in London over the failure of the negotiations to achieve a truce. "The question is being raised," he said, "whether it is American or Communist intransigence that is at fault." While the government "has declared its confidence in General Ridg-

way and his negotiations, the fact is that the British people are beginning to question whether that confidence is well placed."

The new proposal, drafted in Washington not Tokyo, makes one important concession to the Communists. If the other conditions for an armistice are agreed upon within thirty days, the present line of contact will become the actual armistice line, the armies withdrawing two kilometers on each side to form a neutral zone. In other words, even if the battle line should shift in the interval, it would revert to its present position. Meanwhile it is provided that "hostilities will continue until the signing of the armistice agreement"—a point which permits U. N. attacks on Communist installations and troop movements. Theoretically it permits ground fighting as well, but nobody seriously believes that troops on either side will fight for positions which must be relinquished if an armistice is signed. The final provision that if an armistice is not agreed upon within thirty days the line again becomes movable—a matter for further negotiation—was put forward without threat.

Perhaps the offer will have been acted upon before these words are published. If it has served to break the circle at its most inflamed point, one can hope that tension will be somewhat relieved at every other point. The problems lying beyond an armistice in Korea are larger and more complex than those which have stalled the truce negotiators. That we fully recognize. But while the war lasts they cannot even be approached. Only when the killing ends can such issues as Formosa and the recognition of Peking, or the role of Japan in Asia, or the future of Korea itself, be discussed in the light of reality. Even the conflicts of interest in Europe remain beyond sensible negotiation while East and West slug it out over Korea's battered corpse. The first requirement is peace.

When MacArthur Remained Silent

BY RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

Portland, Oregon, November 16

GENERAL DOUGLAS MACARTHUR, who is ready to deliver a speech at the drop of a gold-braided hat, didn't deliver one in Portland this week, and he may hear about it when he sheds lugubrious tears for men sent into battle.

It occurred at the sprawling hospital of the United States Veterans' Administration. A panel of microphones awaited the General's arrival. Some were hooked to broadcasting stations. Others funneled through the wards and rooms of the hospital's many wings. Patients were ready with bedside earphones as the cavalcade of Cadillacs roared into the plaza in front of the administration building.

The General alighted and commenced shaking hands with officials, doctors, and patients gathered outside. Of course, it was apparent that the more serious invalided veterans remained inside the hospital. Some could be seen through the windows. Twice Dr. Harry E. Bank, manager of the hospital, told General MacArthur a talk by him was eagerly anticipated by the ex-soldiers in the wards and corridors of the hospital. Both times MacArthur waved aside the doctor. Finally an army colonel urged MacArthur to "say a few words so the patients inside the hospital can hear you."

"I am not prepared to say anything," replied MacArthur.

Suddenly someone in ostensible authority shouted to the photographers: "That's all. Finish your pictures."

MacArthur stepped into his car and was whisked away. The *Oregonian* described the scene as follows: "The big hospital buildings where patients watched behind closed windows were silent. The bedridden neither saw nor heard the 'Old Soldier.'"

E. C. Sammons, staunch Republican and chairman of the MacArthur Reception Committee in Portland, insisted he had made full arrangements with MacArthur for a talk at the Veterans' Hospital which could be piped through all the halls and chambers of the institution. Some of MacArthur's more rabid local partisans dismiss this on the ground that Sammons, a leading banker, is an intimate friend of the state's liberal junior Senator, Wayne L. Morse.

Petitions have already been filed to place MacArthur on the ballot for the Presidential preference primary of May, 1952. Adherents of General Eisenhower now believe that the "Old Soldier's" unexplained silence at the Veterans' Hospital has finished him off as a political threat in Oregon.

Indeed, MacArthur's whole trip to the Pacific Northwest, arranged originally by Senator Harry P. Cain of Washington, can only be regarded as a complete bust. He nearly wrecked a long-planned centennial celebration by the city of Seattle when, instead of talking about Seattle and its dynamic future, he assailed every policy ever announced or carried out by the Truman Administration. Representative Henry M. Jackson said he could not decide whether the event marked the 100th anniversary of Seattle or the 100th anniversary of opponents of Harry S. Truman. The Centennial Committee was decimated the next day by resignations. In addition, the University of Washington found itself greatly embarrassed because the pavilion had been made the forum for a political address, which is contrary to campus rules.

Much of MacArthur's Seattle speech was a rehash of previous attacks on the Administration. However, he waded into particularly perilous shoals, for him, when he went all-out in denouncing the President's alleged effort to conceal political mistakes "behind a cloak of

national-security news blackouts." Even newspapers which have been virulently critical of White House censorship policies felt this was a case of a very big caldron calling a very small skillet black.

"It was ludicrous to find MacArthur posing as the great defender of a free press," declared the *Daily Journal* of Portland. "As supreme commander in the Pacific, MacArthur maintained the most rigid censorship over the news of all World War II commanders. . . . He held only four press conferences in three years, and they were off the record. His famous communiqués were so worded that they consistently exalted the role of MacArthur and reduced the roles of other generals and admirals under his command."

The net effect of the MacArthur pilgrimage to this region has been to reduce not only his own stature but that of those associated with him. Neutral political observers believe that Senator Cain is almost certain to be eliminated next year, probably by Representative Jackson, a youthful lawyer of Scandinavian background who has made an outstanding record in the House of Representatives. "If we could bring MacArthur out here in 1952 to stump the whole state for Cain, things would look still better for us," remarked one Jackson supporter.

So far as the Pacific Northwest is concerned, it begins to look as if the "Old Soldier" faded away when he should have talked and kept on talking when he should have faded away.

Germany Comes to Dinner

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Paris, November 15

THE Moroccan question has been buried for the present in the General Committee, though it may be brought to life again when the full Assembly discusses the agenda. The general debate practically closed with Secretary Eden's balanced, sober speech, which was warmly received both as an indirect rebuke to the vitriolic language employed by the chief antagonists and as an indication of the line Churchill might be expected to advocate in his coming visit to Mr. Truman. The next interesting story will be about Germany and the U. N.'s new vedette, Chancellor Adenauer. West Germany is in a way already "in" the United Nations, whether or not it is formally a member. Dr. Herbert Blankenhorn and Herr Alexander Boker made a modest entrance into the Palais de Chaillot as "observers," but now they act as if they were part owners. When Dr. Adenauer arrives, the Bonn government will be represented by its major figure, one of the shrewdest politicians on the international scene.

In the past few weeks Dr. Adenauer has had success

after success. The contractual agreement between the three Western occupying powers and the Federated Republic has been modified to the satisfaction of the Germans. It spells the end of the occupation statute, the restoration of German sovereignty, the recognition of Germany's right to rearm. A few points remain to be ironed out, such as the size of the German units and their status in the Atlantic defense force, but these are of minor importance and do not obscure the fact that Germany has recovered at one stroke a position which it could hardly have dreamed of attaining before twenty or thirty years had elapsed.

It would be unfair to the French to suppose them indifferent to this development. However great their economic dependence on the United States, however desperate their need for dollars to prevent the collapse of the franc, they cannot look on unmoved while Germany regains its strength with such terrifying speed. The subject of Germany has obtruded itself into almost every conversation I have had since I came to France three months ago. I believe France would almost welcome a Russian ultimatum on German rearmament—or at least something stiffer than the statements Moscow has been issuing largely for propaganda purposes—in the hope that the threat of war might cause the Americans to revise their approach to the German problem.

The French feel isolated in this matter. They do not know where to look for support for their contention that Bonn should be kept in its place. They are extremely anxious about what decisions will be taken when Chancellor Adenauer meets with the Western Foreign Secretaries in Paris, for Mr. Acheson is reported to be ready to go to any lengths to offset the difficulties that General Eisenhower has run up against in France, Italy, Holland, and even Great Britain, and Mr. Eden will be thinking of Churchill's expected efforts to obtain a new lend-lease agreement from Washington in January.

Chancellor Adenauer is in a hurry. Herr Grotewohl's acceptance of free elections for all Germany has opened his eyes to the dangers in Grotewohl's Moscow-inspired offer of unity, which has had its ups and downs but retains considerable attraction for West Germans. Moving rapidly and skilfully, Adenauer has persuaded the Western Allies to place the question of German elections on the agenda of the Assembly, although Article 107 of the Charter excludes occupied countries from the jurisdiction of the United Nations.

Dr. Adenauer is coming to Paris primarily to prevent any eventual four-power compromise which might authorize a revival of the Allied Control Council. That is what Bonn fears most of all. But he has another purpose, too. He believes that the surest way to defeat Grotewohl's campaign for the unification of Germany is to throw into the ring an issue about which Germans feel just as passionately as they do about unity—the return of the terri-

tory now in Poland's possession. Adenauer hopes to obtain from Acheson an "agreement in principle" that Germany's claim to its old provinces beyond the Oder-Neisse line will some day be satisfied.

Since the Washington conference—of Acheson, Morrison, and Schuman—Germany's attitude has stiffened. German diplomats keep their ears open, and they have noted every statement made by American Senators, Congressmen, and Administration spokesmen about Germany being "indispensable," and every declaration by European politicians that "it is not possible to rebuild Europe without Germany." German confidence has been strengthened by a number of recent events. President Truman's announced intention to appoint an ambassador to the Vatican gave tremendous encouragement to Catholic elements in the Bonn government, including the Chancellor himself. If a Protestant like Truman, the President of a predominantly Protestant country, is so eager to please the Catholic church, the Christian Democrats of Germany feel they can face the future with assurance.

Thus the price set by Bonn for its future contribution to the Atlantic alliance is constantly being raised. If people in the United States think the price is "equal rights," they have not kept up with the times. What Adenauer now demands, and Schumacher also—in this the two go along together—is the return of the territory ceded to Poland. The gravity of the problem cannot be exaggerated. It immensely complicates the interna-

tional situation, bars a reconciliation with Russia, contains the seeds of a third world war.

In an off-record talk one of the most distinguished Western delegates to this Assembly summed up the misgivings of many others in words I can quote almost verbatim: "We have exploited fear of the Russians and hatred of communism—which, in my opinion, is entirely justified—as much as we can. European peoples have resigned themselves, though grumblingly and I do not know for how much longer, to lower living standards and to seeing the national economy wrecked by the rearmament effort. A people as profoundly anti-clerical as the French has seen its free schools giving way to Catholic schools. The high hopes of the Resistance period have been shattered and reactionary governments are everywhere in power. All this had been endured only because it was necessary to oppose the Russian threat. But there is a limit to what can be swallowed. We cannot endure to see a Germany that feels no shame for the crimes of the Nazis and no obligation to atone for them, that has changed neither its philosophy nor its behavior, again take the first place in Europe, and likely to become the cause of another war. Do you think the world will go to war so that Germany's pre-1939 boundaries can be reestablished? Or so that the Kaiser's and Hitler's dreams of a greater Germany can be realized with the aid of the United States? The answer is no! Let us do what is necessary to check the Russians, but let us not betray the dead of two wars."

Cynics and Feeble Good Men

BY H. H. WILSON

ONE by-product of the current spate of investigations by Congressional committees, grand juries, and state crime commissions has been a growing awareness that more is involved in these revelations of corruption than the deviant behavior of a few individuals. It was some such realization that prompted Senator J. W. Fulbright, speaking in the Senate on March 27, 1951, to suggest the formation of a "Commission on Ethics" in the federal government. As the result of his speech, Senator James E. Murray, chairman of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, appointed a subcommittee to hold hearings and make recommendations to Congress concerning the creation of such a commission. Headed by Senator Paul Douglas, the subcommittee included Senators Matthew M. Neely, Hubert H. Hum-

phrey, Wayne Morse, and George Aiken. With Frank W. McCulloch and George A. Graham ably assisting it as consultants and Philip A. Willkie as counsel, the subcommittee has now filed a report the implications of which are more interesting than the specific recommendations.

There can be little quarrel, however, with the recommendations. Most of them are timely and valuable and warrant early adoption, though since the subcommittee has not by any means completed its assignment, it would be unfair to judge its work at this point. By and large, the recommendations have to do with formal aspects of government and politics: amendments to the Administrative Procedures Act which would tend to establish a higher standard of ethics for federal officials; legislation to compel all members of Congress as well as federal officials to report annually any income received in excess of \$10,000; cancellation of contracts corruptly negotiated; and similar remedies. Other internal reforms that might

H. H. WILSON, a member of the Department of Politics of Princeton University, is the author of "Congress: Corruption and Compromise."

have been suggested are the elimination of a seniority rule and the establishment of a panel of chairmen to lessen the possibility of any individual member of Congress having enough power to be worth tempting; a self-denying ordinance which would prevent the attachment of riders to bills; delegation to the federal courts of power to pass on election-law violations; and so on. But as long as there is so little determination to enforce laws already on the statute books—a subcommittee of the Senate has reported that Senator John Marshall Butler violated three or four state and federal laws in his campaign against Tydings, but no action has been taken against him—it is apparent that still more laws will not remedy the situation. Indeed, the report concedes the point: "Veneration for the principle of government according to law has its inverse side—an erroneous assumption that what is lawful is right. . . . [But] legality is not enough."

Since politics is but one phase of the social life of a people, it is not to be expected that reforms in this area will be sufficient. Furthermore investigations too narrowly focused on formal government and politics have their dangers. More is involved, too, in the current concentration on "ethics" than a desire on the part of the Republicans to accumulate ammunition for the 1952 campaign. It is significant that many right-wing journals, news letters, and individuals whose devotion to democratic institutions has not been notable have enthusiastically capitalized on this opportunity to attack Congress and an Administration falsely described as "liberal." In the light of the lessons learned from Nazi techniques in discrediting the Weimar Republic, it is clear that Congress must not permit concentration on the unethical conduct of political or administrative officials to obscure more basic issues.

Part of the current emphasis on "ethics" comes from those who still seek to discredit both the New Deal and the concept of government as a device for meeting society's needs. Thus the *Wall Street Journal* finds that the present "moral decay" started in March, 1933, and stems from the philosophy that "the public treasury belongs to him who gets there first." Although "there was no lack of personal probity among" New Deal officials, it was then "that there was sown, subtle and insidious, the general disregard for the statute books and the orderly processes of law that have brought public morality to its present state." One might have thought that the use of public funds and political influence for private gain had a rather longer tradition, going back at least to Alexander Hamilton's administration of the Treasury and flowering after the Civil War—not to mention Teapot Dome and other scandals of that era. And, after all, the first head of Hoover's Reconstruction Finance Corporation, former Republican Vice-President Charles Dawes, resigned after expediting a \$90,000,000 loan to his Chicago bank.

For more than half a century we have periodically heard clarification calls from business leaders for moral crusades, "good government," and responsible citizenship, together with pious affirmations of "service" and "trusteeship"; but there is little evidence that anti-social behavior at any level of society has significantly decreased. There seems, instead, to have been



Senator Douglas

an intensification of political apathy and cynicism. The late Willie Moretti stated an extreme but relevant philosophy when he told the Kefauver committee that "everything's a racket today. Everybody has a racket of his own. The stock market is a racket. Why don't they make everything legal?"

Even the *Wall Street Journal* has been impressed by the remarkably successful business careers of some of the racketeers investigated by the Kefauver committee. And the *New York Times* said in an editorial, "One just doesn't know the answer to this question [Moretti's] except as a matter of expediency." As Al Capone observed in circumstances similar to those eliciting Moretti's comment, "What have I done except to supply the demands of our best citizens?" The subcommittee's report notes the same point: "No group in society is in a position to point the finger of scorn at others. Influence peddlers can exist only as long as business men or others are willing to patronize them."

IF WE now wish to reduce the amount of so-called anti-social behavior, it is time we recognized that certain aspects of the social structure generate conditions in which violations of social codes may actually constitute a normal response. Acceptance of this fact, however, is viciously opposed by those who seek to discredit and immobilize representative institutions. In general, strong conservative opposition may be anticipated, since privilege and status are preserved by avoidance of basic analysis, while moral indignation is satisfied by inflicting occasional punishment on those who violate middle-class property codes. Thus it is most unlikely that the Cincinnati business man who launched a chain-letter campaign to boycott payment of income taxes until there is "a thorough house-cleaning of financial corruption in the federal government" would support a similar crusade, say, against those major corporations which have been

repeatedly convicted of law violation or against business men who seek to buy "influence" in Washington.

Others will charge that convincing evidence of widespread deterioration in social morale is lacking. To these the answer is twofold: that even if we have always had political corruption and ruthless self-seeking in our economic life, we have now reached a stage in our national development which demands the operation of a social ethic; and that the corruption revealed in recent years is more serious because it has sifted down to every level of society, even infiltrating institutions which once served, in theory at least, as guardians of public morals and ethical codes. "Our world," writes Luther Gulick, "has moved so far and so fast in family life, in community life, in work relations, in economic affairs, in international affairs, that the standards of personal behavior which we call morality and the relationships we call religion have had a hard time to keep up with events. . . . America seems to be a nation not only adrift as to moral standards, trying to navigate with obsolete charts, but more adrift now than forty years ago." When it becomes necessary for a police department to issue a handbook to teachers on how to detect the use of narcotics among minors, and to suggest that they report to the police any signs of narcotic addiction among their pupils, it behooves a society to take heed.

The Kefauver committee revealed some fairly sordid conditions, but the facts in the Senate report on "Substandard Housing and Rent Gouging of Military Personnel" are in many ways more significant. Landlords charged members of the armed forces fabulous rents for slightly converted chicken coops, shacks made of whiskey bottles and beer cans, rickety garages, coal sheds, and ice houses. A shrewd clergyman rented a part of some former CCC barracks for \$25 a month and sublet it to two soldiers and their families for \$148 a month. The rents paid for these hovels, commonly without plumbing or utilities, were often from 100 to 500 per cent more than local civilians had previously paid. These landlords, be it noted, were "little people," not grasping capitalists. In the words of the report, "the only rule of thumb many landlords have heard of is 'get what you can.'" Can a complex, interdependent society continue to operate when such an ethic is widely accepted? Yet with our predilection for a devil theory of social behavior, we continue to focus resentment on individuals and fail to direct it against the imperatives of a culture and a value system which produce this sort of behavior.

A statement by Earl Puckett of Allied Stores Corporation, as reported in *Time*, illustrates another facet of this ethic. In giving "stern" advice to a group of fashion experts, Puckett warned them that "basic utility cannot be the foundation of a prosperous apparel industry. . . . We must accelerate obsolescence. . . . It is our job to make women unhappy with what they have. . . . You

might call us 'merchants of unhappiness.' . . . We must make these women so unhappy that their husbands can find no happiness or peace in their excessive saving." Hardly a notable assist in the national fight against inflation!

That even churches are not totally lacking in commercial talent is indicated by a brief account in the *New York Times* of a real-estate transaction in New York City. Having leased a Madison Avenue site ever since 1866, the Roman Catholic Archdiocese purchased it from the city in 1944 for \$275,000. In 1950 the city "acquired title to the property for \$1,250,000" and began construction of a new public school.

Not even the existence of a national emergency can sublimate this kind of "primary group individualism" to the service of the great society. Thus despite recognition that military security requires the stockpiling of strategically scarce materials, Congress, responding to pressures from Western metal producers, forced the Munitions Board to buy American raw materials. Senator Elmer Thomas put it this way: "We're going to see to it that [the board] concentrates on buying stuff at home, even to the extent of paying more for it here." More recently the National Wool Growers' Association blasted a proposal by Defense Mobilization Director Charles E. Wilson that the government certify a program for the production of a wool substitute to protect the United States both against skyrocketing wool prices and serious shortages.

THIS "sickness of an acquisitive society" is not limited to what is normally thought of as commercial pursuits. The corruption and fever of self-seeking are to be found in all the institutions of society. Most revealing on this score is the General Accounting Office's "Report of Survey . . . Veterans' Education and Training Program." Here may be found examples of how city and state school boards and public and private schools and universities have cheated the Veterans' Administration and the Treasury. The report would make fascinating reading to football and basketball players who have been charged with violating the moral code. With restraint the *New York Times* commented: "Some sharp practices were brought to light to the discredit of more than one educational institution."

Recently Dr. I. S. Ravdin, chief surgeon of the University of Pennsylvania School of Medicine and Hospital, felt called upon to instruct the profession in "the responsibility of the surgeon in modern society." Specifically, he urged the profession to eliminate the following abuses: overcharging of patients for surgical services; performance of "needless operations"; splitting of fees between the internist or general practitioner and the surgeon; calling in consultants in cases where it is unnecessary; "ghost surgery," in which the general prac-

itioner employs a surgeon to perform operations in cases in which the surgeon had no part in deciding whether the operation was necessary. The Medical Society of the State of New York in May, 1951, adopted a resolution condemning hospitals for extorting "kickbacks" from staff physicians.

When "anti-social" conduct becomes so characteristic and pervasive as this, we must examine the coercive nature of the culture itself. A culture which tries to hide or deny facts by moral pretensions that do not change the facts makes cynics of those who know the truth.

The Kefauver investigations made it clear that aberrant behavior was due less to the lack of an ethical code than to the existence of a code which called for loyalty and responsibility only toward the individual's immediate group. This is not a response peculiar to "criminal" types. It applies to Congressmen, corporation officials, investment bankers, and ordinary citizens as well. A statement by Henry L. Bogert, a partner in Eastman, Dillon and Company, presented in the government's anti-trust suit against seventeen investment bankers, expressed a fairly common group code. "Courtesy generally requires that you conduct business in a way so as not to make enemies, and if you think that a man, a firm, a friend of yours is engaged in doing a piece of business, it is not quite the polite thing to muscle in and upset the apple-cart." A General Electric official defended Mobilization Director Charles E. Wilson from attack by the N. A. M. in this way: "If they don't want Wilson what do they want? It seems to me that Charlie is trying to save them from themselves. I'm scared to death that some day he will blow up and leave, and if he does, *our* last bulwark in Washington is gone. These boys won't

come to Washington to work with Wilson . . . and they won't let him *work for them* in their own best interests."

To ignore these realities is to indulge in utopian escapism or to compound cynicism. Short of a reformation of incentives and values for the individual, the best that can be hoped for is a declining tolerance for the more obvious abuses. As a matter of fact, it is dangerous to raise public expectations beyond this. With Lawrence Frank we must recognize that "so long as our society has no clear aims or purposes but to grant individuals opportunity for self-aggrandizement, there is no reasonable basis for deprecating racketeering."

The basic dilemma derives from the fact that any reform appears as a challenge to those who wield effective power or enjoy privilege in our society. To ask a capitalist society to develop new social organizations, incentives, and values by democratic methods and the application of social intelligence is to ask something rarely attempted and never accomplished. Yet attainment of a viable democratic society requires nothing less. The task will be made more difficult by the fact that for fifteen years we have relied on fear to force conformity; indeed, we live in a society in which personal integrity has become a luxury. Margaret Mead has outlined the task and program which must be implemented in every phase of society: "Those social behaviors which automatically preclude the building of a democratic world must go—every social limitation of human beings in terms of heredity, whether it be of race, or sex, or class. Every social institution which teaches human beings to cringe to those above and step on those below must be replaced by institutions which teach people to look each other straight in the face."

The Record of J. Howard McGrath

BY FOWLER HARPER

THE Attorney General of the United States is the President's chief law officer. As a member of the Cabinet and head of the Department of Justice he is a high policy-forming official. But he does not "practice" law before the courts. The United States district attorneys handle litigation in the lower federal courts, and the Solicitor General represents the government in cases before the Supreme Court.

J. Howard McGrath is now Attorney General. For about a year he served as Solicitor General. The United

States has had some very able and some very incompetent Solicitors General, but it has seldom had a worse one than McGrath. After a succession of sorry performances before the court some observers were of the opinion that it might be suggested to the Attorney General on behalf of the court that the Solicitor General should be better prepared when he acted as the government's advocate.

Since 1894 there has been no extended period in which there was not a Catholic on the Supreme Court. When Justice Murphy died two years ago, it was widely rumored that McGrath would get the "Catholic appointment." But for reasons best known to the President the appointment went to Attorney General Tom Clark, and McGrath got Clark's job. Finding himself thus in the runner-up position, it is not surprising that the man who

FOWLER HARPER is a member of the faculty of the Yale Law School. This is the second of two articles on the political career of Mr. McGrath. The first—by Henry H. Smith—appeared last week.

as Solicitor General often had difficulty in answering the justices' questions, now regards himself as the leading candidate to become a justice himself.

McGrath came into national public notice as a political liberal. He was a "liberal" governor of Rhode Island, a "liberal" United States Senator, a "liberal" Solicitor General, a "liberal" chairman of the Democratic National Committee. All this, however, was in times when it was politically expedient to be "liberal." Paul McNutt was also a political "liberal." So was Sherman Minton. When McNutt was governor of Indiana, Minton was a hard-hitting attorney for the Public Utility Commission and undoubtedly saved Indiana consumers a lot of money on their electric bills. As whip of the Senate, he was zealous and efficient in pushing New Deal legislation. But since he has been on his own, on the Supreme Court, he has turned out to be the kind of "liberal" that makes one think twice about having a man like McGrath on the court.

Everything about McGrath's career points to the conclusion that by inclination, training, and profession he is not a man to be trusted when political expediency is on one side, political principle on the other. Running for the Senate in 1946, when Ted Green's Democratic machine in Rhode Island was in trouble, he promised to vote for such measures as the Taft-Hartley act. Later he made a good guess as to the side of the bread that would be buttered and followed Green in voting against it. As a Senator he was active in liberalizing the Displaced Persons Act, but he has been savage in the enforcement of the restrictive features of the immigration laws, to the point of hustling a German war bride into an airplane while an appeal to the Supreme Court was pending and the Senate had before it a bill to enable her to remain in the country. Again, McGrath, as National Democratic Chairman, ostentatiously abolished discrimination against Negroes at national headquarters in Washington, but in a speech at Atlanta he denied planning to urge public support for the President's civil-rights program—five days after he had backed it, as party spokesman.

SO FAR as general impressions go, astute and experienced observers in Washington have characterized him as an undistinguished Attorney General, several cuts under Tom Clark. Appointments in the Tax Division are said to have been political to a degree which is novel even in recent years (the income-tax returns of Lamar Caudle, Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Tax Division, are currently under scrutiny). Of course McGrath inherited a mere shambles of what once had been an A-1 agency. Francis Biddle was a good lawyer, a good judge, and a very good Attorney General, if for no other reason—and there are others—than because he selected some extraordinarily able men for the Department of Justice. Clark lost many of the

ablest men and replaced them, for the most part, with men of inferior talents. McGrath, by and large, has kept Clark's men or made no changes of any consequence.

The actual administration of the Justice Department was in the hands of the Deputy Attorney General, Peyton Ford, until his resignation last summer. There is evidence that Ford had considerable administrative ability but his political ethics are on a different level. Mr. Ford went out of his way to indorse Senator O'Mahoney's prediction that Judge Delbert Metzger of Hawaii would not be reappointed as federal judge in the Territory. Judge Metzger, it will be recalled, had refused to set bail in the Communist cases there at the preposterous figure set by the Department of Justice, and the Ford-O'Mahoney threat, which was not disavowed by the Department, constituted a most effective blow at the independence of the judiciary. As a matter of fact the department admits that Acting United States Attorney Howard K. Hoddick filed an affidavit to disqualify Judge Metzger "at the request of the Attorney General of the United States." This affidavit cited the fact that Judge Metzger had refused to accept the department's suggestion for bail!

Peyton Ford was replaced as Deputy Attorney General by A. Devitt Vanech, who under Biddle had performed mostly humble political jobs for the department. Thus instead of there being, as formerly, a figure-head at the top and a competent administrator to run the agency, there are now two figure-heads at the top.

The Anti-Trust Division needs a crusader, a courageous, competent lawyer with zeal. It once had Thurman Arnold and then Wendell Berge. But the division is now run by a Texas lawyer who was unheard of until he nailed John L. Lewis in a strike-injunction proceeding. The vital position of Solicitor General, which under Biddle was filled by Charles Fahy, now a judge of the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia, is at present held by Philip B. Perlman. In appearances before the court he has been even less effective than McGrath.

The Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Criminal Division under McGrath should be judged, like the Attorney General himself, by the record. Aside from a certain zeal in prosecuting political crimes, the work of the Criminal Division has been marked by an extreme degree of lassitude. The Assistant Attorney General in charge is James M. McInerney, said to be one of the better men on McGrath's staff. With all its sensational hearings the Kefauver committee added nothing of substance to our knowledge of organized criminal activity across state lines. That race-track gamblers used Western Union facilities and that local gamblers often evaded federal-income-tax obligations were certainly not startling revelations. Indeed, the activities of the gambling syndicate in Rhode Island were well known, in the state and outside, during J. Howard

McGrath's terms as United States district attorney and as governor. He took no steps to clean up his state when he had the responsibility for it, and neither he nor his Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Criminal Division has shown any disposition to clean up the nation.

The degree of McGrath's zeal for law enforcement is further indicated by the department's policy toward the Office of Price Stabilization. When the price-fixing agency was set up, there was an all-out fight between it and the Justice Department over which should handle enforcement. The usual bureaucratic pattern is that the Department of Justice institutes prosecutions and conducts litigation, assisted, of course, by the department or agency involved. The immediate precedent here, however, was different. Leon Henderson's OPA, with its brilliant general counsel, David Ginsburg, and its tough chief enforcement officer, Thomas Emerson, had handled most of its own litigation—a magnificent job, considering the law it had to work with. It is axiomatic in Washington that an agency which has an emergency restrictive law to administer must have its own enforcement machinery in order to achieve maximum immunity from local political influences. In the fight between the OPS and the department the OPS lost. The record shows that it is departmental policy to prosecute only about one out of every ten referrals from OPS. Granted that an enforcement staff large enough to guarantee prosecution of every OPS chiseler would require a prohibitively high budget, nevertheless a one-in-ten policy gives the food racketeers an unequal advantage in their fight with the consumers. McGrath has waged no headline fight for funds to improve this situation.

McGrath's attitude toward law enforcement in other sensitive areas is reflected in his requests for appropriations. Of an additional thirteen million dollars asked for, he wanted \$57,219 for general administration, \$5,586,881 for all legal activities, and \$4,594,859 for the FBI. Broken down in terms of new positions, the figures give 152 for all legal activities, 56 for the Alien Property work, and 702 for the FBI. These requests are to be contrasted with the number of new positions requested for the Civil Rights section, "to permit us," said the Attorney General, "to engage in more extensive research designed to develop techniques to reduce the number of lynchings, instances of interracial violence, election irregularities, and other civil-rights violations." For this work McGrath wanted thirteen additional positions—eight attorneys and five clerical employees.

Aside from McGrath's dubious record as Attorney General, there is another consideration which has strong bearing on his fitness for the high place to which he aspires. In a recent speech he made a vigorous attack on the principle of separation of church and state, describing it as a distortion of the First Amendment and those

who support it as acting in a "spirit of bad taste and bigotry." Between church and state, he said, there must not be "any fence." The implications of his speech were clear enough to arouse the *Christian Century* to demand his immediate dismissal from office and his elimination as a candidate for the next vacancy on the Supreme Court.

THE kind of man McGrath is has been perhaps most strikingly indicated by the recent disclosure of certain events in Missouri made by the *Washington Post* and the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. The lid blew off in Missouri when Federal Judge George H. Moore was quoted as saying he had complained directly to the Attorney General by telephone that Justice Department channels for authorizing the St. Louis grand-jury inquiry which finally resulted in the indictment of Collector James P. Finnegan "were dammed up and blocked up." Commenting on the story, McGrath told reporters that if Judge Moore had made such statements, they were "damnable and contemptible lies." Shortly afterward the Attorney General changed his story, apologized to Judge Moore, and admitted the discovery of a forgotten office memorandum concerning Judge Moore's complaint that the department was dragging its feet on the Missouri probe.

It may not be too important that the Attorney General sounded off indiscreetly. His boss has done the same thing with even less justification. But it must have occurred to more people than Irving Dilliard, who edits the editorial page of the *Post-Dispatch*, that McGrath is straining the country's credulity to the breaking-point in asking it to believe that he "forgot." Judge Moore himself said, as quoted by the newspaper: "This is the worst district in the United States to have anything break out, because this is the President's home state and this is the home city of the Secretary of the Treasury [boss of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue]. It would be worse here than any place else in the country."

How could McGrath forget that? Recently Representative John W. Byrnes of Wisconsin demanded a "show-down" on what he calls the persistent failure of the Department of Justice to cooperate with a House subcommittee investigating the Internal Revenue Bureau. And on November 7 the *Post-Dispatch* pointed out in an editorial that "what is needed in Washington right now is an Attorney General who will get down to business and sweep out the Augean stables. J. Howard McGrath is too close to all that has been going on to do the kind of job that needs to be done."

An Administration which considers personal loyalty and party regularity practically the sole qualifications for office may think McGrath in line for the court despite his public record. On the other hand, recent history may catch up with him.

Florida: Murder Without Indictment

BY STETSON KENNEDY

Eustis, Florida

A QUESTION which must be answered for America and the world is whether or not a sheriff, having in his custody two handcuffed prisoners being transported to a new trial ordered by the Supreme Court, can justify emptying his gun into them with a claim of self-defense. The country's highest tribunal can scarcely permit its mandate to be thwarted in such manner. And in the court of world opinion it will be difficult to convince anyone of the necessity for firing three shots each into two prisoners manacled together. It happened the night of November 6, when Sheriff Willis V. McCall of Lake County, Florida, was transporting Samuel Shepherd and Walter Lee Irvin, both twenty-three, from the state penitentiary at Raiford to Tavares, where the new trial was to be held. Shepherd was killed instantly; Irvin managed to survive, he says, by pretending to be dead.

The prisoners, both Negroes, were sentenced to death in 1949, following conviction on charges of a seventeen-year-old white housewife who first said she had been kidnapped, and then, days later, claimed she had also been raped. One suspect, Ernest Thomas, twenty-six, was shot down by a volley of thirty shots fired by an officer-led and deputized mob. Another, Charles Greenlee, fifteen, was merely sentenced to life imprisonment, out of consideration for his tender age. At the time of the arrests the Ku Klux Klan marched, and mobs set fire to the Negro district before being dispersed by the National Guard.

The case of the "Groveland Three" attracted international attention, and their convictions, upheld by Florida's Supreme Court, were eventually overruled by the United States court on the ground that Negroes had been systematically excluded from the jury, which had also been inflamed by the press.

By killing one of the defendants and nearly killing the other on the eve of their retrial, Sheriff McCall has added another chapter—without precedent for many of its aspects—to the lengthy record of Negro prisoners who have been shot down by officers of the law, ostensibly "in line of duty."

When news of the shooting broke, few would believe the sheriff's claim that there had been an attempted escape, and that Shepherd had struck him with a flashlight. Two days later, when Irvin was able to talk, his story was accepted almost everywhere.

According to Irvin, he and Shepherd were seated beside the sheriff in his car, and Deputy James L. Yates was in another car several miles ahead. Traveling on semi-deserted clay back roads instead of the highways, McCall first "shimmied his wheels" and announced that he had a flat tire. After ordering his prisoners to get out, McCall, Irvin says, proceeded to fire without provocation, first shooting Shepherd three times, and then hitting Irvin twice.

"I knew I was not dead," Irvin said, but he pretended to be. McCall, he continued, radioed Deputy Yates that the "s. o. b.'s" had "jumped him," and that he had "done a good job getting rid of them." But when Yates arrived on the scene about ten minutes later, he discovered that Irvin was still alive and shouted, "Let's kill him!" Yates then pointed a gun at him and pulled the trigger twice, but it failed to fire. After examining the gun, Yates tried again, and this time succeeded in shooting Irvin through the neck.

Thus there were two altogether different stories to choose between. But a coroner's inquest was held by Judge W. Troy Hall, and for four days testimony and evidence were introduced in substantiation of the sheriff's assertions. Where at first there seemed little or nothing to vindicate his action, there now was a superabundance. No fewer than nine witnesses, for example, "just happened to notice" strands of McCall's hair in Shepherd's hand. And so the case for McCall began to seem either convincing or like whitewash, depending upon how you looked at it.

While coroner's juries are often notoriously inept or worse, few have surpassed the one that heard the case for McCall. Blithely ignoring the contradictions and discrepancies in the evidence, it treated McCall as a beloved guest of honor, inviting him to interrupt the proceedings at any point to "clarify" whatever questions arose. Every witness heard and every piece of evidence introduced tended to vindicate the sheriff. On the other hand, not once did the judge or jury ask any questions which implied credence in any detail of Irvin's testimony. The most significant things about the inquest were the questions not asked and the witnesses not produced.

Here are just a few of the gaping holes into which a federal grand jury might look for evidence that United States civil-rights statutes were violated—an offense carrying a maximum penalty of one year's imprisonment or a \$1,000 fine or both.

Hole No. 1. All testimony tended to fix the time of the shooting at about 9:30 p.m. But Prosecutor J. W.

STETSON KENNEDY, author of "Palmetto Country" and other books, is a free-lance writer living in Florida.

Hunter was quoted by the press as saying he arrived about ten o'clock, "forty-five minutes after I was notified." In addition, I understand a mother and her two 'teen-aged daughters were found who heard the shots, one of them fixing the time as early as 8:30; but they were not asked to testify. Instead, a fifteen-year-old boy was brought in to say he heard "five or six" shots in a single volley, and none afterward. Entries in the radio log kept at the sheriff's station indicate that Hunter was not sent for until 9:47.

This contradiction might lie behind an enigmatic statement which Hunter read into the coroner's record: "I have attended each of the hearings and have been subject to the orders of Judge W. Troy Hall and have taken such part in this investigation as I have been directed to do by him." The prosecutor, who was confident of reconvicting the prisoners, is reported to have said to the sheriff on the night of the shooting, "Willis, you have — in my whiskey!"

Hole No. 2. The city councilmen of Umatilla testified that Deputy Yates had interrupted their meeting about ten o'clock to say that McCall had radioed him to find a service station to come fix a flat. Within the next five minutes, they said, another radio call came from McCall, saying he was having "trouble" with the prisoners. The councilmen then went with Yates to the scene, and it was "obvious," they said, that he had not previously been there. The difficulty with this testimony is that the radio log does not show McCall asking for a service station but ordering Yates at 9:40 to "turn back."

Hole No. 3. Mrs. Marie Bowles, editor of the *Lake County News*, told the press that when she arrived soon after the shooting the victims were not handcuffed. Every witness who testified said the cuffs were on, and remained on until ordered removed by Hunter. I asked Mrs. Bowles about this during intermission at the inquest, and she replied, "They positively were not handcuffed when I arrived, I don't care what the others say. But I guess I shouldn't discuss the case, since I am a member of the jury."

Hole No. 4. Officer John Dean, who monitored the Leesburg police radio station after 10 p.m., testified to having overheard the calls recorded in the log of the sheriff's station; but Chief Stevens, who was on duty at the Leesburg station prior to ten o'clock, was not produced to say what he had or had not overheard.

Hole No. 5. No medical testimony was offered at the inquest by the physician who performed the autopsy on Shepherd; indeed, the autopsy itself was not given to the jury until after I inquired, at the last minute, about its whereabouts. To a layman, the course of the bullets in Shepherd's body seems to bear out Irvin's contention that they were fired while the prisoner was half in the car. A thirty-eight slug, subsequently found by the FBI in the ground where the bodies lay, would also seem to

substantiate Irvin's claim that some shots were fired as they lay on the ground.

Hole No. 6. I think I am the only person who checked the records of Waterman Memorial Hospital in Eustis to determine the time when Irvin was admitted—11:15. If the "official" 9:30 time of the shooting is accepted, even this means that an hour and forty-five minutes elapsed before Irvin reached the hospital. The hospital is only six miles from the shooting scene, but a Jim Crow ambulance was ordered from Leesburg, more than twenty miles away.

Hole No. 7. McCall and various witnesses asserted that he knew all the while that Irvin was alive; and yet the *Orlando Sentinel* of November 7 quotes Prosecutor Hunter as saying, "Apparently Willis believed the men were dead, but when I looked closely I saw one of them move and I immediately sent for Dr. C. M. Tyre and an ambulance." The next edition of the paper changed the quote from "Willis believed" to "it was believed." When Irvin arrived at the hospital his pulse was recorded as "imperceptible."

Hole No. 8. Several witnesses said they saw the sheriff's flashlight lying on the ground near Shepherd's hand. McCall presented the flashlight to the jury, but no questions were asked as to whether it had been checked for fingerprints.

Hole No. 9. It was testified that some school kids had beaten the G-men to finding several unexploded thirty-eight cartridges at the scene. No one asked whether they bore any marks of a firing pin, which would have been indicated by Irvin's claim that the gun had misfired twice before firing the final shot.

Hole No. 10. The sheriff offered in evidence his coat, pointing to powder burns inside the left sleeve made by a shot which must have barely missed the elbow. Jefferson J. Elliott, special investigator for Governor Fuller Warren, volunteered that this was conclusive evidence that a struggle had taken place. But the burns do not show in the photograph of the sheriff taken at the scene; though it might be argued that they were too far inside the sleeve—just about the only spot, interestingly, where powder burns might occur without appearing in the photograph.

Local sentiment at first seemed to be that it was unsporting of the sheriff to fire three shots each into his manacled wards—it was too much like shooting quail on the ground or ducks on the water. But as the groundswell of national and international indignation grew, the home folks rallied to their sheriff as a means of warding off notoriety from additional investigations.

A first-district meeting of the Florida Peace Officers Association wired McCall: "Proud of a fellow-officer who with courage acted as a peace officer deserving our full comradeship." And the Reverend Lloyd King of Orlando was reported in the press as saying, "It is high

time sympathy be shown officers who must have difficult duties to do."

McCall himself wound up the inquest by saying reverently, "I know that *my gun* did it all. I am thankful to God that I am here and not in heaven." It may be purely coincidental, but it should be noted that McCall did not say he *fired* all of the shots.

Right now the sheriff is busy riding around his baili-

wick in his limousine squad car, tipping his fifteen-gallon Stetson in acknowledgment of the plaudits of his admirers. "I did so hope to see him busted to driving an orange truck," a Negro bystander whispered to me.

Not so discreet was the governor's inspector, Elliott, who in the presence of Stephen Trumbull of the *Miami Herald* told me, "This will reelect McCall for at least three more terms; he didn't have a chance before."

THE BATTLE FOR FREE SCHOOLS

Jim Crow in Education

BY HORACE BOND and MORTON PUNER

DESPITE the fact that the Fourteenth Amendment prohibits discrimination in the public schools, obvious discrimination exists in many public-school systems. For example, in twenty-one states and the District of Columbia segregation is authorized by law. In four of these states—Kansas, Wyoming, Arizona, and New Mexico—segregation of Negroes is permitted but not required. In the other seventeen, segregation of Negroes is mandatory in all public schools and in four of them is also required in private schools. The severity of discrimination in education seems to follow the rule of "high visibility," although there are exceptions based on locality, population concentration, and educational level. The most extreme form of discrimination—physical segregation—is commonly applied only to Negroes, Indians, Orientals, and Mexicans, but a subtler form, expressed in "quotas" and social ostracism, limits the educational opportunities of Jews, Catholics, and members of other religious and ethnic minorities. Discrimination is given added weight, of course, by social and economic disabilities associated with minority status.

Although significant progress has been made in eliminating discrimination in public schools, the problem is still acute. In the last fifteen years Negroes have won a series of important court victories; nevertheless, the "separate but equal" doctrine is still the rule in Southern and in most of the border states. Differences in per capita tax support for segregated (Negro) and non-segregated (white) schools are still shocking, but the gap is being narrowed. Inequalities in teachers' salaries as between white and Negro teachers have been attacked in a series of court actions with fairly good results. In North Caro-

lina, for example, equalization appears to have been achieved. But not all teachers' salary cases have been successful, and the Supreme Court has yet to pass on the issue in a clear-cut way. Furthermore, since the attack must be conducted on a state-by-state and often on a county-by-county basis, the goal of equality in teachers' salaries is still remote in the South, where of course gross inequality is still the rule. Significant victories have been won in court cases attacking discrimination in higher education, starting with the Gaines case in Missouri in 1938. In this case the Supreme Court established the principle that a state must admit Negroes to all departments of a tax-supported university or provide equivalent educational opportunities. In 1950 the court extended the principle in the McLaurin case (Oklahoma) by holding that segregation in a graduate school cannot be enforced by the device of a barrier rail in classrooms. And in a companion case (the Sweatt case from Texas) the court ruled that it is impossible for a law student to receive an equal legal education in a segregated school despite the fact that the physical facilities may be similar or equal. As a result of these decisions, a few Negroes have been admitted to a fairly large number of colleges, both public and private, which formerly practiced segregation at some or all levels.

The precedent in the Sweatt case has now been made the basis for a frontal attack on the whole system of segregated public schools in the South. In a series of law suits from Texas to Virginia, Negro parents have sued to force the admission of their children to the regular public schools and have consistently demonstrated the gross inequality between these schools and the segregated schools established for Negroes. On June 23, 1951, a special three-judge federal court upheld segregation in the public schools in a decision of far-reaching importance. The case arose in Clarendon County, South Carolina, and was tried in Charleston. The plaintiffs

HORACE MANN BOND is the president of Lincoln University in Pennsylvania. MORTON PUNER is a writer who formerly edited *Reader's Scope*. This is the fifth of a series of articles dealing with attacks on democratic education.

were a group of Negro residents who asked the court to invalidate a provision of the South Carolina constitution requiring racial segregation in the public schools. Even before the case was heard, however, Governor James F. Byrnes announced that South Carolina would "reluctantly" close down its public schools rather than abandon segregation.

DURING the trial of the Clarendon case the local school board admitted that the facilities, equipment, and curricula in colored schools were not equal to those in white schools. The board contended that the inequality was the result of limited resources rather than an intent to discriminate, citing as evidence the fact that South Carolina had made provision for a bond issue of \$75,000,000 to equalize educational opportunities. The court found that the existing school facilities available to Negroes were not equal to those available to white children and decided that the plaintiffs were entitled to an order directing the school board to make equal opportunities available to Negroes. For this purpose, the court retained jurisdiction of the case and ordered the board to report back in six months on what steps had been taken toward equalization of school facilities. On the major issue, however, two of the judges ruled that segregation of the races in the public schools does not violate the Fourteenth Amendment if the facilities are equal. "Segregation of the races in the public schools," these judges said, "is a matter of legislative policy for the several states, with which the federal courts are powerless to interfere." In their view, segregation in the public grade schools is to be distinguished from segregation in graduate schools, the argument being that an equal education can be provided for Negroes in segregated grade schools but not in segregated graduate schools. Judge J. Waites Waring, dissenting, held that "segregation is, per se, inequality. . . . If segregation is wrong, then the place to stop it is in the first grade and not in graduate colleges. I am of the opinion that all of the legal guideposts, expert testimony, common sense, and reason point unerringly to the conclusion that the system of segregation in education adopted and practiced in the state of South Carolina must go and must go now."

The Clarendon case is the first major test of segregation in public grade schools in the Southern states. Tests of segregation at this level, particularly those arising in the South, have far greater social significance than tests involving segregation in graduate schools. Only a small number of Negroes reach the graduate schools, although the number is steadily increasing, but in theory all Negro children are entitled to enter elementary schools. The factor of numbers alone makes the one a far more significant issue than the other. In South Carolina, for example, it would cost about \$40,000,000 to equalize the physical facilities of Negro and white schools, and a

United Press survey indicates that it would cost at least \$400,000,000 to establish an approximation of equality between the two systems throughout the South.

The Clarendon case will undoubtedly be appealed to the Supreme Court. In the meantime, another significant test of segregation has been made in the state courts of Delaware in a suit tried before Chancellor Collins J. Seitz but not yet decided. In 1950 Chancellor Seitz ordered Negroes admitted to the University of Delaware. In the trial of this case the state superintendent of schools admitted that it was not until after the filing of the first test suits that the state began to make equal amounts of money available to Negro and white high schools on a unit basis—indicating how effective suits of this kind have been in forcing concessions that should have been made years ago. The testimony of Dr. Jerome S. Bruner of Harvard in this case sums up the argument against segregation as well, perhaps, as it has ever been summarized in testimony. "Whether facilities are equal or not," Dr. Bruner said, "the fact of segregation damages the child's capacity to benefit by education." Segregation also leads to "degradation of self-esteem" and to frustration, which in turn "leads to hostility," and this hostility can be turned against the white race or against the self.

The opponents of integrated schools are trying vainly to find some means of circumventing the Supreme Court's decisions on segregation. Georgia, for example, has included a clause in an appropriations bill stipulating that public funds must be withheld from white schools which are forced to admit Negroes as a result of a court order. Governor Fuller Warren vetoed a similar law in Florida. Some Southern communities are toying with the idea of segregating pupils on the basis of sex; others have worked out plans to gerrymander school districts. South Carolina has passed a law permitting school-district trustees to sell or lease school buildings to private institutions or organizations. Southern opinion, as reflected in editorial comment, is strongly opposed to any attempt to abandon segregation in the secondary schools.

Even at the graduate level the South has not become fully reconciled to the notion of integrated schools. The so-called "regional compact," for example, represents an attempt to reverse the trend toward integrated graduate schools. The compact was entered into by fourteen Southern states in 1948 and has since been ratified by a number of state legislatures. The announced objective is to arrange for a pooling of educational facilities in various Southern states so as to insure that every qualified student may receive the best graduate education. Actually the effect of the plan would be to concentrate colored graduate students in a few schools set apart for Negroes. In North Carolina, Governor W. Kerr Scott has proposed a Negro consolidated or greater Negro university that would bring the various Negro colleges into a system that

would "eventually" be fused with the University of North Carolina. Such plans are defended on the score that white graduate students as well as Negroes could be sent to states other than those of which they are residents if adequate graduate facilities were lacking. But since virtually every Southern state has graduate and professional schools for white students, it seems most unlikely that the regional plan was intended for them. The Maryland courts recently had a chance to pass upon the constitutionality of legislation implementing the compact but limited their ruling to the point that a Negro student must be granted equal facilities in his home state.

Although so far applying only to graduate schools, the pressure of the Supreme Court decisions is constantly forcing the advocates of white supremacy to take absurd positions. Thus to prove that segregated schools are "equal" as well as "separate," Southern communities are in many cases spending large sums for a few Negro schools that can be exhibited as model institutions. Even now one can see such marvels as the new Phyllis Wheatley High School for Negroes in Houston, which cost \$2,500,000. This architect's dream of a school is an impressive monument to the willingness of some Americans to pay a premium for the privilege of retaining their prejudices.

OF COURSE it is not the South alone that has a policy of segregation in education. Within a mile of Lincoln University in Pennsylvania, in a township where John Woolman preached the gospel of equality nearly two hundred years ago, a segregated school may be found today. In every Northern state with a large non-Caucasian population, residential segregation almost automatically means educational segregation at the elementary and, frequently, the secondary level. In these areas non-Caucasians often have every disadvantage of segregated schools, though they are prohibited by law.

In some instances, also, public officials of states which prohibit segregation have used subterfuges of one kind or another to maintain what are in effect segregated schools. Gerrymandering of school districts, of course, is a favorite device. The school authorities of a Kansas county used this method to segregate students until the Supreme Court of that state put a stop to the practice in 1949 by ruling that school authorities cannot do indirectly what they are not permitted to do directly. Racial and religious segregation of children in the public schools of Illinois was banned years ago. Yet, significantly, the Illinois legislature found it necessary to enact a recent school-appropriation law denying funds to school districts in which any student is excluded or segregated because of his race, color, or nationality.

Graduation from the ghetto of the segregated school, Northern or Southern, is merely a step toward entrance into a fiercely competitive world where the majority is

likely to seize every advantage it can to check the competitive talents of minority group members. The "quota system," used to keep students out of colleges and universities because of their religious, racial, or nationality background, is relatively new in American education—dating from about thirty years back—but it effectively deprives the nation of the services and talents of some of its most ambitious youth. Today the quota system has become so widespread that many students hesitate to apply for admission to certain colleges and professional schools. The system works most severely against Jewish students, although Catholics, Negroes, and other groups are frequently victimized.

A recent study of the American Council on Education yielded this information: Jewish students have to file one-third more application blanks to gain admission to colleges in the Northeastern states than do non-Jews. The accumulation of this kind of evidence, so hard to obtain because few colleges will acknowledge the existence of a quota system, led the American Council and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith to convene a series of conferences at which educators were asked to discuss the problem. The first national conference of this kind, held in Chicago in November, 1949, was attended by more than 100 leading educators, who sifted the evidence and then came to these conclusions: (1) there is need for a real house-cleaning by the colleges themselves if the quota system is to be eliminated; (2) there is need for fair-educational-practices legislation of the type which now exists in New York; and (3) there is need for government financial aid to improve the quality and quantity of higher educational facilities if economic barriers to educational opportunities are to be lowered. It might be noted that the President's Commission on Higher Education reported that a case of discrimination can be made out against virtually any private non-sectarian school which includes questions about religion, race, and nativity of parents in its application blanks.

In the school year 1950-51 at least 1,000 Negro students of college and graduate level were attending white Southern colleges. Catholic schools, of college and graduate level, are now generally open to Negro students. Negroes may now enter tax-supported colleges and graduate schools in most of the border states, and it would seem to be largely a question of time until, at this level, the barriers are lowered in the South. The public schools, however, present a much more massive problem. Yet even at this level new social forces are undermining the pattern of segregation. In several suits brought by Mexican American parents in the Southwest the courts have ruled that segregation violates the Fourteenth Amendment. Merely to recite these gains, however, is to indicate that it will be many years before the last segregated school has disappeared. But Southern spokesmen nowadays seldom defend schools in theory; either they admit

the case against segregation or they contend that the segregated schools can be made "equal" over a period of time. Whereas they now plead for time in which to improve these segregated schools, they formerly would not admit that the schools were unequal or inferior in any respect. The concession is important. For if the schools

unequal, and if the inequality cannot be remedied for twenty or thirty years, then a generation of American Negroes in at least seventeen states will have been denied their constitutional right to equal educational opportunities in all tax-supported institutions. The Supreme Court, it is believed, will never sanction this denial.

Valhalla Rebuilt

Bonn, November 15

WHEN Dr. Adenauer and his friends ask the Western Allies to allow West Germany to re-arm, are they thinking solely of making an appropriate contribution to the defense of Western civilization? To answer that question one has only to look closely at the elements in the German social organism which are pressing the demand for German divisions most vociferously.

There are, first, the recently reinstated but, oh, so familiar industrialists, bankers, great landowners, shipping magnates, real-estate speculators, and armament profiteers. All these groups have once again become so rich and arrogant that they need soldiers and machine-guns to protect themselves and their wealth against the poor, the unemployed, the labor unions, and the Socialists who are fighting for wage increases and nationalization of industry. The three-class Prussian state which in 1848 met the people's democratic aspirations with grapeshot was simply putting into practice an old principle of government—that "only soldiers are of any use against democrats."

Secondly, there are the nine million refugees from the east who want to go back behind the Oder-Neisse line, to East Prussia, to Poland, to Silesia, to the Sudetenland and the Balkans. So that "the right spirit" will continue to burn in them, these unfortunate souls are summoned to great mass-meetings every Sunday and are exhorted by government ministers from the Chancellor down to remember their "inalienable right to their homeland." On September 15, at a turbulent gathering of Sudeten Germans at Stuttgart, Dr. Hans Christian Seehofer, Minister of Commerce in the Bonn government, spoke of the "monstrous crime the victors had committed against Germany, Europe, and the whole world." Then this Cabinet minister told his audience how he had answered the French High Commissioner's question as to "whether the Germans wanted to join the West." "Does free Europe want to join Germany?" he had countered. "Germany is the heart of Europe, and the limbs must

adjust themselves to the heart, not the heart to the limbs."

The Ministry for General German Questions has officially sanctioned the campaign to regain the lost provinces by sending special propaganda stamps free to thousands of business concerns and tens of thousands of private persons with the request that they be put on all letters mailed out. These stamps show a map of Germany divided by two red lines into the West Zone, the East Zone, and the area given to Poland. Underneath, in bold letters, is the slogan, "*Erst wenn diese Grenzen schwinden, wird Europa Frieden finden*" (Only when these boundaries vanish will Europe find peace).

The temper of the refugees was illustrated by the speech of the Sudeten Catholic priest, Dr. Ott, at the same Stuttgart mass-meeting. After Herr Seehofer spoke, Dr. Ott, now a deputy in the Bonn Parliament, mounted the platform and shouted: "Germans will live through these days and again become the decisive factor in Europe. *Deutschland Ueber Alles!* The last battalion left in Europe will be a German one." The crowd stamped and cheered endlessly. At the party congress of the Christian Democratic Union, the Chancellor's party, it was decided to use only the third verse of "*Deutschland Ueber Alles*" as the national song, but as soon as the new army comes into being the first verse will again resound through the land.

Another, and not the least important, pillar of the new Valhalla is formed by the surviving generals, colonels, and other officers of Hitler's army, his S. S., and his S. A. It is from them that the officers of the new divisions will be drawn. True, Generals Speidel and Heusinger, Adenauer's military experts who have been negotiating with Eisenhower, took part in the putsch against Hitler in July, 1944. But there are only a handful of such outlaws among the many who were loyal to Hitler. No honors bestowed by Adenauer on the leaders of the conspiracy can wash them clean, whether they are living or dead, in the eyes of the Guderians, Friessners, Ramckes, Manteuffels, and Remers. For most of the old officer corps Speidel and Heusinger will always be traitors to honor, breakers of their oath of obedience to

CAROLUS is the pseudonym of The Nation's correspondent in West Germany.

November 24, 1951

BY CAROLUS

their commander. And there are British and American officers, too, who prefer Guderian, Hitler's last chief of staff, to a man like Speidel, who barely escaped hanging.

HOW do these Nazi generals and higher S. S. and S. A. officers occupy themselves now, when they are not writing memoirs absolving themselves and Hitler of wrongdoing? They conspire, they undermine democracy, they found clubs and brotherhoods whose members get jobs in the provincial and city governments, in the foreign service, and especially in the police and the border defense force. No one knows whether the border guard contains ten or twenty thousand men or more. Do the Allied High Commissioners know? In any case it is the nucleus of a new army, and complaints of its Nazi-like behavior have been brought before Parliament by Social Democratic deputies. Marching columns of border guards even sing the Horst Wessel song and the one that starts "Victorious, we shall strike down France." So much of a beginning has been made.

While they conspire and infiltrate at home, these former generals and S. S. officers dicker shamelessly with the Western Allies, which count on their support, and at the same time flirt with the East. In a pamphlet written by General Guderian, their undisputed leader, and widely distributed throughout Germany, an alliance with Russia is plainly threatened if their terms are not met. They rail against the Nürnberg trials, against the "insult to the honor of the German soldier" which the proceedings constituted. Single-mindedly they seek to rehabilitate the reputation of Hitler and National Socialism, to be themselves not only absolved of their crimes against their own people and those of the conquered territories but honored for the part they played in the war.

Encouraged by the call to "defend Western civilization," regarded with favor by the Allied occupation authorities, feeding at the government trough and dipping, too, into the American funds allocated to anti-Communist propaganda, these "old soldiers," as soon as the prohibition against military organizations was lifted, began to found veterans' newspapers and veterans' associations. So many of the latter now exist that I can name only the most important.

The Stahlhelm, formed after the First World War, has been revived—it was thanks to this organization that Hitler came to power and the Weimar Republic was destroyed. Men from the former Greater Germany Division have been organized by General Hasso von Manteuffel, the notorious Panzer corps commander, into an "élite group with the conservative, undemocratic ideas" which the General opposes to the "formal democracy of the West with no ideas." Passing over General Schwerin's protégés, we come to "Papa Ramcke's Green Devils"—the same Ramcke who was sentenced to five years' im-

prisonment in France for war crimes. Of course General Rommel's old Afrikakorps has its own association, led by General Cruewell, who has a good reputation as an anti-Nazi. In Hamburg, General von Schweppenberg has formed his private German Soldiers' Association; Hamburg is also the headquarters of the German Free Corps, which under Hitler had branches in many countries, one named for Marshal Pétain. The German Soldiers' Bund was founded by Admiral Hansen and the Veterans' Protective Association by General Krakau, who commanded a mountain-warfare division. Krakau has close relations with Franco's Minister of War, General Muñoz Grande, who led the Spanish Blue Division against Russia. Generals Friessner, Seidemann, Harpe, Gille, and Hauser concern themselves chiefly with former S. S. and S. A. men and are known to receive money from Nazi officers and Nazi criminals living in Spain and Argentina. Skorzeny, the liberator of Mussolini, is now a Spanish citizen and helpful in maintaining good relations between Madrid and Bonn. He is not unknown in American military circles in Germany; in fact, when he recently visited West Germany he reported that he was entertained by the Americans.

The attitude of the occupation authorities toward these associations of former soldiers has not been made clear. Only the American Commissioner for Bavaria, Professor George N. Shuster, has taken official notice of them. At a press conference in Munich in August he said their creation was "an entirely clear and natural thing," and he hoped their efforts could be directed into proper democratic channels. The German people, however, are not so sure that all is clear and natural; they strongly doubt that these former Nazi generals have democratic or peaceful aims, and they are especially suspicious of General Friessner, who is trying to unite all the soldiers' groups into one great organization. The prevailing view was well summed up in a dispatch from Bonn dated October 6 in the *Basel National Zeitung*, which is known for its penetrating comments on developments in Germany:

In dozens of leading articles, comments on the news, satirical poems, letters to the editor, and resolutions, the generals and officers who consciously or unconsciously are advocating a revival of militarism are being called on the carpet in a way to warm the true democrat's heart. This spontaneous public reaction shows that neither the German government nor the Allies, who at first welcomed the veterans' organizations, have kept their fingers on the people's pulse, and that they could gain more support for their policies if they had the courage ruthlessly to stamp out every militarist tendency.

The majority of people in West Germany have responded to the rise of the soldiers' associations by rebelling against the Allies' rearmament proposals. I shall write of this and of the problem of German unification in another article.

BOOKS and the ARTS

NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

THIRTY-SIX years ago, in 1915, the Supreme Court upheld an Ohio statute which permitted censorship of moving pictures on the ground that their exhibition "is a business pure and simple, originated and conducted for profit, like other spectacles, not to be regarded nor intended to be regarded by the Ohio constitution, we think, as part of the press of the country or as organs of public opinion." This ruling, by designating films as spectacles, denied them the protection of the First Amendment. It has never been explicitly reversed, though all of the reasoning underlying the opinion has been held erroneous by the court itself in ruling on other cases. No man in his senses would deny that the film as we know it today is a medium for the communication of ideas; yet the outmoded ruling is still the refuge of the censors.

It is time the issue was once more presented to the Supreme Court for explicit consideration; and it will be so presented, if the court permits, when the decision of the New York State Court of Appeals in "The Miracle" case is brought before it.

The Court of Appeals recently upheld by a majority of five to two the action of the state Board of Regents in revoking licenses (two had been granted) issued by the Motion Picture Division of the Education Department to exhibit "The Miracle." The licenses were withdrawn on the ground that the film was sacrilegious, and the revocation was directly provoked by the pressure of a minority through denunciation and picketing. The minority was Catholic, and Cardinal Spellman was its spokesman; but other Catholics criticized the suppression and the methods used. In brief, "The Miracle" was driven off the screen in New York City by a minute minority of the minority whom it was said to offend. The suppression, incidentally, was rendered ridiculous as well as outrageous by the fact that the film had been written, produced, di-

rected, and acted by Catholics, filmed in Italy, and first exhibited in Rome; that it had run for a year in that Catholic country; and that *L'Osservatore Romano*, the Vatican newspaper, had reviewed it as a work of art without raising any question as to its piety.

THE ARGUMENT in the Court of Appeals revolved around three issues: (1) whether the Regents have the power to revoke a film license or to review the Motion Picture Division's action in granting a license; (2) whether the censorship law as it is construed by the Regents violates the constitutional guarantees of religious liberty and the separation of church and state; (3) whether the law under which the Regents acted imposes an unconstitutional restraint on freedom of expression.

The opinions of the court, both the majority and the dissenting opinions, dealt with all three issues; yet the newspaper account I read was so inadequate that it left the impression that only the first issue was involved, and I dare say most readers got that impression. Needless to say, the dissenting opinion of Associate Judge Stanley J. Fuld was scarcely touched upon. It was impressive as a whole and particularly cogent in its discussion of the question of sacrilege. I have excerpted a few of his remarks:

Over a century ago, the Supreme Court declared that "the law knows no heresy and is committed to the support of no dogma. . . ." Just as clearly, it is beyond the competency of government to prescribe norms of religious conduct and belief. . . .

The inherent indefinability, in its present context, of the term "sacrilege" is apparent upon the merest inquiry. At what point, it may be asked, does a search for the eternal verities, a questioning of particular religious dogma, take on the aspect of "sacrilege"? . . . Not even authorities or students in the field of religion will have a definitive answer, and certainly not the same answer. There are more than 250 different religious sects in this country. . . . With this great contrariety of religious views, it has been aptly observed that one man's heresy is another's orthodoxy. . . .

[The Regents] nevertheless assure

that "everyone knows what is meant by this term" and by way of demonstrating that fact, proceed to define the word as describing a film which "affronts a large segment of the population"; offends the sensibilities by ridiculing and burlesquing anything "held sacred by the adherents of a particular religious faith"; is "offensive to the religious sensibilities of any element of society." Indeed, any semblance of either general meaning or specific content is, I suggest, abandoned by the Regents themselves when they assert that since "anything is only sacrilegious to those persons who hold the concept sacred," the opinions of non-believers are "worthless." By such reasoning the adherents of a particular dogma become the only judges as to whether that dogma has been offended! And if that is so, it is impossible to fathom how any governmental agency such as the Board of Regents, composed as it is of laymen of different faiths, could possibly discharge the function of determining whether a particular film is "sacrilegious."

If the Supreme Court consents to hear the case, it is the second and third issues that will be stressed in the appeal—and one can only hope that the court will take the opportunity to clarify its own position, and public thinking, on these crucial matters.

If the court should reverse the opinion of the Court of Appeals, films will at long last gain the protection of the First Amendment; and censorship in advance as now exercised by the Motion Picture Division will be, by that reversal, rendered unconstitutional.

"THE MIRACLE" CASE, then, is of utmost importance, and the opponents of censorship should do all they can to see that its importance is widely recognized. The censors and their friends and supporters may be expected to do the opposite; and supporters of the censors are to be found in strange quarters.

One might think, for instance, that the motion-picture producers would have an interest in eliminating censorship. On the contrary, they are so afraid of offending the Legion of Decency and incurring its blackmail in the form of denunciation and pressure—which were so effective in suppressing "The

Miracle"—that they long ago submitted abjectly to prior censorship in the Production Code and have never challenged the manifest unfairness of denying films the protection of the First Amendment. As for exhibitors, they are stopped by the fear that if there were no prior censorship a film and its exhibitor, like a book and its seller and publisher, could be hauled into court by any Sumner who found a film offensive. This fear has some justification. What the exhibitors overlook is the fact that very few books have been challenged in this way, that the record of such cases shows that judges and juries are more likely to have regard for the principle of freedom of expression than self-appointed censors representing minorities of minorities, and, finally, that books, by and large, are not censored either before or after publication.

Perhaps it is too much to expect producers and exhibitors to rally from their long subservience or to accept, as Gilbert Seldes put it in an article last winter in *The Nation*, the responsibilities which protection of the First Amendment would entail. But perhaps, as he went on to say, Americans who still care for liberty will do it for them. The Metropolitan Committee for Religious Liberty, the American Jewish Congress, and the American Civil Liberties Union have announced their intention of joining in the appeal to the Supreme Court. I hope that other organizations can be persuaded to do likewise.

Foreign Policy and Congress

MASTER PLAN U. S. A. By John Fischer. Harper and Brothers. \$3.

THERE is an extraordinary temptation after reading Fischer to think, "Now there is a man who could have written a *better* book." In fact he has written a very good book. He has popularized a thorny subject, American foreign policy, and I cannot imagine a healthier thing than for large numbers of people, confused by the clamorings against Truman, Acheson, and company, to read his exposition. Fischer writes with balance, understanding, clarity of phrase. He shows critical insight into some of the sensitive areas of American life and a firm grasp of the objectives of a foreign policy that is, despite the doctrinaire apprehensions of

Aneurin Bevan and the cynical politicking of Joe McCarthy and Robert Alphonso Taft, basically sound. There are, however, weaknesses in what might be called his prognosis.

One of the weaknesses, I think, is a tendency to place an emphasis on Mr. Truman's "failures of leadership" rather than on the lack of responsibility in Congress when foreign-policy issues are up. No doubt we should never have anyone as President less expert than Roosevelt in handling public opinion and explaining delicate issues, but practically speaking I do not know how the objective can be guaranteed. We should be able to expect that Congress will not make foreign policy a partisan issue, and that any member of either party who yields to the temptation should promptly be disciplined—by repudiation of his fellow party members if in no other way.

Another weakness of the book may be a reflection of a weakness in our policy. Fischer, like Truman and Acheson, seems unable to decide whether we are trying to foment a people's revolution against the Soviet police state or to find means of coexistence with a Russia not likely, for a long time, to be ruled by any system approximating our own. To contain the Russians by denying them access to territories and warm-water ports they have historically demanded but do not need unless they want world domination is one policy. To stir up rebellion against the Communist dictators—the present ones or their successors—may seem brave and idealistic, but it is a different policy. The issue is not a quibble; as Lippmann has pointed out, dictatorships do not negotiate their own survival. One could ask a little more emphasis on what Fischer himself describes as the "classic example" of how Mohammedanism was successfully "contained" by Christian warriors until eventually its militantly imperialistic doctrine changed into "something less fanatic and aggressive."

On the affirmative side Fischer has done a first-rate job of telling how the "master plan" of America was built, how timorously and by after-the-fact expenditures of energy it was created, and what our objectives are. He brushes aside, naturally, the stupid and evil charge that the very men who have led in creating Western defenses against

Imperialistic communism are themselves knaves and traitors. He discusses the basic assumptions of our foreign policy—that it would be catastrophic to let Western Europe fall into Russian hands, that the United States has initiated an alliance to forestall this catastrophe, but that we have no intention of using this alliance aggressively against Russia, because the test of the policy's success is the prevention of war as well as to build victory if war should occur.

There is some fine critical analysis of "missing pieces" in our master plan. Half the world's peoples are in ferment, and in January, 1949, President Truman proclaimed a bold new program to help them lift themselves by their bootstraps, but the program is now no longer new and has been something less than bold in execution. Our National Security Council is an effective policy-making institution almost unknown to the public, but it needs better leadership—Fischer means, apparently, a better President, although he certainly doesn't mean Senator Taft. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization is a splendid concept, but it desperately needs some directorate capable of making fast decisions.

Here is the one place where Fischer becomes unrealistic. He believes that federation is the Wave of the Future; so he casually suggests an N. A. T. O. directorship made up of deputy foreign ministers "with full power to act for their countries" on the "whole range of military, political, and economic problems" boiling up every day. If this means anything, it means North Atlantic federation, with an American Deputy Secretary of State given power to commit American resources on a "whole range" of issues. Such an official would not be, in fact, a Deputy Secretary of State but a "Deputy" President, to whom both the elected President and Congress had abdicated. We shall have to find some other way, I am afraid, for the immediate future, including worrying along with Mr. Truman and the Congress actually sitting, at any given moment, in Washington.

A different composition of Congress, irrespective of party affiliation, is always within the realm of the attainable. A change in public attitude toward Congress, so that the members would feel compelled to show responsibility on

foreign policy, is always a possibility. North Atlantic federation is not, in default of a change in Congress and a change in public attitude.

WILLARD SHELTON

First Novel

LIE DOWN IN DARKNESS. By William Styron. Bobbs-Merrill. \$3.50.

THE hard spine of Mr. Styron's novel, extending, through its 400 pages from beginning to end, is a funeral procession through a desolate area of Virginia for a beautiful young girl who has committed suicide. In one car is Peyton's father, Milton Loftis, riding with his mistress; in the other car is Peyton's mother Helen, riding with her spiritual adviser, the Reverend Carey Carr. Curving out from this spine, like finely articulated ribs, is an intricately constructed series of flashbacks that fill out for us the story of the Loftis family.

Helen and Milton Loftis have been the parents of two girls; Maudie is a feeble-minded cripple, extravagantly loved unto death by her mother, who at first mistrusts and finally hates her healthy daughter because of the incestuous tinge to the relations between Peyton and her father. Not only the marriage but the entire family fabric is doomed to rot because of the evil in the heart of each member. Milton, childishly daydreaming of impossible political glory, becomes an alcoholic, living on his wife's money, loving his daughter too much, and consorting with a stupid woman. Helen, hating her daughter as a rival and her husband as a drunken weakling, becomes a neurotic invalid, feeding on her own misery like a succubus. For Peyton is reserved the most atrocious fate of all—she goes to New York, where she becomes a Village tramp, a psychotic, and finally throws herself out of a Harlem window.

The final section of the book, a sixty-page interior monologue in which Peyton exposes the dissolution that culminates in her own death is perhaps the most striking, in its negative parallelism of Molly Bloom's positive soliloquy, but it is by no means the only effective portion of a rich and densely written book. There is a prodigality in Mr. Styron's prose, a willingness to take risks in achieving effects, that speaks of a strong and fertile new talent.

Nevertheless, the book is unsatisfactory, and even ludicrous in more than one place, because Mr. Styron insists on investing his corrupt family with a grandiose "significance" which is ultimately meaningless. Helen and Milton Loftis presumably represent the aging lost generation, and Peyton the generation which has not even had the opportunity to lose itself, having no point of departure. But if we ask what might have become of these three if they had had the true opportunity to realize themselves, we can find no answer; for the Loftis family is an essentially uninteresting group, lacking the pathos of estrangement or the tragedy of betrayal. They are what they are, and that is hardly enough for the inflated symbolism of the ambitious narrative.

There has been much written about the precocity and virtuosity of our younger Southern novelists as an isolated phenomenon in need of explanation. But it seems to me that this is merely a reflex of an age in which youthful virtuosity has come almost to be taken for granted, whether on the concert stage, in the theater, on the athletic field, or in the writing of novels. We have reached a point where the glittering manner is only a precondition of genuine accomplishment, and where the matter of interpretation must give us certain unique satisfactions. The undeniable phosphorescent glow of books like Mr. Styron's is utterly insufficient without an original understanding of the world in which the characters move—and this is precisely what is missing in Mr. Styron's otherwise noteworthy first novel.

HARVEY SWADOS

To Italy and Back

IMMIGRANT'S RETURN. By Angelo Pellegrini. The Macmillan Company. \$3.50.

ANGELO PELLEGRINI, who emigrated from Italy in 1913 as a peasant boy of nine and who returned to the land of his birth for the first time in 1950, has discovered and recounted something of first importance to him—the meaning of American democracy. The convictions of any one average man may be of questionable interest to large audiences, but Pellegrini, now professor of English at the University of the State of Washington, is

**A vital tool for libraries
scholars • editors • analysts
writers • educators**

The Current Digest of the Soviet Press

published weekly by
The Joint Committee on Slavic Studies
appointed by the
American Council of Learned Societies
and the
Social Science Research Council

IN 70,000 words a week, the Current Digest brings you an English translation of Soviet newspapers and periodicals. It covers the entire contents of Pravda and Izvestia—major articles in full translation, lesser ones condensed, the remainder summarized or noted by headline and bibliographical reference.

In addition it prints material from 40 other publications, ranging from Voprosy filosofii to the children's papers. Its value as a reference work is enhanced by comprehensive quarterly indexes, listing not only Current Digest translations but also those of other periodicals containing Soviet materials in English.

HOW YOU SUBSCRIBE

Institutions such as libraries, publications, government agencies and universities pay \$50 for their subscriptions and contribute \$100 to the operating fund, i.e., a total of \$150 a year. Once an initial subscription has been entered, additional concurrent subscriptions may be entered by the same institution, or by anyone directly associated with this institution, at \$25 a year.

THE CURRENT DIGEST OF THE SOVIET PRESS
413 West 117th Street, New York 27, N. Y.

Gentlemen:

Please send a sample copy of the Current Digest, for which I enclose 50¢ to cover costs.

Name _____

Address _____

_____ N

a kind of quintessence of the average: the most earth-bound, sky-launched Italian *cafone* who has ever struck roots, and deep ones, in this new land.

He is exceptional in two other ways, too: he has never cheaply rejected the land of his fathers, and, a more intimate personal distinction, he is a born narrator. Where others may be tongue-tied despite their inner awareness of the effects of the transition from one world to another, Pellegrini can verbalize and with sure effect.

The basic point of view is sound, though not new:

... among our modest possessions are the usual gadgets which make expatriates and esthetes despair of our material civilization ... the bathtub, porcelain toilet bowl, telephone ... thermostatically controlled central heating. We prize these ugly symbols of American culture because they contribute to our cleanliness, well-being, and freedom. ... Should we ever discover that they are messing up our spiritual life, we will burn the place down and move across the street into a wilderness of maples and alders.

This attitude develops as the author and his wife take ship for Italy and he has a chance to observe the boorish returning immigrants, "pockets full of dollars" who "demand service as if they were kings; but their behavior is that of pigs." (Only an Italian American can write such a book, straight from the shoulder, a book which flays false values and hypocrisies, crudity, self-importance wherever he finds it, whether in Italy, on shipboard, or among the first- and second-generation Italian Americans on whom he casts his special light.)

In Italy, Pellegrini finds himself strangely moved by the tenacity, the millennial will for survival of the Italian peasant, as he seeks him out in the Tuscan countryside of his birth. The impact of his country of origin and especially of its culture, not available to him had he remained a peasant among peasants in his native Casabianca, is convincingly communicated, as is his growing awareness of his "own" land, America, seen thus through the wrong end of the telescope.

Valid observations of what is wrong in the post-war Italian political scene form a too short chapter in the closing portion of the book. Pellegrini has dis-

tilled many of the major thoughts of Salvemini and his group and has understood, not only through them but very much on his own, that the vaunted Italian revival is more economic than political, and that at the base there is still essential spade-work of a most drastic kind to be done if democracy is to have true meaning for Italy.

As the author points out in his opening pages, this is not the book about Italian Americans he intended to write at the start of his trip—an important book it would be, too, and one which needs writing. Instead, it is an engaging and at times embarrassing account of a spiritual hegira which, because of its scope and honesty, is very much worth following.

FRANCES KEENE

Before Columbus

INDIAN ART OF THE AMERICAS.

Le Roy H. Appleton. Charles Scribner's Sons. \$15.

MEXICO IN SCULPTURE. 1521-1821. Elizabeth Wilder Weismann. Harvard University Press. \$7.50.

THE unique thing about the civilizations now dominant in the Western Hemisphere is their inexpugnable newness in their present locale. Americans have not, like Europeans, Asians, Africans, grown up with the land they now claim. Water-borne from the older continents, their roots have been put down in this soil hardly more than four centuries. It is true that people lived here before Columbus landed, but their history is not ours. So alien is it, indeed, that we piece together its records only with difficulty. We are spurred by curiosity and a thin feeling of kinship not of the blood but of the place, and what we find is ours not by inheritance but by conquest. Our own primitive cooking pots and grain baskets are not here, but in the caves of the Auvergne or the kitchen middens that underlie Troy.

Particularly in the United States and Canada is this true. From Mexico southward the Spaniard conquered the native, employed or enslaved him, took his daughters to wife in a process of slow absorption. In the north the English and the French expropriated his lands, killed him and his people, drove the remnants on to reservations. There was little mingling of blood. And most white men in the north knew little about what the

Indians had developed in the way of culture and cared less.

In the south a few Spanish scholars, recognizing the marvels spread before them, set to studying them. But even there in the clash of cultures the scales were weighted in favor of the Europeans. As Elizabeth Weismann puts it, "They were conquerors, impelled by a habit of conquest; they had mechanical superiority and a tradition of organization; and they were strengthened by their self-consciousness and by their self-assurance. . . . The driving force of their small group struck like a tempered steel blade into the yielding native population."

During the nineteenth century a few private collectors, and an extraordinary group of students in the federal Bureau of American Ethnology, worked to set down as much as they could of the North American record before the advancing settlers should destroy what little remained. But only now have the descendants of English settlers begun to show a general interest in trying to piece together the remnants of native civilizations which their ancestors overran.

The two books under review add their bit to the slow accumulation. Mr. Appleton's "Indian Art of the Americas" is a beautiful presentation which places in perspective the artistic achievements of various tribes from the northern forests, down across the Isthmus, to the jungles, mountains, and pampas of the south. Mrs. Weismann's "Mexico in Sculpture" focuses attention on what happened in one section where native craftsmen worked on European plans for church decoration and religious images. Reading these two books is like scanning the great map of a hemisphere and then turning to the dated and detailed map of a small district.

The first of these—the broad map—brings together extended research in a handsome piece of book-making. Mr. Appleton is a designer, an illustrator, and a cartographer who now acts as art director and vice-president of a firm concerned with the designing and producing of printed matter for business and industry. His skills are apparent in this volume. His interest in Indian art is an avocation encouraged by the late Clark Wissler of the American Museum of Natural History, to whose memory

the book is dedicated. Dr. A. H. Kidder of the Carnegie Institution has also aided him.

This fruit of twenty years' labor is an informed synthesis of Indian work in the fields of basket-making, weaving, pottery, sculpture, metal-working, jewelry, painting, building, and storytelling. That a man whose basic skill is visual should have thought it vital to include the verbal art is one of the book's most beguiling features. Here are beautiful color plates showing the plastic achievements of tribes grouped according to region; here also are the myths which go with them.

For this lay reviewer, the book's great contribution lies in its scope. Here one gets a whole view of the varied culture of Indian civilizations, north and south, and is able to place in rough relation the skills of the various peoples in their regions. Devotees of this group or that may object that the differences are not as sharply accented by this process as are the likenesses—that the architectural skill of the Aztecs and the Mayas is not pictured, the political artistry of the Incas not analyzed, the quill work of the Blackfeet given too much attention. But the neglected arts can be studied in other books. Mr. Appleton has included an ample bibliography for those who wish more detailed information about any one region. Vast fields of developing knowledge are still to be explored, but here is the whole great map from which to take bearings. Here pre-Columbian America emerges as a pair of connected continents, peopled by industrious tribes having common roots and flowering in diverse ways at various levels of civilization.

Beside this monumental achievement the work of Elizabeth Weismann takes its place as a modest and charming contribution to an understanding of what makes one sector of the continent—Mexico—look as it does today. Mrs. Weismann's basic observation that native forms and native religious symbols were incorporated by Indian craftsmen into the architecture and iconography commissioned by the Spanish conquerors was, of course, anticipated by Anita Brenner's classic, "Idols behind Altars." Her discovery of the timeless quality of Indian sculpture, which makes it "no surprise to find a sixteenth-century stone cross so new it has not

yet been installed" is confirmed by every observing traveler.

What Mrs. Weismann has done with grace and learning is to make intelligible, through photographs and analytic description, certain details in the great mass of lavish decoration which overwhelms the visitor on first encounter. The portals, the pillars, the ceilings, the altars of Mexican churches are so rich in decoration as to weary even the most interested eye. It takes a loving and persistent scholar to identify its detail, to point out where Spanish baroque influence prevailed and where, in the cathedral of Zacatecas for example, Indian exuberance dominated. Anyone who has been confused and blinded by the fantastic forms of Spanish baroque and by the "bursts of unregenerate inventiveness" with which native craftsmen modified it when it crossed the sea will want to go back to Mexico with Elizabeth Weismann's book in hand. With her guidance a second look will be enlightening and enjoyable.

MILDRED ADAMS

The Views of Nehru

TALKS WITH NEHRU. A Discussion Between Jawaharlal Nehru and Norman Cousins. The John Day Company. \$2.

THE utterances of Prime Minister Nehru have a double importance in that he is the world's foremost spokesman for Asia and at the same time an eminently articulate and skilful speaker. This slender volume consists of two tape-recorded conversations in New Delhi early last March which with Mr. Nehru's permission have been reproduced without revision or editing. The fact that he would agree to such an arrangement implies that, though his remarks were extemporaneous, they were at the same time expressions of ideas well thought out. There is, indeed, scarcely anything in the conversations which he has not often said before in his books, speeches, and other interviews.

In such brief space Mr. Nehru could deal with only some of the many subjects which occupy his attention as Prime Minister. As interlocutor Mr. Cousins determined the range of the conversation, and he chose to make it almost exclusively that of international

relations, especially those which involve Russia, China, Korea, communism, the role of the United Nations, Indian-American relations. He was not much concerned with internal developments in India or with the pressing quarrels between India and Pakistan. In this respect he reflects the general American interest, which wants to know, not how India is to reconcile its limited food supply with its increasing population, or how it is to achieve a healthy industrialization, or what the structure of political parties should be, or how to satisfy the demands for expanded educational and public-health programs, but instead whether India is for us or against us in the cold war, whether it is for China or the United Nations in the case of Korea, in short, whether it is for Western democracy or for Soviet-style communism. These questions, so engrossing to Americans when they think of Asia, are, it happens, not answerable by simple yes or no because they are not phrased in terms which apply to the Indian situation. Answers, to be rational, require, first, an exposition of India's basic and most immediate problems so as to outline India's fundamental approach to her world position. Prime Minister Nehru endeavored to deal with some of these problems—agriculture, industrialization, the residual resentment in Asia of its long

BOOKS OF ALL KINDS FROM THE USSR

Just Arrived! LEO TOLSTOY

TALES of SEVASTOPOL

Deluxe Edition — Beautifully Illustrated
In English — 154 pp. — \$1.50
Latest Soviet Records, and Handicrafts
1952 Subscriptions Open for Soviet Periodicals
Ask for Complete Catalogue P-51
FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.
W. 50 Street, N. Y. 19 MURRAY HILL 8-2660

Buy Your Books through THE Nation

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C. O. D. No C. O. D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to
Miss Le Pach

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
20 Vesey Street New York 7, N. Y.

subjection to Western colonialism—but before he could clearly describe them was diverted to the other questions.

Nevertheless, remarks of Mr. Nehru's suggest many of the basic considerations. In speaking of democracy, which he enthusiastically champions, he says, "Where, let us say, people are starving the vote does not count." A little later, referring to the primary needs of the Indian people, he says, "It is inevitable that in India, where private resources are not great, any project must be a state project." He adds on the duties of the state, "So far as economic questions are concerned it is a question of a state interfering to protect, rather than keeping away, because in rather undeveloped economies there is a tendency in certain groups of vested interests to override the interests of the large groups by whatever methods they have." Concerning the international implications of India's need to develop its economy he remarks, "The reaction of a newly independent country is not to get entangled" (students of United States history have heard that idea before). In appraising the world situation he remarks, "I should have said that the basic threat today in the world was fear," and to explain Asia's attitudes he remarks, "In Asia the primary problem is, let us say, food or raising terribly low living standards." Communism he sees as not so fundamental a problem as poverty. Further, it is in natural enmity with Asian nationalism:

Undoubtedly if, as has often happened recently, communism comes not only as an economic doctrine but rather as an extension of imperialism . . . there is bound to be resistance to it, which resistance will grow. . . . In recent years . . . the Communist tendency has come into conflict with the nationalist tendency in many countries—India, Indonesia, Burma, and some other countries. . . . Today in India communism is definitely opposed to nationalism . . . the question is: how far can the nationalist movement go forward in solving some of the urgent economic problems? If it fails, naturally that is an encouragement to Communist ideas. If it succeeds, then communism or Communist ideas in India shrink.

He thinks that China will not live in tutelage to Soviet Russia, but will stand independent. It belongs in the United Nations, since without it—and so too without a small nation like Ceylon, he adds—the United Nations is incom-

plete. He and India believe that every possible means should be taken to prevent a world war. In international relations it is necessary "to be firm yet courteous and friendly"—this is a Gandhian principle. But there should be no appeasement: "May I say that I entirely agree with you that any peace that depends on the shattering of moral values is not worth having. Ultimately that is not a peace at all. That is just a gradual degradation of the human being or society in the world." Hence the position of India is: "We wish to judge every issue on its merits and the circumstances then prevailing, then decide what we consider best in terms of world peace or our other objectives."

This brief exposition by Prime Minister Nehru of his political philosophy might well be read as a sequel to a study of Gandhi's attitude. In doing so one can see the shift in emphasis from non-violent resistance, so potent in the struggle for national independence from 1919 to 1945, to emphasis now upon international conciliation as a means of calming an excited world. These have been dominant intellectual concerns in India during the two periods. We could, if there had been more conversations, doubtless have seen also from Mr. Nehru's remarks how the major primary domestic interest has moved from the problem of winning independence to that of preserving and building the new nation.

W. NORMAN BROWN

Books in Brief

FIFTY YEARS OF AMERICAN DRAMA. By Alan S. Downer. Henry Regnery. \$2.50. This 150-page book is the first of a series of short studies each of which is to be devoted to a half-century of American writing in one or another of the literary forms. It begins with a chapter on the theater in 1900 and ends with another on the season of 1950-51. The method of the intervening chapters is to choose topics like From Romance to Realism or Folk Drama and to treat each selectively rather than inclusively, with full discussion of typical plays rather than brief mention of many. Professor Downer, who is neither stagestruck nor, like some literary critics, so exacting as to find all Broadway play-

writing beneath notice, is guardedly appreciative and guardedly optimistic. His thesis—similar to one preached by Ludwig Lewisohn in the pages of this journal a generation ago—is that a real difference exists between the better commercial plays of nineteen hundred and those of today. The Long-Belasco "Madame Butterfly" was nineteenth-century melodrama which its authors had "draped in a kimono"; Clyde Fitch's plays demonstrate only that "the truth was not in Fitch, nor in the theater for which he wrote." In 1950 even the better commercial plays are still, and necessarily, theatrical, but "they do not simply exploit the theater; they seem to be putting its skills and mechanics to further use." Professor Downer argues his thesis ably and on the basis of a thorough familiarity with his material. Most playgoers will agree with him, and he is probably to some extent right, though it will be impossible to say to just what extent until another fifty years have put the plays of the present day into perspective. Inevitably the conventions, the tricks, and the easy solutions of one's own age seem less crude than those of a preceding generation.

THE DAMMED MISSOURI VALLEY. By Richard G. Baumhoff. Knopf. \$3.75. An informative, non-controversial, and simply written survey of the whole problem of the Missouri Valley; an excellent piece of reporting by a member of the staff of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*. The author gives us the physical characteristics of the valley, its population trends, its products and resources as the background for an understanding of what has been done and is planned for the integrated development of this vast region—one-sixth of the national area. He ends with the prediction that the ten states of the basin with federal participation will set up a centralized, unified, regional management of planning, construction, and operation, which will operate not as a super-state but as a purely functional mechanism.

MUDDY WATERS. By Arthur Maass. Harvard. \$4.75. An analysis of the present situation in the development of American water resources, with the army engineers cast in the role of villain. The author makes a convincing case but

narrowly limits its usefulness by presenting it in a style that suggests the cross-fertilization of a college textbook and a government report. Foreword by Harold Ickes.

AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY. By Luther Halsey Gulick. Duell, Sloan and Pearce. \$3.50. A detailed survey of what we are now doing with our forests and of the steps that will best conserve and utilize them. Neither alarming nor optimistic, but a sensible, down-to-earth study invaluable for everyone interested in the subject.

Films

MANNY
FARBER

DETECTIVE STORY" spends a day in a precinct squad room, making it jump with hokum, "business," and the acrobatic mugging of a horde of aggressively sculptured faces. Though the station house is realistically crummy—as any New York set should be but almost never is—the camera man, Lee Garmes, in an effort to instil some outdoor excitement into an indoor stage play, has pumped it full of a curious gray mist. Mist or no mist, the squad room is the most credible thing you're going to see in this high-powered, entertaining piece of histrionic schmaltz. Through the station door—which bangs back and forth, back and forth, until at last, exactly as anticipated, its bangs some poor cop in the behind—swarm riffraff, the mulcted, mouthpieces and minions of the law, each a walking caricature in physiognomy and mannerism of certain familiar Manhattan types.

Among this traffic is a string of recent Broadway exiles: Lee Grant as a man-hungry shoplifter with a sinuously unfeminine wriggle, a parrot-like head thrust, and some other not quite hilarious tricks which she moiders along with her East Side dialect; Joseph Wiseman, a degenerate cat-burglar who sweeps in-

to the familiar Jewish palms-up gesture as no man ever did before—yet he seems to have genuine pool-hall cynicism and chilling scorn for the "artists" with whom he is working; Michael Strong, Wiseman's dumb crony, who crosses the affectations of a slack-jawed delinquent with those of a hep-cat, doing this with a glib exaggeration that makes actor seem more confused than character. While these evildoers are booked and printed by grumbling detectives, they are jumbled into a mass of lively movement designed to make you laugh—sentimentally—at Bronx-Brooklyn-East Side deficiencies.

The central figure in the crew of suffering, sweating cops is Kirk Douglas, a one-man army against crime who in the course of the day third-degrees a lot of crooks, discovers his beloved wife is not so immaculate, goes off his rocker, and dies walking into the bullets of four-time-loser Wiseman. Douglas's mad-dog style of acting is bound to make any character into a one-sided surface of loud-pedaled ugliness. In this instance, his stiff-lipped biting off of dialogue, his muscle-bound strut, his grotesque posturing, complicate a character already cluttered with the snapping documentary facts that Sidney Kingsley has dredged from three years of research in New York precinct stations.

The casting of gymnastic-minded Douglas for the rigid, unmerciful cop's role is a puzzling one, since both Kingsley and the producer-director, Wyler, are trying in a wrangling hit-or-miss manner to give some understanding of the psychology of an authoritarian sadist. And yet it isn't puzzling at all when you remember (a) that Douglas is top box-office these days and (b) that he has been built by Hollywood, film by film, into the cine-symbol of the Hollow Man who flies high, blind, and arrogant above the rest of us until the poison vapors of our rotten society at last reach his innards and bring him, too, cringing, crumbling, squirming to earth. (Question: Is our society rotten because there

are too many honest cops running around? Is it the honest cop, as a matter of fact, who has been blowing his brains out lately? Question: Could misanthropic film-makers peddle this nonsense without a Douglas—or before him, a Widmark, before that, a Muni—to serve as chief huckster? I wonder.) The cop dreamed up for us by Douglas, Wyler, and Kingsley is developed no more than one inch below the surface. For no other reason than that he has been uncharitably tough and just, he suddenly starts screaming and doing silly things like wanting to cut out his brain, take it in his hand, and examine the "dirty pictures" put in it by his wife. (The emptied skull is one of Kingsley's many images of hollowness; others are bells, graves, ticking meters, and gaudiest of all, the cop's stomach—in which, according to Douglas, there stands some "pore little guy"—that is to say, his criminal father—laughing and crying with scorn and pity.) What all this "meaningful" color adds up to is total confusion, even unto the hammy death scene when you are finally given to understand that Detective McLeod, if he had it all to do over again, would have gone about it more like one of Harry Gross's friends and less like Johnny Broderick.

The movie's big item is the crack-up of Douglas's marriage to Eleanor Parker, a tremulous actress with a genius for finely shaded whimpering, bawling, tense-legged walking. Kingsley bears down on the emotions, words, and thoughts of these two as sadistically as his belligerent hero pursues the criminal abortionist, who, it turns out, once did a small favor for Mrs. McLeod. With stricken face and trembling lips Douglas will mention that he's afraid to go home armed if his wife isn't there, while Parker, with her insidiously flexible lips, talks constantly of being unable to go to sleep without Douglas's arms around her. Then he learns the awful truth about her. There has never been anything, for theatrical agony, like the stricken faces, clenched hands, and

►► BEAUTIFUL HOLIDAY CARDS FOR PEACE WITH UNIVERSAL APPEAL ◀◀

▪ Enthusiastic National Demand! ▪
4 ORIGINAL DESIGNS • IN COLOR!
COMPLETE WITH ENVELOPES

▪ Special Offer to Nation Readers ▪
SAMPLE ASSORTMENT
10 for \$1

Avoid Disappointment — Send Now!
AMERICAN RUSSIAN INSTITUTE
101 Post Street, San Francisco 8, Cal.

FOR EVERY NAME ON YOUR CHRISTMAS LIST! Order NOW!

agonized state-poetry that ensues between the two.

"Detective Story" is far more absorbing than some equally lurid message melodramas ("Day in the Sun," "Street-car") now being touted for the Academy award. But it plays the same hoax on its audience, transforming a sordid locale with full-color effects that seem so wrong one suspects a writer and director of selling out everything they know in order to dislodge the spectator's eyeballs—and reason.

Music

B. H.
HAGGIN

IT LOOKS as though Toscanini will conduct until he is ninety after all. He has returned with his knee trouble miraculously vanished, his powers not only undiminished but operating with amazing energy in recording sessions, rehearsals, and broadcasts. Amazing too has been the relaxed state of mind and emotions that has been evident in those operations—for example, in the unhurried performance of Prokofiev's "Classical" Symphony, the almost casual achievement of the magic that is terrifyingly difficult to achieve in Berlioz's "Queen Mab." Once more I was struck by the difference between the Tosca-

nini and Koussevitzky statements of Prokofiev's symphony: Koussevitzky's all sound, miraculous in its refinement, radiance, and incorporeal lightness, and as such one of the wonders of modern orchestral performance; Toscanini's a wonderfully clear texture of strands wonderfully enlivened by sharp inflection, and—it now seems to me—the correct treatment of this music.

In Handel's "Acis and Galatea," which the Little Orchestra Society presented at its opening concert, one heard not the grandiose writing of the better-known choral works, but for the most part a lyricism which ravished the ear and touched the heart. And though the loveliest and most expressive singing of this music was that of Ann Ayars, there was beautiful singing also by the other soprano soloist, Suzanne der Derian, when her voice warmed up, and musically intelligent use of a tenor voice of no great sensuous beauty by John Druary; while in the more vigorous and dramatic passages one heard the rather rough-textured bass voice of Kenneth Smith used with superb style and bravura that won him the loudest and longest applause of the evening after the aria *O ruddier than the cherry!* The singing of the Hufstader Singers and the playing of the orchestra under Thomas Scherman's direction were undistinguished.

Urania has issued a recording of "Der Freischütz" which enables those of us who know only the Overture and Agatha's arias to hear the other melodic passages that delighted Berlioz with their freshness and the Wolf's Glen scene that was strikingly original in Weber's time and retains its dramatic power today. But we hear the music sung badly or not agreeably by most of the principals—Bernd Aldenhoff, Elfride Trötschel, Irma Beilke—in the Dresden Opera performance; and there are cuts in the dialogue which obscure the action, with the libretto creating additional confusion.

Decca's recording of the same work offers much better singing by August Seider, Maria Müller, and Carla Spletter, but in an atrocious abridgment which slices passages out of the arias and the Wolf's Glen music. Surfaces are a little gritty.

I find the German words and German voices disturbingly incongruous

with Tchaikovsky's music in the Urania recording of "The Queen of Spades." In addition the tenor Rudolf Schock and the soprano Elisabeth Grümmer have beautiful voices but faulty technique that makes their upper range tremulous and unpleasant and the soprano Anneliese Müller is tremulous throughout (but the singing of Margarete Klose and Hans Heinz Nissen is good). And much of the music is reproduced with a hash of high-frequency distortion. Again there are cuts, which are not indicated in the English text.

The German words and voices—except the light soprano of Irma Beilke—are incongruous also with the engaging music of Auber's "Fra Diavolo" in Urania's recording of the Dresden Opera performance conducted by Elmendorff. But I might add that they happen to be the very good German voices of Hans Hopf, Lorenz Fehenberger, Gottlob Frick, and others; and that the orchestra plays excellently.

But in Hugo Wolf's "Der Corregidor" the vocal writing, as in his songs, is like an extension of the German words, shaping itself around them to point up their sense; and it is writing I enjoy more in the opera than in the songs. In any case I would enjoy the superb singing of Josef Hermann, Margarete Teschemacher, Karl Erb, George Hann, and others in Urania's Dresden Opera performance conducted by Elmendorff. There are large cuts in the last act that are not indicated in the libretto.

I will report soon on the recordings of Mozart operas, which were late in arriving.

CONTRIBUTORS

WILLARD SHELTON was formerly *The Nation's* Washington correspondent.

HARVEY SWADOS recently wrote for *The Nation* two articles on paper books.

FRANCES KEENE edited "Neither Liberty Nor Bread," a documented history of Fascism as told by the opposition.

MILDRED ADAMS has long been a student of Spanish and Hispano-American culture.

W. NORMAN BROWN is the editor of "India, Pakistan, Ceylon."

WHAT'S THE SCORE?

Pocket-Sized, Low-Priced Editions
*From "Bach-Gesellschaft" †From "Urtext" ed.
BACH* Well Temp. Clavier, 2 vols. each .98
MOZART† Violin-Piano Sonatas, 3 vols. each .98
CHOPIN 25 Preludes, 2 Sonatas, Fantasy, comp. .98
& MANY OTHERS—WRITE FOR FREE CATALOG
Order from Your Dealer, or direct from

LEA POCKET SCORES Dept. W, Box 138
New York 32, N. Y.

PULITZER PRIZE and CRITICS' AWARD

RICHARD RODGERS & OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd
present in association with
LELAND HAYWARD & JOSHUA LOGAN

ROGER RICO
MARTHA WRIGHT
IN
South Pacific

Music by RICHARD RODGERS
Lyrics by OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd

Book by
OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd & JOSHUA LOGAN
Adapted from JAMES A. MICHENER'S Pulitzer
Prize Winning "TALES OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC"

Directed by JOSHUA LOGAN
Scenery & Lighting by Jo Mielziner
with MITCH McCORMICK
MAJESTIC THEATRE, 44th St., West of B'way
Evenings 8:30. Matinees Wed. & Sat., 2:30

Letters to the Editors

In Defense of the I. P. R.

[The writer of the letter printed below joined the Indian Council of World Affairs as a research associate in March, 1948, and helped to prepare "India in World Affairs, 1946-1950." He is now studying at the Walter Hines Page School of International Relations, Johns Hopkins University.]

Dear Sirs: In his recent testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee Harold Stassen charged that certain individuals belonging to the "Lattimore group," persons like Lawrence K. Rosinger, for example, sought to discredit the Nehru government and thus pave the way for the spread of communism in India.

Many of us in India take a different view of these men and their work. The Institute of Pacific Relations and the members of its staff enjoy a high reputation in educated circles in India as impartial and scientific scholars. The Indian Council of World Affairs, New Delhi, is India's national council for the international institute. In December, 1949, the two organizations sponsored the non-official India-America Conference in New Delhi, which tried to clarify the issues facing the two countries. The American delegates, who were nominated by the I. P. R., included Mr. Lattimore, Mr. Rosinger, and other representatives of universities, business, the press, and the professions. These delegates made an eloquent case for the United States to the people of India. On more than one occasion the Indian delegates, who vigorously criticized the United States, were placed on the defensive. The delegates nominated by the I. P. R. to the non-official Pacific Relations Conference held in Lucknow, in October, 1950, turned in a similar performance.

Apart from holding these conferences, the Indian Council has utilized every opportunity to interpret America to the people of India. In articles published in its journal and at meetings held in different parts of the country, it has explained American policy on various international issues. More than once the Indian Council has lent its facilities to various spokesmen of the United States, including two American ambassadors to India. Speeches delivered under the auspices of the council

are widely reported in the Indian press, whereas the efforts of the United States Information Service to reach the Indian public directly are rarely successful. The Indian Council works in close cooperation with the I. P. R. Some of its activities have even conveyed the impression, at least to a few in India, that the Indian Council is a pro-American institution. Yet in America one hears the accusation that the Indian Council's American counterpart is engaged in un-American activities! Small wonder, then, that a distinguished Indian, who contributes not a little to foreign policy-making in India, should have said: "If these great scholars are considered un-American, it means that something has radically gone wrong with Americans."

During the past two years I have studied closely what was being written about India in this country. I came to the conclusion that Lawrence K. Rosinger was the most reliable American scholar on the contemporary political scene in India. I saw nothing in his writings which could be considered an attempt to discredit the Nehru government. If some American writers point out weaknesses in the Indian political structure, we welcome such criticism. There are many things which America can give to India, and the most important of them is the sound advice of detached students of international affairs.

What we cannot understand, however, is the attitude of persons like Mr. Stassen, who although they express concern over Indian-American relations, frankly advocate an American foreign policy which is hostile to everything India stands for.

Indian-American understanding is not furthered by the irresponsible attacks on organizations like the I. P. R. and on scholars like Mr. Rosinger, or by the insistence of a group of people in this country that America must follow a policy based on pure force even if it means "going it alone."

There is an implication in Mr. Stassen's testimony to which an Indian is bound to take exception. This is the notion currently held by some persons in this country that America can determine the course of events in Asia. Great and powerful as this country is, we in India cannot help feeling that important developments in India will mainly be the product of the internal forces of

that country; America may try to avert these developments, but it will not succeed.

Baltimore

K. P. KARUNAKRAN

Was Oatis Guilty . . .

Dear Sirs: The *National Guardian* did not see the entire transcript of the Oatis trial, but its correspondent in Prague, George Wheeler, sent us many portions of it. We are at a loss to understand how Mr. Fly in his article, *The Oatis Trial*, in the October 6 issue of *The Nation* can offer as an "analysis" an article which totally ignores these points:

1. Oatis admitted receiving directives from, and giving military information to, the United States military attaché in Prague. It is highly misleading to write what purports to be an analysis of the trial record in which this fact is not mentioned and in which Oatis is portrayed as "just a reporter openly doing a routine job."

2. Produced in evidence against Oatis was an identity card "issued at the Military Espionage School, Fort Snelling, Minnesota," where he was said to have studied under a "Colonel Rasmussen." The *Guardian* is not, of course, in a position to know whether this card and "Colonel Rasmussen" are genuine. But what sort of analysis of the trial record is it that simply ignores the existence of this evidence and flatly states: "Oatis was not trained as a spy; he was not even trained as an intelligence officer"?

We are of the opinion that publication of Mr. Fly's article as an authoritative analysis of the trial record which your readers have not seen is not in the fair and justly respected *Nation* tradition. Surely your readers have the right to know what the specific charges were to which Oatis confessed; and what Mr. Fly's facts are in disproof of Oatis's own statement that he had been trained for intelligence work and that he had given secret military information to the United States military attaché.

I think Mr. Fly also owes it to *Nation* readers to give his theory—I presume he has one—of why Oatis acted as "a free, intelligent man, unfettered and uncoerced, simply does not act." George

Wheeler, an exceptionally careful and accurate reporter, who had known Oatis as a fellow-correspondent in Prague, described Oatis in court as "about twenty pounds heavier than when I last saw him. . . . He spoke with a firmness and coherence contrasting with his former habit of trailing off sentences. . . . When at one point they asked him if he was tired, he said 'somewhat', and they called a recess."

Admitting in our story that "only a handful of persons in the United States know positively whether Oatis is guilty," the *Guardian* advanced as a possible theory that Oatis repeated in court the confession he made before the trial because the evidence of guilt with which he was confronted was overwhelming. In connection with theories about how false confessions may be induced, we referred to the Trenton Six case, in which six Negroes "confessed" to a murder of which, after three years in jail, they have been found totally innocent. The "confessions" in that case were induced by drugs, ill treatment, and threats; yet they were all repudiated the moment the men got into court.

We still feel that a plausible theory is called for to substantiate the belief that people who confess crimes in open

court in Eastern countries never committed the crimes. Apart from clearing the air for Westerners striving to stay sane in an era of official witchcraft, a description of how this is done would be greatly prized by the authorities in, for example, Trenton.

CEDRIC BELFRAGE

Editor, *National Guardian*

New York

... or Not Guilty?

Dear Sirs: In reply to Mr. Belfrage may I point out that normally admissions in a trial in such a milieu as that surrounding the Oatis trial are open to question. In this case the defendant went to the extreme of repeatedly and glibly asserting that the whole Western press and diplomatic corps were one web of espionage. This was such a startling and sweeping assertion as to logically invite rejection.

The word "espionage" everywhere is thought of as a general conclusion. There is no proof of such a conclusion except by concrete facts, which at the Oatis trial were not produced. Behind all this was the incommunicado status and inability to select counsel. In the process of logical deduction my own mind cannot accept the claim that guilt was proved.

The State Department's pamphlet on the trial denied that Oatis was a spy and points out that the school Oatis attended in the army was of the type used in training officers for military government. But even if Oatis was trained in espionage, it would not follow that in civilian life he continued to be a spy. Again, to establish this point one must rely upon the superficial generalities of the defendant.

Although I did not state the specific charges to which Oatis confessed, I did give *baec verba* the various points confessed. I could not give more because specific facts were neither charged in the indictment nor proved in evidence.

In Trenton, as in every other court in America, a prisoner mistreated becomes a free man in open court. Here he has all the protection of our legal system. Does Mr. Belfrage believe that a defendant in a Communist trial has the same protection and safeguards?

I am as deeply concerned about official witchcraft as Mr. Belfrage. Whatever we can do to bring sanity and responsibility in this critical area we ought to do.

JAMES LAWRENCE FLY

New York

Conformity in the Schools

Dear Sirs: I liked Goodwin Watson's article in your November 3 issue, but when I got to his proposal to bring in Communist teachers, I began to wonder if he wasn't writing for the wrong magazine—seemed more like science fiction.

There is no new resurgence of restrictive practices and intimidation in our school system today. It has gone on for a long time. Yesterday it was the Quakers, Mormons, Abolitionists, Anarchists, and Wobblies. Today it is the Communists or whoever is thought to be a Communist. Actually, the going is not yet as rough for the Communists as it has been for others. But on the whole American teachers have never dared speak out on controversial matters—and generally haven't wanted to. The few teachers that "dared venture to the end of their tether" were fired.

"Many teachers are unaware that curbs exist." Exactly. The kind of person who gets hired as a teacher—and stays hired—is aware of very little. That is the way Americans have always wanted their teachers.

The basic fallacy of educational theorists from John Dewey down is an equation of education with our public-school system. Nobody with a realistic grasp of social dynamics can be made to believe that the public schools are a lever of social reconstruction. Actually, there is only one subject in the whole curriculum—conformity. In practice the function of the schools is exactly what the progressive educators call for—learning by doing. Learning to conform by conforming. When our children get old enough to go into an office or factory or battle, most of them will do as they are told and like it.

This may sound a bit extreme to some, and others might think I am against progressive education. The trouble with it is that it is not progressive enough.

Lynn, Mass.

JOHN GARDNER

Information Sought

Dear Sirs: I am a candidate for a Ph. D. in political science at Rutgers University. The topic of my doctoral dissertation is the political theory of Benjamin N. Cardozo. If any of your readers have letters by Cardozo, or other material about him, I should be obliged to have them get in touch with me at 44 Lincoln Avenue.

DAVID MARS

Highland Park, N. J.

PERSONALS

ANY NUMBER can play YAHTZIE, successor to Canasta. Great as a gift game for ages nine to ninety. Complete introductory set postpaid anywhere, \$1.00. P. O. Box 1505, U. Station, Austin, Texas.

exit loneliness

Somewhere there is someone you would like to know. Somewhere there is someone who would like to know you. We can help you find a richer, happier life through discreet, dignified 'social introductions.'

Write for booklet, or phone
MAY RICHARDSON
Dept. TN, 111 West 72 Street
New York City EN 2-2033



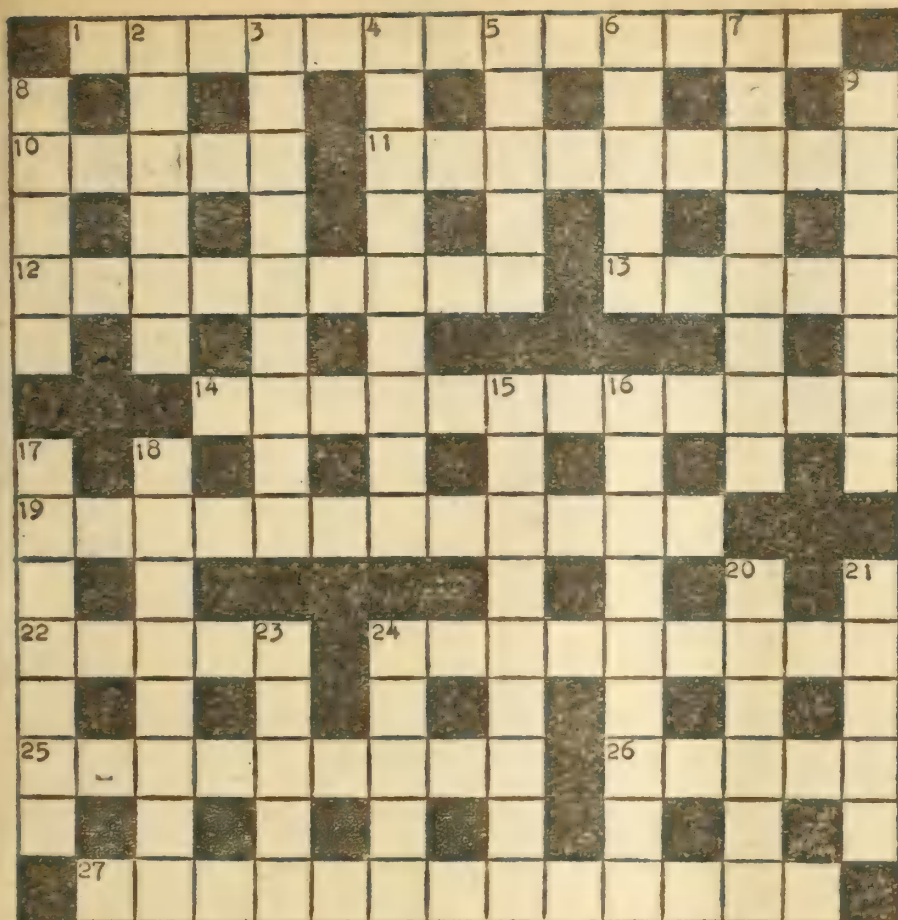
IF UNMARRIED AND MATRIMONIAL MIND, WOULD LIKE TO MEET SOMEONE WHO MIGHT LIKE TO MEET YOU? Write for free copyrighted pamphlet. Address Personal Introduction Service, 2112 Broadway, New York City 23.

Christmas is coming . . .

and Nation readers will soon begin to shop around for gifts. If you have an interesting item to sell why not tell our readers about it. Call the Advertising Department today!
BARclay 7-1066

Crossword Puzzle No. 440

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 Skylark, albatross, or any other mentioned by the writer? (4, 2, 7)
- 10 Beware! A missing composer is found. (5)
- 11 Get me mortals out of it. (9)
- 12 Scissors and jackknives, perhaps, that don't cost anything? (9)
- 13 Look with anger at this river. (5)
- 14 Such offerings certainly don't make for amateurish standings! (12)
- 19 Wallow with heaviness just below the middle. (12)
- 22 The first name of Colonel Merriwell. (5)
- 24 A layer might also. (9)
- 25 Another name for 17 should enable you to place this at Romania. (9)
- 26 Can it be attributed to a burning desire? (5)
- 27 Clover rations are not completely accepted this way. (13)

DOWN

- 2 Saturated. (6)
- 3 Nightmare? (Harry Lee would certainly not be associated with it!) (4, 5)
- 4 An unlikely place to find Stevenson's blind man, even if he did belong to it! (6, 3)
- 5 No gentleman goes out with cadavers! (5)

- 6 This plant is responsible for many lines. (5)
- 7 A strong point for men or grains. (8)
- 8 Fast example of 1 across. (5)
- 9 Did this school give the Rams a battering? (7)
- 15 A fine figure of one of the British Queens? (9)
- 16 A mix-up that is in a group of islanders. (9)
- 17 You might call your 25 this pie. (7)
- 18 Straight, since it's graphite. (8)
- 20 The rest of our southern neighbors should be refreshing, too! (6)
- 21 Suffering the end of 18, briefly stated. (5)
- 23 Things that might 24 across might also this. (5)
- 24 Would the Italian chef understand it if you wanted your steak well done? (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 439

ACROSS:—1 INTIMATION; 10, 5 and 24 THE LAST OF THE MOHICANS; 11 THOREAU; 12 PORTHOLE; 13 CHILD; 17 THURINGIA; 19 MISTLETOE; 21 SEPAL; 23 RIATA; 27 ICEBERG; 28 CHARADE; 29 RUSH; 30 ACCLIMATED.

DOWN:—1 IOTA; 2 and 14 THE MORE THE MERRIER; 3 MEANT; 4 TIT FOR TAT; 7 VEERING; 8 ROUND TABLE; 9 CONCEPTS; 16 SALVAGES; 18 UNETHICAL; 20 SHAKERS; 22 PENNANT; 24 MAGIC; 25 CLAIM; 26, 11 and 15 HEAD OVER HEELS.

RESORTS

RESERVE NOW FOR
CHRISTMAS AND NEW YEAR'S
Glenmere
wood-burning fireplaces
in most rooms
THE GLENMERE, Chester, N. Y.
Phones: Chester 2151; N. Y. Rector 2-5047

50 MILES TO FOREST HOUSE

Near enough for easy travel, far enough for an unforgettable vacation. Forest House achieves new levels of gay relaxation in inspiring surroundings. Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality. Two grand lakes. All sports.

FOREST HOUSE

Lake Mahopac, N. Y. • Tel. MAhopac 8-3449

Christmas Is a Time for music inn

Horse-drawn sleighing, sledging, ice fishing, skiing, skating in the moonlight on our own rink, music by the fire, Richard Dyer-Bennet, caroling waiters from the Columbia University Glee Club. For New Year's—Edith Wilson singing songs blue and gay—music to dance to—and warmth within.

Write: MUSIC INN • Lenox, Mass.

REAL ESTATE

NEWARK, N. J.—Ripe for great super market or super service station. Entire block; 862 feet frontage. Mt. Prospect & 2nd Aves. One block from Mutual Benefit Life home office building. Owner, L. N. Rosenbaum & Son, 565 Fifth Avenue, N. Y. 17.

PUBLISHING SERVICE

AUTHORS! Sales Department available for your short stories, articles, books and plays. Free booklet, write today! Mead Agency, 419 Fourth Avenue, N. Y. 16 (OR 9-1150).

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING analysis. Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel. WA 4-1575. Cooperating with doctors, psychologists, schools, firms, industries. Lessons by appointment, evenings. Marital, educational, vocational, psychological problems. Fee, \$5.00.

HOME STUDY

SHORTHAND IN ONE WEEK. EZ longhand system. \$1.00. Returnable. Zinman, 215-N West 91 Street, New York 24, New York.

BUY CHRISTMAS SEALS
FIGHT TUBERCULOSIS

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

ECONOMICAL MAGAZINE COMBINATIONS

For Your Convenience

THE *Nation* with

☐ Harper's Magazine \$9.50

You save \$2.50

THE *Nation* with

☐ Consumer Reports \$10.75

You save \$1.25

These club combinations are for one year, and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses. Remittance must accompany all combination orders.

THE *Nation* by itself:

☐ One Year \$7 ☐ Two Years \$12

☐ Three Years \$17

SERVICEMEN'S RATE \$5 A YEAR

Canadian and Foreign Postage \$1 a year extra

The NATION

20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

- I want to subscribe to *The Nation* for _____ years.
☐ Remittance enclosed. ☐ Bill me.
- I enclose my remittance for the following *Nation* combinations as listed below.

NAME _____

STREET _____

CITY _____ ZONE _____ STATE _____

11/24/51

NEXT WEEK IN "THE NATION"

CHRISTMAS BOOK ISSUE

BARABBAS WAS A PUBLISHER

by Vincent Brome

An article on the state of publishing in Great Britain

POSEIDON

A Poem Translated from Heine

by Vernon Watkins



REVIEWS

"CLOSING THE RING"

by Winston Churchill

Reviewed by J. B. Brebner

"STRANGE LANDS AND FRIENDLY PEOPLE"

by William O. Douglas

Reviewed by Carleton S. Coon

"SELECTED LETTERS of HENRY ADAMS"

Reviewed by Elizabeth Stevenson

"TWO CHEERS FOR DEMOCRACY"

by E. M. Forster

Reviewed by Morton Dauwen Zabel

"THE MELVILLE LOG"

by Jay Leyda

Reviewed by Richard Chase

"WINGED CHARIOT AND OTHER POEMS"

by Walter de la Mare

Reviewed by Rolfe Humphries

"THE BRIGAND"

by Giuseppe Berto

Reviewed by Frances Keene

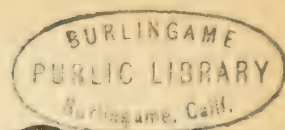


BOOKS OF 1951: A Selected List

Music by B. H. Haggin Art by Manny Farber

The Collier's War: Europe Says No!

THE *Nation*



December 1, 1951

Battle of the Budget

Education Is Not Expendable

BY FREDERICK C. McLAUGHLIN

✱

Britain's Point of No Return

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

✱

CHRISTMAS BOOKS:

Barabbas Was a Publisher - - - - Vincent Brome

Justice on Horseback - - - - Carleton S. Coon

Other Reviews by *Richard Chase, Morton Dauwen Zabel, J. B. Brebner, H. P. Lazarus, Rolfe Humphries*

Books of 1951: A Selected List

A Seasonal Reminder

★ With Christmas approaching, we want to remind you that *The*
★ *Nation* offers a rewarding and effortless way to get some of your
★ shopping done.

★ A year's subscription to *The Nation* makes a substantial gift, and,
★ considering *The Nation's* dedication to peace and good-will, an appro-
★ priate one for the season.

★ There has been no advance in our gift rate. Five dollars still sends
★ 52 weeks of good reading to each friend on your list, a new remem-
★ brance every week from one year's end to the other.

★ Simply fill out and send the coupon, and we will do the rest—gift card
★ and all.

GIFT ORDER FORM

The NATION

Twenty Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

Dear Nation: Please send gift subscriptions of one year of *The Nation* to my friends as indicated below, at the special gift rate of \$5 each.

- ☐ Also renew my own subscription to *The Nation* at the regular rate for _____ years.
☐ Don't renew my subscription now. ☐ Remittance enclosed. ☐ Please bill me.

My name is _____

Street _____

City _____ Zone & State _____

Regular Renewal Subscription Rate

One Year \$7 • Two Years \$12 • Three

For Foreign and Canadian subscriptions add

LIST GIFT SUBSCRIPTIONS HERE

Name _____

Street _____

City _____ Zone & State _____

Gift Card should read from _____

☐ Send Gift Card to me for mailing.

Name _____

Street _____

City _____ Zone & State _____

Gift Card should read from _____

☐ Send Gift Card to me for mailing.

Name _____

Street _____

City _____ Zone & State _____

Gift Card should read from _____

☐ Send Gift Card to me for mailing.

Name _____

Street _____

City _____ Zone & State _____

Gift Card should read from _____

☐ Send Gift Card to me for mailing.

12/1/51

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 173

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • DECEMBER 1, 1951

NUMBER 22

The Shape of Things

A NEW COMPLAINT LODGED AGAINST THE United States by Russia may easily boil up into a real issue. Last week in Moscow Andrei A. Gromyko handed a note to Hugh S. Cumming, Jr., United States chargé d'affaires, accusing Washington of violating the Roosevelt-Litvinov agreement to prevent activities aimed at "the bringing about by force of a change in the political or social order" of the other country. The cause of this démarche is a provision in the new Mutual Security Act authorizing the President to spend up to \$100,000,000 out of military-aid funds to organize persons "who are residing in or escapees from" Russia and its satellites as "elements" of the N. A. T. O. forces or "for other purposes." Moscow says this clause "constitutes crass intervention . . . in the internal affairs" of other nations and is an "unparalleled violation of international law." Russia has also handed the United Nations Secretariat a formal request that the complaint be put on the agenda; and this will be done. Washington naturally takes the view that the Soviet move is not only groundless but also an example of unmitigated nerve; in debating terms this position can hardly be challenged, since nobody in the world outside the ranks of the devout would deny that Communist organizations in every country carry on whatever activities, subversive or otherwise, are best calculated to support Moscow's foreign policy. So if the State Department is merely looking for an unanswerable retort, it can adopt the role of kettle, point out the color of the pot that has called it black, and leave the matter there.

★

BUT THIS EASY COURSE ACTUALLY LEAVES the matter nowhere. For the Russian charge has raised an issue that is a real one and that cannot be disposed of by counter-charges against the Kremlin. This issue is whether the United States has adopted, or is planning to adopt, a policy of matching Soviet subversion by American subversion, meeting revolutionary tactics with counter-revolutionary tactics—in short, whether the United States is committed to the methods it has so often denounced as contemptible and underhanded when practiced by Communists. If so, then the consequences of the decision had better be dragged out and looked at, rather

than stumbled into in the dark. It is our fixed belief that a policy of counter-revolution, such as is more than hinted at in the Mutual Security Act, is a policy of enormous danger, guaranteed to create dissension between us and our allies, render nonsensical all talk of disarmament or negotiated agreements, and start us on a course whose end is that "holy war" against communism which all sane persons view with unadulterated horror. However brazen his accusations, we may yet have reason to be grateful for Mr. Gromyko's intervention.

★

THE NEW YORK CITY BOARD OF EDUCATION has under consideration a resolution submitted by Superintendent of Schools William Jansen which greatly extends the present policy of disqualifying teachers for alleged membership in the Communist Party or for refusal to answer questions as to membership. The new resolution abandons all pretenses about "force and violence" and adds to the list of those "not qualified" to continue in the school system any employee "who advocates communism or fascism" or who is a member of "a subversive group advocating communism or fascism." The resolution specifically includes past membership in such groups as a basis for inquiry and states that "it is the duty of the teacher who may be the subject of such inquiry to make full and fair disclosure of the facts. Any failure or refusal on the part of any teacher to reveal the facts must be regarded as an act of insubordination." Would inability or refusal to name names and inform on colleagues be construed as a "failure to make full and fair disclosure"? The resolution goes far beyond any measure previously proposed. It provides for punishment on the grounds of past membership. It adopts a presumption of guilt rather than of innocence, placing the burden upon an accused teacher of proving the legitimate purposes of an organization and of its members. In fact, the resolution goes far beyond even New York's drastic Feinberg law, now being tested before the Supreme Court, both in scope and in its disregard of procedure safeguards. When this resolution, so fundamental to teacher tenure and public-school morale, was introduced, no teacher's organization or interested civic group was able to obtain copies of it in advance. Speakers were limited to three minutes. It would seem that the least the Board of Education could do

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things	461
Salute to <i>Sponsor</i>	463

ARTICLES

The Atlantic—a Troubled Sea by J. Alvarez del Vayo	465
Britain's Point of No Return by Keith Hutchison	466
The Collier's War: Europe Says No! by Alexander Werth	468
The Battle for Free Schools: Education is Not Expendable by Frederick C. McLaughlin	470
The Revolt Against Joe Ryan by Aleina Austin	473

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Barabbas Was a Publisher by Vincent Brome	475
Socrates A Poem by Parker Tyler	476
Justice on Horseback by Carleton S. Coon	476
The Real Melville? by Richard Chase	478
The "Old Party" by J. B. Brebner	479
The Trophies of the Mind by Morton Dauwen Zabel	480
The Great Painters by S. Lane Paison, Jr.	481
"A Blizzard of Butterflies" by H. P. Lazarus	482
Out of South Italy by Frances Keene	482
Verse Chronicle by Rolfe Humphries	483
Books in Brief	484
Drama by Joseph Wood Krutch	484
Music by B. H. Haggin	485
Books of 1951: A Selected List	486

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 441

by Frank W. Lewis opposite 488

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Associate Editor: Carey McWilliams

Foreign Editor J. Alvarez del Vayo **Literary Editor** Margaret Marshall

Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch **Music:** B. H. Haggin

Assistant Editor: Charles R. Allen, Jr.

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside

Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting

Staff Contributors

Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: Mary Simon

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1951, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$7; Two years \$12; Three years \$17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: *The Nation* is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

would be to order public hearings with an ample opportunity for teachers, parents, and civic groups to be heard. The resolution should, of course, be dropped. Just when did "freedom from fear" turn into "the fear of freedom"?

✱

ALL THE LOCKS ON CAMPUS BUILDINGS AND offices at Washington University in St. Louis have been changed in an attempt to frustrate a student ring that has been using a master key to obtain examination data. Five students have been dismissed, and the locksmiths have now protected the university's storehouse of information with new and stronger locks. A student survey made in the wake of the dismissals reveals that cheating is "fairly widespread" in all classes. "Discussion in university circles throughout the country," comments Chancellor Arthur H. Compton, "indicates that student insecurity over the draft and world conditions has led to a decline and breakdown in student behavior and has increased cheating." Somehow we are not convinced that a "breakdown" has actually occurred in student behavior. Is it not possible that students at Washington University, as elsewhere, have been confused about moral values by the strange behavior of their elders? In explaining why Negroes cannot be admitted to Washington University as undergraduates, Vice-Chancellor Leslie J. Buchan points out that the university cannot risk placing itself "outside the community" on this issue, despite the fact that St. Louis University has removed Jim Crow barriers without forfeiting community support. What community, one wonders, does Dr. Buchan have in mind—the community of bigotry and provincial prejudice or the community of free minds? A university that will not admit qualified Negro students to all departments, and cites expediency as the excuse for its default on principle, is hardly in a position to lecture students on a "breakdown" in moral values. As long as the university locks out Negroes, it has little reason to complain if a few students appropriate the master key which unlocks the answers to examination questions.

✱

JUDGE MATTHEW F. MCGUIRE HAS ENTERED a judgment of acquittal against Dr. W. E. B. DuBois and four co-defendants charged with violating the Foreign Agents Registration Act. The indictment, returned last February 9, charged that the Peace Information Center had acted as the agent for the World Congress of the Defenders of Peace in circulating the so-called Stockholm peace petition. After listening to O. John Rogge, the chief prosecution witness, Victory Lasky, and an FBI agent, Judge McGuire concluded that the government had not made out a case and directed the judgment of acquittal. From the evidence offered by the prosecution it is abundantly clear that the government never had a case, or anything remotely resembling a case,

against any of the defendants. One can only conclude therefore that the original indictment was intended to intimidate the defendants and thereby to discourage the circulation of the Stockholm petition. Not only was the indictment an incredible propaganda blunder, but it is further evidence that a thorough house-cleaning in the Department of Justice is long overdue.

★

THE CELEBRATION IN NEW YORK DURING the week-end preceding Dr. William Heard Kilpatrick's eightieth birthday on November 20 turned into a tremendous demonstration of support for a school system that is public and democratic and of opposition to all attempts to undermine it. An overflow attendance showed the enthusiasm of educators for one of the century's great teachers and their interest in the battle for free schools. The presence of Willard Goslin, ousted as Pasadena's Superintendent of Schools in part because he had brought Kilpatrick to his faculty as a consultant, reminded those present that democratic educational values are under severe attack today. It is significant that the attendance was especially large and enthusiastic at the sessions sponsored by the American Education Fellowship, which has been attacked not only by Fulton Lewis, Jr., and similar apologists for the extreme right but even by a few voluble liberals who bemoan its reluctance to go along with the National Education Association and the American Federation of Teachers in their recent restrictions on academic freedom. The presence of a thousand admirers of Dr. Kilpatrick at the dinner which closed the conference was another indication of the strength of a philosophy of education that would, if it fulfilled its own intentions, actually transform democracy into a society where ordinary people learned what they most deeply desired from life and then how they could get it. Progressive ideas, as this timely demonstration indicated, are still very much the concern of American education.

★

PREMIER MOSSADEGH HAS RETURNED HOME to face a growing economic crisis with no more than an understanding that the United States will give "sympathetic consideration" to any Iranian request for a loan. Even this half-promise has disturbed London, which considers that Washington's tendency to view every diplomatic dispute purely in terms of its effect on the cold war invites blackmail. The British government does not believe that Premier Mossadegh's government must be upheld for fear of something worse; on the contrary, it believes that a change in Tehran would probably be for the better. Meanwhile, Whitehall appears to have viewed with moderate enthusiasm the State Department's efforts to persuade Mr. Mossadegh

to compromise by agreeing to sign a contract with another big oil concern—possibly Royal Dutch-Shell—to run the Abadan refinery. This plan would involve recognition of Iran's title to the oil properties but would also require sale of the bulk of the output for a term of years to Anglo-Iranian at the world price. Mr. Mossadegh is believed to have objected that this plan would still leave Iran at the mercy of the handful of big international oil concerns which, he suspects with justification, constitute an informal cartel powerful enough to rig world prices. The State Department might have made more headway if its anxiety to get the Iranian problem settled had served to overcome its antipathy to the proposals put forward by Henry Morgenthau, Jr., and the International Cooperative Petroleum Alliance. Both these plans envisaged an effective internationalization of the production and sales management of Iranian oil, the first through the U. N., the second through an organization representing consumers' cooperatives in many countries. Assistant Secretary of State George McGhee, who conducted the negotiations with Mr. Mossadegh, would give no consideration to either. An oil man himself, he no doubt reflected the antagonism of the big oil interests to solutions of the problem that eliminated the profit motive.

Salute to Sponsor

THE trade journal *Sponsor* (radio and television advertising) merits a special bill-of-rights award for three excellent articles by Frank Rasky on the newsletter *Counterattack* which has terrorized radio and television for the last three years.

Counterattack (\$24 a year) is published by American Business Consultants, which brought out "Red Channels" and which also operates an "anti-subversive" private intelligence service. The first issue of *Counterattack* appeared on May 16, 1947. Since then business has prospered, and the firm now occupies a seven-room suite and employs a staff of fourteen. The key executives are Ted Kirkpatrick, Jack Keenan, and Francis J. McNamara. Kirkpatrick and Keenan are alumni of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and all three are Catholics, which would be entirely irrelevant were it not for the close liaison known to exist between *Counterattack* and certain Catholic publications and the Catholic War Veterans. To be named in *Counterattack* or "Red Channels" while harmful, would not be brutally damaging if the publishers did not make a practice of calling the attention of advertising executives to persons on its black lists and of stimulating pressure campaigns to enforce a ban against them. The campaigns are usually launched about the time that a salesman calls to solicit special "research" business for American Business Consultants. If *Counter-*

attack's activities were not synchronized with those of other organizations, its bark would be much worse than its bite. But its sleuths are merely the bloodhounds; behind them come hunters eager for the kill.

It was, of course, the Jean Muir case that first brought *Counterattack* and "Red Channels" to public notice. In August, 1950, General Foods, sponsor of the NBC-TV show "The Aldrich Family," received some two hundred telephone calls one week-end demanding the removal of Miss Muir from the cast on the ground that she had been named in "Red Channels." The company now admits that these calls came not from the general listening public but from certain veteran groups and the Joint Committee Against Communism. The Joint Committee is headed by that chronic busybody Rabbi Benjamin Schultz, who in 1947 was compelled to resign as rabbi of Temple Emanuel in Yonkers. Young and Rubicam, acting for General Foods, removed Miss Muir from the show without giving her a chance to refute the charge implied in the listing and, indeed, without inquiring into the facts.

General Foods received 3,300 letters protesting against the removal of Miss Muir from the cast and 2,065 letters approving it. Later it was discovered that 80 per cent of the letters of approval had been inspired by articles which had appeared in two Catholic publications. The letters written "independently of pressure-group stimulus" were three to one against Miss Muir's dismissal. A nation-wide Gallup poll found that less than 40 per cent of the people questioned had ever heard of the Muir case and of those who had, less than 3 per cent associated it with either General Foods or Jell-O, the product advertised on the program. Apparently Jell-O, with or without Miss Muir, is still Jell-O. Furthermore, 90 per cent of the newspaper editorials on the case took a strong position against "kangaroo" courts, private Gestapos, and the firing of Miss Muir. Despite this impressive evidence that General Foods had been intimidated by a handful of zealots, *Counterattack* still has the \$500,000-a-year broadcasting industry toeing its particular line. More than twelve important sponsors and agencies pay—and pay well—for the publication's "clearance" services.

Counterattack's rise to power is in part to be accounted for by the well-known desire of executives to avoid "controversy" in an industry that is peculiarly vulnerable to pressure campaigns and, above all, to ward off an official inquisition by Senator McCarran. But the facts indicate more than a lack of courage or understanding. The industry's executives now know that *Counterattack* can threaten more easily than it can harm them. They are also well aware that each yielding to this kind of pressure augments a power that could become truly formidable. What their attitude implies, therefore, is not so much a failure of nerve or of understanding as a failure

of conscience. The executives interviewed by *Sponsor* speak as though they had no obligation other than to make money and avoid "controversy." Even the best of them are not revolted by the idea of a black list; what they want is something "more authoritative" than *Counterattack*, which by becoming controversial is proving mildly embarrassing.

THE ability of the private Gestapos to harm innocent individuals—the death of that fine actress Mady Christians, according to Elmer Rice, "was hastened, if not actually caused, by the small-souled witch-hunters who make a fine art of character assassination"—could easily be ended if there were a will to end it. The law is not powerless to deal with concerted efforts to strip citizens of their rights without due process of law. Congress has not yet sanctioned conspiracies in restraint of trade. The Federal Communications Commission might conceivably be induced to revoke the license of radio stations carrying programs whose sponsors are known to use black lists. It is intolerable that American citizens should be forced to go—as scores of naive and miserable radio entertainers have gone—to the offices of *Counterattack* to plead their innocence and to petition for mercy as if they were before some awesome legal tribunal. While an investigation of *Counterattack* is clearly in order, an investigation of the organizations that give meaning to its listings would be of much greater significance. *Counterattack* is not the evil; the evil is thought control. Behind *Counterattack* stands the authority of President Truman's loyalty-review program and the black lists prepared by the Attorney General of the United States, the McCarran act, the Smith act, the House Committee on Un-American Activities, the Subcommittee on Internal Security, the Americanism Committee of the American Legion, and the Catholic War Veterans.

If "the troubled air" is to be untroubled in America, thought control must be rejected in principle. Quiet off-stage inquisitions are even more offensive than the noisy on-stage variety; gray lists are as objectionable as black lists. Nor can the fallacies of the demagogue be exposed by granting major premises and then quibbling about conclusions. The issue is not how black lists can be politely enforced with a minimum of "controversy" and unpleasantness; the issue is whether belief is to be free or fettered in America.

CORRECTION: In its November 17 issue, *The Nation* reported that "the New Boston Committee's entire slate won by the largest majority in the city's history." Actually the entire slate did not win. The N. B. C. captured five of the nine City Council seats, and four of the five on the city's School Board.

The Atlantic—a Troubled Sea

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Paris, November 24

THE debate on disarmament dragged almost to a halt after Mr. Acheson's speech on Monday amplifying the Western proposal and arguing its merits. Not until today, when Mr. Vishinsky replied, did the discussion come to life. Vishinsky charged Acheson with lack of far-sightedness in advocating a "tough policy" toward Russia and then proposed twelve amendments to the Western plan. Although the amendments leave the major contestants leagues apart, they at least offer the possibility that discussions in the coming weeks will descend from generalities and endless reciprocal accusations to the very concrete issues of disarmament and atomic control on which there must be a yes-or-no decision.

But the main attention here has been focused on the North Atlantic Treaty Council meeting at Rome today. The date of the conference has been changed several times, the French having tried to put it off until January in the hope that by then some of the problems worrying European Finance Ministers would at least be clarified. But the Americans and the Canadian Foreign Minister, Lester Pearson, president of the conference, insisted on the original date—even though the Harriman report is not ready—in the belief that something must be done at once to check the rumors of serious disagreement in the Temporary Council Committee. The Rome conference is intended above all to reassure the N. A. T. O.

The principal causes for alarm have been, first, the revelations of the appalling economic difficulties into which rearmament has plunged all the Western European countries, revelations not made by the opposition press but by the highest government officials; and, second, the growing feeling in the United States against more financial aid to Europe.

At the six-power meeting held in Paris as a preliminary to the Rome meeting, the basic task of recruiting and training an international army of fifty divisions was advanced little beyond the well-known planning stage. Official reports expressed complete confidence; spokesmen for the six governments praised the truly "European" spirit that prevailed and declared that the "planning" was practically completed. But in reality the economic crisis caused by the mere beginning of rearmament weighed heavily on the delegates.

On certain issues considerable progress can be reported to the Rome meeting. It was decided not to have a European High Command in the strictly military sense but a civilian Defense Commissioner and Board charged with raising, training, and equipping an agreed number of divisions, which would then be put at the disposal of the Atlantic High Command; the appoint-

ment of Paul-Henri Spaak, the former Belgian Premier and chairman of the Strasbourg European Assembly, as the first Defense Commissioner seems likely to receive unanimous support. It was decided also that the divisions would be nationally homogeneous; this means that instead of the "combat teams" of 5,000 men which the Pleven plan originally demanded in order to prevent the revival of the Wehrmacht, the French will be asked to accept "European divisions" of about 18,000 national troops.

It was also agreed that if economic conditions do not improve and the burden of rearmament on the workers causes serious internal disturbances, the participating governments may ask permission to use their national forces. Thus a double front is to be maintained—to the satisfaction of the Americans and the reactionary European governments—against both Russian communism and the masses who may some day rise in protest against their miserable living standards.

But even these decisions, which to some extent balance the disappointments of recent weeks, are more "formal" than substantial. The crucial question of who will pay the bill for rearmament remains unanswered. Nor is it likely that this and other ticklish questions will find an answer in Rome either. The Rome meeting, heralded since Ottawa as "definitive," will again be only a rehearsal for the "definitive" meeting to be held in January after Churchill's return from Washington. One of the reasons why the Quai d'Orsay wanted to postpone the Rome conference was its hope that Churchill's visit might produce some remedy for the situation. It is thought here that Churchill's famous remark about the danger to which Europe is exposed by being the chief European base for atomic bombers was intended to prepare Washington for new demands.

But one very vital aspect of the rearmament problem will be established at Rome, and that is America's determination to push ahead in its policy of creating "situations of strength" no matter how weak the political, military, and economic position of its European partners. The North Atlantic Council will learn from the report of General Eisenhower that some European countries have, under economic duress, shelved important parts of the rearmament program while other parts are sagging. But the United States may react by modifying drastically its original plan: first, superseding the attempt to meet Soviet divisions on approximately equal numerical terms with a new concept of an air shield behind which the build-up of an army could be achieved; second, sending to Europe more American divisions than was previously intended and then replacing them with the European divisions which are slowly coming into being. And of course by developing to its fullest extent the plan for rearming Germany. If this course should be adopted, the European countries could not expect exactly the same

kind of American support as if they had "behaved better," but would receive the indirect protection afforded by American aviation and by American forces whose main objective would be to insure the full use of their European bases and to serve America's own strategy. Some people think this plan would act as effective pressure on the "lazy" European countries; others fear it would push them toward neutralism.

Developments in the past two months have made it

clear that a conflict often exists between the interests of the Atlantic community as a whole and the interests of individual members. This difficulty was foreseen in some quarters when the Atlantic Pact was first formulated. It is in fact an inevitable result of the enormous disproportion between the economic strength and high living standards of the United States and those of its European partners. For these reasons the Atlantic, these days, is a troubled sea.

Britain's Point of No Return

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

HOW far have six years of Labor government produced permanent social and economic changes in Britain? Is it true, as Raymond Moley asserted in *News-week* of November 5, that the narrow Tory victory means that "socialism as a policy has been weighed, tasted, tested, and repudiated"? Time will show, but I suspect that Mr. Moley and other American conservatives will do well to restrain their enthusiasm until Churchill's administration is able to report genuine progress in re-assembling the capitalist Humpty-Dumpty.

It is true that the King's Speech in which Mr. Churchill outlined his program to Parliament promised "to stimulate free enterprise by giving it a fuller share in our economic activity" and to annul controls and regulations when possible. But the first action of the new Chancellor of the Exchequer has been restrictive: like Sir Stafford Cripps he has had to impose new controls on imports and investments in order to meet the twin problems of external deficit and internal inflation.

Perhaps Mr. Moley can find some consolation in the Tory undertaking to introduce legislation denationalizing the iron and steel industry. However, according to a correspondent of the *Wall Street Journal*, the implementation of this promise is already giving Mr. Churchill and his colleagues "a booming headache," even though this particular egg has not been too badly scrambled. When ownership of the steel industry passed to the state last year, its structure was left intact. Its various units continued to operate under their old managements, but stockholders surrendered their shares to the Iron and Steel Corporation—in effect a state holding company—taking in exchange government-guaranteed 3½ per cent steel bonds. On paper it might seem simple enough to reverse this process; in practice there are serious obstacles.

Many of these bonds have been dispersed in the market, and some of the new owners—for example, the insurance companies, which have bought up large amounts—are probably unwilling to exchange a risk-free

investment for equities. A public sale of shares in some 160 iron-and-steel companies worth around \$652,000,000 would be a tricky piece of financing, particularly as the Labor Party has announced that should it return to power—hardly a remote contingency—it would promptly renationalize the industry. "However much individuals and institutions may approve the Conservative Party's politics," the *Financial Times* of London comments, "they are hardly likely to refinance the steel industry unless they have some assurance of continuity." Assuming this difficulty can be overcome, there is the further question of whether the investment can be made attractive enough in view of the fact that the Tories' promised excess-profits tax will cut down earnings. When nationalization took place, stockholders protested that the price offered by the government for their shares was too low. It does not follow that a new set of investors would be prepared to buy back the shares at the same price; yet the Tories, who supported the complaint that the Labor government was enforcing a harsh bargain, would expose themselves to criticism if they resold at a loss.

If the government, in spite of these difficulties, succeeds in returning the steel industry to private enterprise, British capitalism will regain a little of the ground lost since 1945 but will hardly be able to claim a major victory. In my opinion the most irrevocable change wrought by the Labor government was not in the field of formal socialism, even though it brought some 20 per cent of British industry under public ownership. Of much greater consequence was the progress achieved in redistributing the national income, a process very painful to those who have been leveled down but very satisfying to the infinitely larger number who have been leveled up. It will not be easy for a democratically elected government to reverse this process, and the Tories have been careful to disclaim any intention of doing so. Yet it is also true that equalitarianism and capitalism do not make a good team; so if the Tories do keep their pledges

to maintain the welfare state they are bound to disappoint those who expect them to give free enterprise its head.

Some of the concrete results of the policy of redistribution, summed up by the Labor Party in the phrase "fair shares," are made clear in a book, "Poverty and the Welfare State," by B. Seebom Rowntree and G. R. Lavers.* This is the third study of working-class conditions in York conducted by Mr. Rowntree. His first, made over fifty years ago, threw a sharp light on the causes and effects of poverty and, together with Charles Booth's classic "Life and Labor in London," played an important part in that awakening of the public conscience which laid the moral foundations for the welfare state. In 1899, his survey showed, nearly 28 per cent of the entire population of York, a fairly prosperous city with a considerable middle-class element, were living "below the poverty line"—that is to say, on incomes insufficient to provide the minimum necessities for the maintenance of physical efficiency.

In 1936, when Mr. Rowntree made his second study of York, he found that though unemployment that year was much heavier than in 1899, the proportion of the population living below the poverty line was only half as great. Undoubtedly this improvement was related to the wide extension of welfare legislation that had occurred during the intervening years. Old-age and widows' pensions, health and unemployment insurance, and workmen's-compensation laws had softened the impact of some of the hazards of life that were apt to plunge working-class families below the poverty line. In the same period the growth of trade unionism and the adoption of minimum-wage laws for sweated trades had helped to raise the general standard of living.

But if the "Giant Want"—to use Lord Beveridge's phrase—had been forced to retreat since 1899, he was still potent. In his 1936 inquiry Mr. Rowntree adopted a "human-needs standard" which, while still austere, was not quite so rigorous as the subsistence standard previously employed. He now listed as below the poverty line those families whose incomes were inadequate to pay for enough food for physical efficiency, clothing sufficient for health and respectability, heat, light, and household necessities, and to leave a small margin for recreation and emergencies. By this test, 17.8 per cent of the population of York (31.1 per cent of the working-class population) were living in poverty in 1936.

Fourteen years later a very different situation was revealed. Using the same test, Mr. Rowntree and his collaborator, Mr. Lavers, found that in 1950 only 2.77 per cent of the working-class population were still below the poverty line. Chief among the reasons for this astonishing transformation are full employment, higher wages,

and the new social benefits, including subsidies which keep down food prices and rents. "Not a single family," Rowntree and Lavers note, "is in poverty due to the unemployment of an able-bodied member, although in a large proportion of the families classified as in poverty due to sickness [21.3 per cent of the cases] the chief wage-earner is permanently unable to work because of his ailments."

Any considerable increase in unemployment would soon change this situation for the worse. A 5 per cent unemployment rate, Rowntree and Lavers estimate, would mean that 7.61 per cent of working-class families would drop below the poverty line; with 10 per cent unemployment, 10.55 per cent.

In one chapter the authors of this book endeavor to calculate the effect on incomes of those welfare measures that have been introduced or extended since 1936. To do so they had to take into account not only increases in pensions but the value of food subsidies, family allowances, school milk, cheap milk for infants, and free school meals, and to offset against the total the increase in social-security contributions. Without the welfare legislation of the last fourteen years, they conclude, 22.18 per cent of the working-class population would be living in poverty instead of 2.77 per cent.

I have summarized in some detail the findings of this social survey because they do much, I think, to explain why the Labor Party commanded such loyal support at the general election that, despite the loss of its Parliamentary majority, it polled more votes than the Tories.

EVEN if the new Tory government had a stronger majority, it would perforce be wary of making legislative changes that would alter the situation uncovered by the York survey. Much as the Tories might like to cut down welfare expenditure in order to reduce taxes, or to induce a little unemployment in order to "restore industrial discipline" and make wage demands easier to resist, they cannot forget that they will have to face the electorate again in a few years. Other Tory administrations in this century have been able to dole out modest concessions to the workers without upsetting too seriously a status quo favorable to property-owners and business men. But six years of Labor government has established a new status quo, has brought about a division of the national cake which, as the following table shows, has considerably increased the size of the slice going to the workers.

*Percentage Distribution of Personal Income in Britain
after Income Taxes*

	1938	1950
Wages	40.2	48.4
Salaries	25.2	25.6
Rent, dividends, and interest	34.6	26.0

*Longmans, Green and Company, London; to be published shortly by Longmans, Green and Company, New York.

It may be that the costs of rearmament, coupled with Britain's foreign-trade difficulties, will shrink the size of the national cake in the next year or two and compel all groups to accept smaller slices. But will the Churchill government be able to reverse the trend indicated in the table and reduce the proportion going to wages and salaries? Certainly it will be pressed to do so by the men of property who form the hard core of the Tory Party. But will the government dare to make the drastic cuts in the scope and costs of the social services without which there can be no appreciable reduction in taxes on the larger incomes, as least as long as defense costs loom so large in the budget? Deliberately to diminish the welfare of the majority of the voters in order to increase that of a minority is not, I suspect, practical politics under conditions of universal suffrage.

On the other hand, it is perfectly true that the burden of taxation on medium as well as large incomes required to pay for the benefits of the welfare state does seriously impede the efficient operation of a private-enterprise economy. Today only a handful of Britons enjoy net incomes exceeding \$25,000—owing to the steepness of income-tax graduation up to a top bracket of \$42,000, beyond which the Treasury takes 97½ per cent. This both weakens the incentives of private enterprise and restricts the accumulation of savings by those who in

the past have provided the bulk of business capital.

Thus the redistribution of income impels the state to take over some of the functions of the entrepreneur. To any government undertaking to maintain full employment the provision of investment funds to industry must be a matter of prime concern. If private channels are partially blocked, for reasons of social policy, then public channels must be created and steps taken to see that capital flows through them in sufficient amounts. This was one of the prime objectives of the Labor government's planning, and during the past six years Britain, in fact, invested a larger proportion of its national income than in 1938—one-fifth compared to one-seventh. The Tory government, I suspect, will have to follow similar methods if it is not to incur the political and economic risks of large-scale unemployment. Yet free enterprise cannot really be "liberated" so long as responsibility for deciding the extent and main direction of investment depends, not on the market, but on a central planning authority. Hence it seems that the progress made by Labor in redistributing national income rather than the partial nationalization of industry has brought Britain to a way station along the road to socialism from which there can be no turning back so long as a majority of the people believe that a stable society must be built on security for the masses.

The Collier's War: Europe Says No!

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Paris

I WISH our American friends and allies could realize the impression that the famous issue of *Collier's* on World War III has made in Europe, particularly in France. Months of intensive Communist propaganda, millions of dollars of "Moscow gold," could not have done half as much to make the United States—if I say unpopular, that is putting it *very* mildly. In the past few weeks I have not heard a single discussion of world affairs in which somebody, sooner or later, did not bring up *Collier's*, with the side defending the United States promptly reduced to silence or embarrassed mumbling, usually to the effect that "this isn't the official policy."

The general resentment springs in part from the fact that millions of Americans are given the idea that World War III will be a good and just war, and that the Russians "want to be liberated"—a more than debatable point—even at the price of seeing all their cities destroyed and 32,000,000 of their men, women, and

children killed (Marguerite Higgins's cheerful estimate). Nor do people here care for the assumption that the height of bliss for the New Russia—and, I suppose, the New Europe—will consist in reading translations of *Reader's Digest*, *Time*, *Life*, *Newsweek*, and "*Kolliers*," and in having leg shows in place of the Russian ballet and the Moscow Art Theater. "*Kolliers*" may no doubt make more amusing reading than *Pravda*, but behind this oversimplification is an implicit contempt for not only the Russian but also the European way of life.

Resentment is also aroused by the issue's clear if discreetly camouflaged acceptance of the atomic destruction of London and other great capitals and its insane disregard of the fact that when the world has been half-destroyed by atom bombs, economic and human forces will be set loose among the survivors in Russia and China which just cannot be limited to a desire for nylon stockings and *Reader's Digest*. Not to mention the fact—obscured in the minds of Americans and West Europeans by years of one-sided propaganda—that Russia in case of war may well produce, not that gigantic

ALEXANDER WERTH is The Nation's correspondent in France.

"revolt of the slaves" so dear to the imagination of Mr. Koestler, but another manifestation of the spirit of Stalingrad. For what is the evidence, especially if 32,000,000 Russians are to be killed by atom bombs, that American—or U. N.—forces invading Russia will be loved any more than the Germans were last time? *Time* and *Life* in Russian, Coca-Cola, and the incomparable sex appeal of the G. I.'s, clearly hinted at by *Collier's*, may not prove enough, even if the war is *not* like the present war in Korea. And how does one know it won't be?

THE first detailed summary of the famous issue to appear here was a three-column article in the *Monde* of October 31, which said among other things:

Collier's is not likely to have much influence on Stalin in "making him listen to reason." But the effect in America will obviously not be to create a climate favorable to better international understanding. . . . These scare stories are calculated to frighten the average American reader, but also to make him accept the idea of war the more readily and cheerfully, since it will, so he is told, end in victory. At the same time the magazine appeals to the American feeling of self-righteousness with the constant suggestion that the war would be a "war of liberation"—the liberation of people whose only desire is to revel in the joys of the American way of life. . . . Technically, it is a brilliant job, and will no doubt be a stupendous commercial success, which will more than cover the high fees paid to the magazine's eminent contributors.

After this nasty but well-deserved crack—people here were particularly shocked that an Englishman like J. B. Priestley should appear among the contributors to the issue—the article concluded: "But, contrary to what its editors claim, it is more than doubtful that it will serve the cause of peace." The writer of the article, Henri Pierre, the *Monde's* Washington correspondent, noted regretfully that the invasion and destruction of Europe were mentioned only incidentally, without any details, in the course of the "epic" story.

The Communist press, of course, hooted with joy over the issue. Nothing in the world could have better served their anti-American propaganda.

The right-wing French papers tried to play it down, with the exception of one rather feeble attempt by *Paris-Presse* to present it as an "exciting stunt"—the people one saw in the Métro looking at the page of reproductions from *Collier's* were certainly "not amused." Serious commentators expressed regret that nothing should have been done by the State Department to disavow it, all the more so as numerous stories had clearly suggested that some very important people in Washington had helped in the production. The United States embassy in Paris was stunned by the hostile reaction provoked in France, and, indeed, throughout Western

Europe wherever someone was "tactless" enough to tell newspaper readers about it—as, for example, the *New Statesman* and the *Sunday Pictorial* did in England, the latter having a circulation of five and a half million.

L'Observateur had the bright idea of printing bits of *Collier's* "turned around." Thus the cover was reproduced with a Russian soldier pointing a bayonet at the map of America and a red flag flying over Washington; one picture showed General Eisenhower being captured by Russian soldiers. "What would people say if a Moscow magazine appeared with the *Collier's* story turned around?" it asked.

Collier's has managed not only to make the United States odious in the eyes of millions of Europeans—as years of Communist propaganda have not done—but also to make it rather ridiculous. The *Canard Enchaîné*, a leftish sheet but anything but Communist, published a biting skit on *Collier's* called "The Next War Will Have Been Won by the *Canard Enchaîné*!" One day, the story goes, both America and Russia were atom-bombed to pieces, almost at the same moment.

There was panic at the Ministry of Finance. "What about the Marshall Plan instalment to balance our budget?" It was certainly a blow. . . . In the Place de la Concorde there were demonstrations, one crowd shouting: "On to New York!" the other "On to Moscow!" When they were finally told that neither place was in existence, they joined forces, sang the "Marseillaise," marched past the statue of Jeanne d'Arc, and then dispersed to their respective bistros.

Then months passed, according to the story, and one day some bold explorers landed in Florida and others were parachuted into Russia. The first group cabled: "There are still some people alive in the United States. They are sleeping on straw mats in what was New York." To get help for them the *Canard* issued an appeal: "These poor people must be reeducated. They must learn to live, which they never managed to do in their days of splendor." This program, the *Canard* continues, aroused such enthusiasm that the paper was intrusted with the task by the Rescue Operations Administration. Its first report from New York, dated November 5, 1955, ran:

Our first contact with the tribes of North America has been very successful. Ten Angling Societies have already been established, and this peaceful sport has killed all desire for baseball and television. . . . French cooking has been a brilliant success. . . . The Brillat-Savarin Club of Good Eating has already a million members.

After describing similar successes on the Wine Front, the dispatch went on:

An Anti-Robot League has been created. One of its tasks is to destroy all the machinery still to be found among the ruins. No more automobiles, planes, radio,

or television, no more refrigerators, washing machines, eating machines, drinking machines, or love-making machines. The use of slogans is strictly prohibited. People are beginning to think for themselves. Charlie Chaplin, president of the Anti-Robot League, has been elected President of the United States.

This was one of the more "pleasant" European reactions to *Collier's*. But it too shows that Europe's respect for the United States has scarcely been increased. Is Western Europe as unimportant in the general scheme of things as it appears to be in "The War We Do Not Want"?

THE BATTLE FOR FREE SCHOOLS

Education Is Not Expendable

BY FREDERICK C. McLAUGHLIN

ON A cool, pleasant evening early last June, the qualified voters of Levittown, Long Island, turned down a proposal for building a new school for the children of their brand-new community. The unique thing about this decision was that it was taken by a group of voters composed largely of parents of children of early-school or pre-school age. Opposition to bond issues or increased school expenditures comes as a rule from persons without children in public school. Undoubtedly there were some such persons in Levittown, but the outcome mainly resulted from other factors which are becoming important in lower- or even middle-income communities—steadily rising taxes and cost of living.

Although average per pupil expenditures over the United States have roughly doubled since 1939—\$108 to \$213—so have costs. The retail price index has advanced nearly 90 per cent and wholesale prices 114 per cent in the same period. It takes \$2.25 today to build what \$1 would build in 1950. Raising teachers' salaries and meeting other higher school costs has required more money. Many of the recent attacks on public education discussed in earlier articles in this series began over the issue of increased outlays. It is hard for people to equate the cost of education with the cost of hamburger, and they are likely to expect that any increase in expenditure per child for education will result in a net gain. In Pasadena the necessity for increasing the tax rate for elementary schools was questioned and attacked as if the money were to be spent for adding new and improved services instead of simply maintaining the schools at approximately the level of previous years.

Even without the factor of rising enrolments, inflation has compelled every school board in the country to seek

the voters' authority for higher budgets and has thus provided an opportunity for those opposed to public education to launch new attacks. That such groups have been successful is borne out, to some extent, by the drop in the percentage of personal income devoted to public education. This has fallen from 3.2 per cent in 1937-38 to 2.2 per cent in 1950-51. Only four states devoted as large a percentage of income to education in 1949-50 as in 1937-38.

Inflation is not the only problem that has been seriously affecting public schools since 1946. Equally important is the increase and continuing high level of the birth rate. In 1948 live births per thousand population reached 24.2 as compared with the 1939-40 figure of 17.3. This was not very surprising, but neither sociologists nor school statisticians expected the high rate of births to continue at or near the post-war peak.

Enrolments in public elementary schools declined steadily from 1936 until 1946, when there were 17,375,000 children in school, kindergarten through eighth grade. By 1950 the total had reached approximately 20,000,000 in the elementary schools, a jump of 13 per cent. The decrease in secondary-school enrolment during this period was not an offsetting factor, since neither teachers nor facilities were suitable for both levels. In a forecast released in May, 1950, the United States Office of Education predicted a steady rise in public-school enrolment from 25,591,000 in 1950 to 32,251,000 in 1958. It may be noted that non-public-school enrolment—largely parochial—now constitutes 12 per cent of the total. It has increased 24 per cent in the past ten years, or at a rate nearly twice that of public schools.

The problem of providing buildings, equipment, and teachers for 7,000,000 children in eight years is complicated by the pattern of population growth, which varies within a given community. The trend in most cities is away from their centers into suburban areas or from older sections into new multiple-unit housing projects, which leaves some schools partially empty and others

FREDERICK C. McLAUGHLIN, formerly director of the Public Education Association of New York City, is now at Teachers College, Columbia University, associated with the Kellogg Project for the Study of Educational Administration. This article is the sixth in a series of eight on the crisis faced by our schools.

operating on double or even triple sessions. The vast interstate and interregional migrations that took place during the war added to the problem. Expanded communities have had to cope not only with the abnormally high birth rate but with significant rises due to immigration. This largely accounts for California in 1950-51 having the highest proportion (9 per cent) of pupils in the nation on short-time session. The desperateness of the situation created by the mushroom growth of war industry is indicated by the fact that Congress last year provided funds for building and operating schools in some six hundred districts seriously affected by federal activities—despite powerful opposition which has blocked federal aid to schools for half a century.

In order to seat the oncoming crop of school-age youngsters, an estimated 270,000 more classrooms will be required in the next ten years. In addition, approximately 150,000 classrooms are needed throughout the nation to replace worn-out, obsolete, and hazardous structures. In Indiana, for instance, a 1948 study revealed that 79 per cent of the state's school buildings were of non-fire-resistant construction and that 28 per cent were fifty or more years old. Even in New York City one-third of the 900 school buildings in use are either non-fireproof or only partially so, and one-quarter have passed the half-century mark, at which experts say they should be retired. In the next decade 420,000 classrooms must be built simply to keep school services at par.

School planners arrive at a grand total of 520,000 new classroom units needed between now and 1960—including 40,000 for expanding kindergarten and community and college facilities and 60,000 to complete the reorganization of small rural districts. Costs estimated to average \$27,000 per classroom, including related facilities, would come to \$1,400,000,000 per year over the ten-year period. The cost value of all public-school property in 1948 was \$9,212,000,000. In 1949 contracts were awarded for 4,900 public-school buildings or additions. In January, 1950, 12,500 classrooms were found to be under construction—enough to take care of about one-third of the 237,000 pupils estimated to be on short time. According to a recent estimate a total of 20,000 public schools, costing three billion dollars, has been constructed in the five years since the end of the war. At this rate it will take nearly twenty-five years to build the schools required before 1960.

THE need for classrooms is matched by the need for teachers. The story of the exodus of trained teachers into better-paying jobs during and immediately after the war is all too familiar. Three hundred thousand persons left the profession between 1939 and 1945, a blow from which the schools have not yet recovered. The National Education Association has estimated that during the school year 1950-51 some 80,000 employed

teachers had substandard certificates. In other words, nearly 10 per cent of all teachers are still not properly qualified for their jobs. Thus 125,000 more teachers will have to be trained annually to meet the turnover of about 10 per cent—twice what it was before the war; to provide 250,000 additional teachers for the increased enrolment; and to replace 50 per cent of the holders of substandard certificates.

Unfortunately, the students now in training come nowhere near to meeting this demand. Nation-wide in 1950 there were three elementary teachers available for every twelve needed. This year the colleges and universities of the nation graduated 32,000 elementary teachers against a need of between 90,000 and 100,000.

The chief explanation of the continuing and prospective teacher shortage is low salaries. In 1950-51 the average annual salary of teachers in public elementary and secondary schools was \$2,980. Although this was a gain of \$1,400 over 1938-39, the \$2,980 was still worth only 1,715 pre-war (1935-39) dollars.

While teachers and other instructional personnel were upping their incomes 105 per cent, lawyers increased theirs 184 per cent and dentists 261 per cent. The average income of dentists in 1949 was almost two and a half times that of teachers; lawyers and physicians received three to four times as much.

The failure of teachers' salaries to keep up with the general trend reflects the failure of teachers to organize. College teachers, almost completely unorganized, have fallen even farther behind than secondary and elementary school teachers. The Commission on Financing Higher Education found that "colleges and universities in the last decade have been able to raise faculty salaries only 40 to 50 per cent." A survey last winter revealed that teachers in the two high schools nearest Queens College in New York City averaged more per year than teachers in the college. A stronger national union that would raise salaries and thus attract better teachers would benefit the profession, the schools, and the children.

Both public and private colleges and universities are facing difficult problems caused by post-war inflation. Though they have raised student fees between 51 and 80 per cent over the past ten years, their financial condition grows steadily more precarious. Income from endowments, gifts, and government appropriations have not kept pace with rising costs. In public colleges funds from state and local taxes provided 70 per cent of the educational income in 1940, but less than 60 per cent in 1948. Privately supported colleges and universities increased their dependence on student fees in almost a like proportion: endowment earnings provided 23.4 per cent of all educational income for these institutions in 1940 but only 11.8 per cent in 1948.

Nearly all states now furnish some type of state aid for public elementary and secondary schools, in

order partially to equalize the educational opportunities within state boundaries. Between 1939-40 and 1947-48 state aid for schools increased 123 per cent in the country as a whole. At present 45 per cent of all school funds come from state sources, 53 per cent from local taxes, and 2 per cent from the federal government. The last figure is a story in itself. The failure of the federal government to do anything about the inequality of educational opportunity in the United States is one of the blackest spots on its record.

The best single index of the quality of the school is the expenditure per pupil. In 1947-48 New York, New Jersey, and Illinois spent four times as much per child on education as Mississippi and nearly three times as much as seven other Southern states. In the states with the lowest expenditures per child are found practically all the factors associated with poor educational opportunities. South Carolina in 1947-48 had only 13 per cent of its enrolment in high school as against 28 per cent for the nation. Ten of the twelve states with the lowest percentage of school-age children in school are in the South, where expenditures are lowest. In Louisiana nearly 36 per cent of persons twenty-five years old or older had had less than five years of schooling as against 4 per cent in Iowa and 13.5 per cent in the United States. More than a million men were found to be educationally deficient when inducted into the army from 1940 through 1944. Four per thousand of these registrants were found in Oregon as against 155 per thousand in South Carolina. Eleven of the twelve states with the highest per-

centage of rejection by the armed forces for educational deficiency were in the South.

It is important to note in this connection that many of these states rank high in their effort to support the public schools. South Carolina, for example, devoted 2.65 per cent of its annual income to current school expenditures in 1947-48 as against 1.85 per cent for New York and 2.11 per cent for the United States as a whole. Only three of the twelve states ranking lowest in expenditures per child in 1947-48 were not making a greater than average effort—that is, spending more than 2.11 per cent of their income to support their schools.

That most Southern states, despite these efforts, are not providing acceptable schools is explained of course by their relatively low income. Mississippi, for example, had a per capita income in 1948 of \$753, against \$1,803 for New York and \$1,387 for the United States as a whole. Among the twelve states with the lowest per capita incomes New Mexico and Oklahoma are the only two not located in the Southeast. Ten of these twelve poorest states were found among the twelve having the largest number of school-age children per 1,000 population. This fact further accentuates income differences, and is the reason why New York, with only 2½ times the per capita income of Mississippi, had in 1948 four times as much income per child—\$10,578 as against \$2,622. The nine wealthiest states were thus able to provide twice as good schools with the same relative financial effort as the nine with the lowest per pupil income.

There is only one remedy for this un-American and dangerous inequality of educational opportunity—*federal aid to public schools*. The half-educated or illiterate citizen is a liability in time of peace as well as in war. The federal government has a clear duty to see that all citizens are as well equipped as possible to carry out their civic and military duties.

"Education faces temporary bankruptcy in its steel supply" was the heading of a recent item in the *Educator's Dispatch* which told of the failure of the National Production Authority to grant priorities for new schools. They were included among "less essential building projects." This profound misunderstanding of the importance of education on the part of lawmakers can be matched too often among everyday citizens. The voters of Levittown, worried about meeting their taxes and mortgage payments, perhaps do not realize that as members of the American consuming public they spent in 1949 about 5 per cent of their total income on alcoholic beverages, 6 per cent on recreation, and 10 per cent on automobiles and travel, *but only 2 per cent on education*.

This situation is as dangerous for a nation as it is unwise for an individual. To neglect education in this highly competitive and technological world is to jeopardize our own survival.



Herblock—courtesy Washington Post
For Want of a Nail a Shoe Was Lost

The Revolt Against Joe Ryan

BY ALEINE AUSTIN

THE fourth eruption of discontent among East Coast longshoremen in the last six years was finally brought under control when the dockworkers started "shaping up" for work on November 9, almost a month after they had "hit the bricks" in protest against "another Ryan sell-out agreement." This was much more than an economic strike; it was a revolt against all that Joe Ryan symbolizes—against the corrupt, despotic leadership of the International Longshoremen's Association, against underworld domination of the waterfront and the resulting abysmal conditions of longshore life and work. Largely because of their own inadequate leadership the men failed to defeat the forces exploiting them, but their revolt was not crushed; it was merely aborted—temporarily.

That underworld elements have long been used to control the New York waterfront is a matter of public knowledge. "The underworld's influence," to quote from the *New York Times*, "now is interlocked with the workings of the International Longshoremen's Association." The connection is most apparent in the shape-up, the primitive system by which longshoremen are still hired on the East Coast. Early each morning hundreds of longshoremen gather at a pier and wait for the "shaping boss" to select dockers for the morning shift. The shaping boss is in effect a foreman, although he is a union member and appointed through the influence of union officials. The job of shaping boss is made to order for the racketeer. For one thing, he can demand kickbacks. Or he can hire "short gangs"—eighteen men instead of the usual twenty-two—and pocket the wages of the other four. Or he can cooperate with criminals in stealing and smuggling. The extent of waterfront looting is staggering. According to *Fortune* (June, 1951), "theft and pilferage in the post-war peak years amounted, so far as insurance companies know, to sixty million dollars a year."

It is hardly surprising, therefore, that many shaping bosses have criminal backgrounds. Pier 84, dominated by what longshoremen call the "pistol local," is ruled by a shaping boss with a record of nineteen arrests, three for murder. The boss of Pier 88 has twice been convicted of grand larceny. Anthony Anastasio, brother of Albert Anastasia of Murder, Inc., is one of the better-known shaping bosses on the Brooklyn waterfront. According to testimony before the Kefauver committee last spring,

Tony Anastasio was paid \$1,000 a day by the Phelps-Dodge Company to round up strike-breakers and put them into action against striking electrical workers in Elizabeth, New Jersey.

Officials of the shipping and stevedoring companies apparently believe that there are definite advantages in this corrupt control of the waterfront despite the loss of millions in thefts. One stevedoring-company official was quoted as follows by the *Fortune* article: "Now about criminals working on the docks. This may sound terrible to you, but I don't care whether they are criminals or not, just as long as they don't hurt me. In fact, to be perfectly frank, if I have a choice of hiring a tough ex-convict or a man without a criminal record, I am more inclined to take the ex-con. Know why? Because if he is in a boss job he'll keep the men in line and get the maximum work out of them. They'll be afraid of him."

Fear, in fact, is the key to conditions on the waterfront. It explains the shape-up. It guarantees a submissive labor force. It accounts for Ryan's power and hence for his value to the shipowners.

Fortune has said of the International Longshoremen's Association, of which Ryan is "lifetime" president at a salary of \$32,500 a year, that it is "less a trade union than a collection of Chinese war lords, each ruling a province." The province is the local union, a rich source of graft to racketeering elements in and out of the union. The Kefauver committee discovered, for one thing, that hundreds of thousands of dollars had been looted from the treasuries of six Brooklyn locals. Another common waterfront racket in which union officials have been known to engage is money-lending at exorbitant interest rates. The rank and file are well aware of this corruption, but they are apparently powerless to combat it within the union. Their votes are useless. The procedure followed in the recent referendum on the disputed contract explains why: members in each local were given *unnumbered* ballots on which they could vote for or against the agreement, and the results were then *telephoned* to I. L. A. headquarters. The men also know that any overt attempt to oust the union machine is a dangerous undertaking. Pete Panto, a rank-and-file leader who challenged the Ryan machine in 1939, disappeared from the waterfront. A year and a half later his body was found in a New Jersey swamp.

While Ryan's rule has inflicted indescribable hardships upon the East Coast longshoremen it has saved the shipowners millions of dollars. This is clearly shown by the

ALEINE AUSTIN is the author of "The Labor Story," a history of the trade-union movement in America.

following comparison between conditions on the East and the West Coast; on the West Coast the shipowners negotiate contracts with the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, which was formed after a revolt against Ryan.

Hours Employed. In 1950, 59 per cent of the New York longshoremen worked less than 800 hours; in San Francisco only 12 per cent worked less than 800 hours and 63 per cent worked more than 1,300 hours. In San Francisco the antiquated shape-up has been replaced by the rotary hiring system.

Annual Earnings. In 1948, 56.5 per cent of the New York longshoremen earned less than \$2,500 a year; in San Francisco only 9 per cent earned less than \$2,500. Forty-nine per cent of the San Francisco longshoremen earned \$4,000 or more a year as compared to 4 per cent in New York.

Hourly and Overtime Rates. During the past year the East Coast workers seem to have had a slight advantage in the matter of rates, receiving \$2 an hour as against the West Coast rate of \$1.97. But, as we have seen, the average New York longshoreman works approximately 500 hours a year less than the San Francisco longshoreman. Moreover, overtime rates are much higher on the West Coast. A longshoreman there receives time and a half after six hours' work, whereas on the East Coast he receives overtime only after working eight hours.

Pensions and Vacations. Members of Ryan's union receive a pension of \$35 a month, plus social security; members of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union receive \$100 a month plus social security.

Sling Load and Safety Regulations. The I. L. A. contract does not limit the size of sling loads, which are often as high as 3,500 and 4,000 pounds. The I. L. W. U. contract sets a limit of 2,100 pounds. Though stevedoring ranks as the third most dangerous occupation in the United States, safety regulations are conspicuously absent from the I. L. A. agreement.

OBVIOUSLY the employers have everything to gain by maintaining the status quo on the Eastern docks. And just as obviously the longshoremen have everything to lose. Hence their "insurrection," which apparently followed the pattern of previous abortive revolts. Take the role played by John J. (Gene) Sampson. In previous rebellions Sampson assumed leadership when the Ryan machine realized that the men could no longer be held in line, and then was billed as an "insurgent leader." His role was that of Ryan's "loyal opposition." In the recent wildcat revolt Sampson appears to have been in no way responsible for the original walk-out, which was quite spontaneous, but on the contrary to have attempted to discourage it. Two days after the strike began, when Local 791, of which he is business agent, voted

unanimously to stay out, he told the press: "We've done all we possibly could. It's up to the men now." In reply to a reporter's question, he said that the union leadership would not reopen contract negotiations and that the men had no choice but to return to work.

Shortly after making this statement Sampson took over the leadership of the strike, but his conduct continued to be unlike that of an "insurgent." On one occasion he offered to end the walk-out if Ryan would agree to a new vote on the agreement, to be held under government supervision. Ryan had made a similar proposal four days earlier. Later Sampson wired President Truman that the men would return to work if the President would set up an "emergency impartial body" to review the dispute. This seemed to suggest that the President should invoke the Taft-Hartley act's emergency provisions. Instead of demanding that the shipowners negotiate with the strike committee, Sampson took the position that the strikers would resume work as soon as Ryan sat down with the shipowners to renegotiate the contract.

Despite far from militant leadership, the dockworkers valiantly resisted the strong-arm tactics of the waterfront bosses. Anthony Anastasio in Brooklyn, Ed Florio in New Jersey, Alex DeBrizzi in Staten Island, Mike Clementis in lower Manhattan, and Mickey Bowers on the upper West Side tried their best to smash picket lines and force back-to-work movements but met little success. In fact, the rank-and-filers were in command of the situation throughout the strike and made Sampson carry the fight farther than he probably intended to. With sound militant leadership they might have held out until they won. On the twenty-fourth day, after a four-hour session with a state fact-finding board, Sampson called off the strike. The following day 25,000 bitter and confused longshoremen found themselves standing in line for the shape-up, wondering if their brave fight had gone for nothing.

A good deal, however, had been gained: the longshoremen had proved their determination and shaken the power of the forces that rule the waterfront. As a result they will surely win concessions from the fact-finding board. If these are inadequate, Ryan and the shipowners may face another rebellion. It is possible that the four wildcat strikes since 1945 have depreciated Ryan's value to the shipowners. Should this prove to be the case, Sampson would be his most likely successor. But no one knows whether the underworld elements which the *New York Times* found to be interlocked with the workings of the union would tolerate such a substitution. Sampson might seek to control the waterfront for the benefit of a clique of his own. One thing is clear: that this is not the last of the rank-and-file revolts. They will continue until the unholy alliance of racketeers, politicians, labor bosses, and employers that has ruled the New York waterfront these many years is broken up.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

BARABBAS WAS A PUBLISHER

BY VINCENT BROME

THE present contradictions which be-devil British publishing make it difficult to determine whether that traditional blend of literature and commerce which has been brought to such a special pitch in some British houses can survive intact. Already the emphasis has shifted in many small companies. Something that will last and sell has given place to something that will blatantly and boldly sell. But contradictions multiply.

There is no disputing the fact that the total turnover in British publishing for 1950—£37,158,652 or \$104,742,226—sets a new record; that the number of new books and editions published in the same years was 6,000 more than in the United States; that when a Gallup poll asked the question—Are you now reading any books or novels?—the answer “yes” came from 55 per cent in Britain, 43 per cent in Norway, 40 per cent in Canada, and 21 per cent in the United States. Even profits have not fallen for many big companies on the 1945 figures.

British statistics in this field glitter with success, and it is all very confusing, because at every turn publishers are of gloomy countenance. They talk of the future as though a shadow lay over the landscape, and indeed there is a shadow, but its depth and proportions vary from temperament to temperament.

Turnover, of course, is meaningless without taking account of costs. Sir Stanley Unwin has given a typical account for a moderately successful first novel published in 1939 and a similar novel published in 1950. It ran like this:

	1939	1950
Composition, etc.£	72	£184 -
Paper	18	54
Advertising	55	75
Author's royalty	29,6s.	100
Other costs	121,9s.	311,6s.
	£295,15s.	£724,6s.

In effect the cost of composition increased between 1939 and 1950 two and a half times, paper three times, and author's royalties three times. By 1951 the situation was far worse. Paper had gone up fivefold, binding three and a half times, and printing more than twice. All this would be of less significance if the price of books had mounted at the same pace, but selling prices show only a 25 to 50 per cent increase. The publisher appears at first sight to have borne the brunt himself, and it is easy to dismiss his troubles as the inevitable consequence of a misplaced philanthropy. If he believes that Berdyaev's animadversions on the mechanistic society should be brought to the public for the same price as a good British meal, and such a meal should continue to be fed through the libraries to hundreds of fresh minds without anyone adding more than a penny to the original payment, well and good. But lofty emotions of this kind do not alone condition price. The publisher is afraid that if the book cost 15s. or 17s. instead of 12s. 6d., half his audience might deliberately go hungry, and the attempt to recoup his growing costs by increasing the price of the book would merely inhibit, if not seriously undermine, his sales. The vicious circle then becomes complete.

Within this broad situation lie many subtleties. In the past British publishers, like others, made their money from reprints. Running off a second, third, and fourth edition cost far less than the first. But now the prohibitive cost of paper, machining, and printing has cut this margin very considerably. It has been estimated that of the 3s. increase on some modern novels (10s. 6d. against the old price of 7s. 6d.) something approaching sixpence in every shilling goes to meet the increased booksellers' discounts and authors' royalties. If it is sixpence in every

shilling, at once half the increased cost is lost to the publisher. Worse still, no other commodity on the British market still competes with goods produced and priced before and during the war. Prices in consequence vary considerably, but the character of demand has changed as much as price.

During the war, when people had plenty of money to spare and few things to buy, the austere restrictions on semi-luxury goods and the virtual non-existence of anything not needed for survival or war gave books a special license. Here was something which would absorb surplus cash and give the illusion—if not the reality—of culture. People swept up book after book. Many new competitors swung into their stride as war restrictions were relaxed, and now books have to compete with sport, theaters, periodicals, dog-racing, and such unlikely things as silk stockings. It is instructive to see the decline in the sale of children's books since the manufacture of toys was freed.

But the slump in book sales has hit certain special fields. The demand for schoolbooks of all kinds—dictionaries, reference books, technical manuals, and reprints of the classics—continues high. It is in the field of fiction and books of general interest that booksellers have reduced and sometimes canceled their orders: a tragic enough situation because it involves a large part of creative writing, cripples the chances of new novelists, and virtually extinguishes the unestablished poet. Like every statement made about the current publishing situation, that needs qualification. There are still several big houses prepared to risk publishing novelists and poets quite incapable of recouping their costs. There are houses like Allen and Unwin and Longman's willing to reprint scholarly books which may only sell two or three hundred copies a year. Herein lies a difference from America,

SOCRATES

The bough has bent. The leaf is gone. The words
Have dropped to sound and sound to silences.
The noble face of Athens, like the birds,
Whose flights made still the airy prophecies,
Is not, yet is, because of eternal lips
That challenged truth and that-which-goes-and-comes
And even today, like Fate, write the book that slips
Into the forms of all our vacuums.
That man who was, and is, gross and serene,
Whose naked mind outshone the very gods,
Comes with his flesh onto the fluid scene
And breathes sense in these too, too banal clods
We die with. Hemlock! what a sculptor, thou:
To build up life upon his deathward brow!

PARKER TYLER

or so British publishers believe. Reprints for two or three hundred sales are not made in the States. Again American publishers have increased the price of books far more than British.

The real fear behind these growing complications is that further aggravations may lead straight back to the dark days of the nineteen thirties, when many first novels in Britain sold only two or three hundred copies, most novels were published at a loss, and only houses with a good "backlist" (books already published which continued to sell without promotion) easily survived.

Between 1931 and 1939 twenty-one well-known book publishers went out of business. Since the end of the war no major publishing house has succumbed, but Secker and Warburg have come to a financial arrangement with Heinemann, many mushroom companies flourishing in the war have vanished, and rising costs are pressing hard everywhere. Geoffrey Faber believes that "the old pre-war price of 7s. 6d. ought now to be at least 15s. But some of our leading novelists or their publishers, sure of a large sale, are pricing their novels at no more than 10s. 6d., and quite a number of novels are still being published at 9s. 6d. or even 8s. 6d. This is a startling illustration of the failure of prices to keep pace with costs, whether through fear of losing the market or through hope of surviving to monopolize it."

But price is conditioned by many factors, overproduction among them. It is argued that if demand becomes highly sensitive to a further rise in

book prices, and sales fall, then a number of publishers and booksellers will go to the wall, and eventually fewer books will be published. The brutal economics of survival make this, in one sense, welcome. The wisdom of publishing simultaneously ten full-dress books on the M. C. C.'s cricket tour in Australia, each book not merely competing with but threatening the very existence of others, has been questioned. A little foresight, planning, and cooperation might have produced five books only, selling double the number. At once the glimmering specter of rationalization appears, and a large part of the publishing world recoils in varying degrees of distaste and horror. But the specter has to be faced. Already a London Clearing House has been established and is now used by 375 booksellers and 222 publishers, the first step in the early phases of rationalization. Last year the Clearing House dealt with 140,000 accounts involving a total of £2,350,000, and its turnover was steadily increasing. Instead of settling their accounts with each publisher separately, booksellers pay a single monthly check through the Clearing House. The Book Center, another step in rationalization, serves seventeen publishers. It pools not only the accounts of these publishers but the distribution of their books.

No one pretends that any of this goes very far to resolve the present troubles, but other steps are in prospect. Michael Joseph recommends the abolition of remainders, "which have for many years been a curse in the book trade, just as the accumulation of sec-

ond-hand cars once bedeviled the motor-car industry. If I had my way all books would be compulsorily pulped two years after publication unless a stipulated number of copies had been sold by the publisher within the preceding twelve months."

Geoffrey Faber wants the mystique of Higher Accountancy in the Inland Revenue Department investigated because there appear to be moments when they tax profits which by devilish dispensation of dwindling assets are no longer there—in hard cash. "I venture to say that undistributed profits ought plainly not to be taxed at all. . . . Let the trader be at liberty to put all his undistributed profit, undiminished by any tax (including income tax), back into his business."

Among all these panaceas for real and hypothetical crises one must remember that profits for many big companies have not yet fallen, and the real immediate threat is to small companies only. But no one can foretell the precise repercussions if publishers are forced to make serious price increases.

The director of one small company said to me with a wry smile: "Perhaps if we offered two shares of the company with every book bought, or published them blank and let them write their own—or ran a sideline of funnies. . . ."

After six years of struggle he thought he was beginning to feel the ground firm under his feet, but erosion from rising costs now threatens his very existence. "Once upon a time there was a book published called 'Barabbas Was a Publisher,'" he said. "I can only say he must have been a very clever man."

[This is the first of two articles. The second, dealing with periodicals and the press in Great Britain, will appear soon.]

Justice on Horseback

STRANGE LANDS AND FRIENDLY PEOPLE. By William O. Douglas. Harper and Brothers. \$4.

ONE wonders whether Justice William O. Douglas realized why he was greeted with such respect and esteem in the Middle East, particularly in Iran. His position as a judge of our Supreme Court is comparable in Moslem eyes to that of a member of the 'ulama or council of Mujtahids. In old-fashioned Moslem nations where church

and state are identical—the tradition still lingers where they have been separated—members of these councils pass on the religious constitutionality of all legislation. This identification must have given the far-traveling jurist an aura of religious prestige which his own deep religious conviction, his simple and straightforward manner, his lack of pomp, his sense of humor, and his willingness to walk, ride, and sleep on the ground along with the men of the tribes and villages could only confirm in their eyes. In following their traditional impulse to confide in him, the men of the tribes and villages made no mistake. He is their champion in an America which needs his kind of wisdom if it is to foster a healthy Middle East and keep it out of enemy hands. His prestige as a jurist should also help publicize his ideas, and only by the dissemination of these principles by every American who knows the Middle East can the future be secured. While his ideas are not novel they have been enunciated by no other American of equal rank and authority.

Before going farther I would like to bring up my one criticism of this book and dispose of it. It is a criticism of the publisher more than of the author. The spelling of Arabic and Persian words is so inaccurate that at times identification is endangered. Could the publisher have seen fit to employ a competent Middle Eastern scholar to read proof, all this would have been avoided, and the book produced in the dignity which it deserves. Such a scholar could also have corrected some of the petty geographical, historical, and ethnographic inaccuracies which may misinform the general reader.

The vigorous Justice, a mountain climber and rider of swift horses at the age of fifty-three, visited Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Iran, Jordan, and Israel in 1949, and Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Iran, and India in 1950. His longest stays were in Iran, a country in which he seems to have felt most at home, particularly among the nomadic tribes of the Zagros, whose spirit he accurately captured. Everywhere he went he managed to get off the motor roads on to the trails, where on foot or horseback he could meet the really important people of the country. How commendable this practice is, is hard to realize unless one knows

that the bulk of our public information on the Middle East comes over the bars and tea tables of about six hotels in Tehran, Baghdad, Damascus, Beirut, and Cairo. His information came not from waiters, government officials, landlords, and embassy interpreters, but from share-croppers, herdsmen, tribal chiefs, toothless old women, and little girls selling baskets. The Douglas poll of Middle Eastern opinion probably sampled over a hundred individuals of all ages, both sexes, and every degree of wealth or poverty, ignorance or education. It also covered members of many different, and at times mutually hostile, religious communities. In view of the importance of what he has reported, it is no wonder that the Soviet radio and press vigorously protested his presence below the Iron Curtain. What he has written can harm them more than if he had peered through a hundred telescopes from the cone of Mt. Demavend.

No better summary can be given than the Justice's own quotation from one Musa Bey Alami of Jericho:

"America talks about individual freedom and preaches it to the Arab people. This is idle talk, for we Arabs well know that in the countries of the Middle East the rights of free press, freedom of assembly, and other individual rights exist to no greater extent than they do in the Soviet satellites of Europe. Those rights are denied to all in the Middle East except supporters of the regime in power. And yet the Western powers support and control these regimes. . . . Please tell the people of America not to lecture us about democracy. Don't tell our people that they must choose between democracy and communism. The people of this region are not free to make the choice. They are slaves. They are illiterate. They have no present escape from their misery. There is for them no such thing as liberty. . . . America should help us get rid in a peaceful way of the feudal system that holds us in its grip. America should throw its weight on the side of the honest, liberal elements which can be found in every country. If, for example, America had done that in China—if America had demanded a real liberal program as a condition of financial help—China would not be Communist today. . . . Call it intervention if you like, but when American influence is used to prop up or to strengthen a corrupt or reactionary political regime, that is also intervention."

Justice Douglas finds four faults with our behavior in the Middle East and recommends to us a seven-step policy.

Suggested gift books for NATION readers

THE FEAR OF FREEDOM

by Francis Biddle

Basic liberties endangered by present-day attempts to legislate private political opinion have inspired this thoughtful, authoritative book by an outstanding American liberal. Introduction by Harold L. Ickes. \$3.50

THE CAINE MUTINY

by Herman Wouk

The #1 best seller—the great novel of the U. S. Navy in the Pacific. 512 pages, \$3.95

THE LUTE PLAYER

by Norah Lotts

"Electrically different!" says the N. Y. Times of this new novel about Richard the Lion Hearted, Berengaria, his queen, and Blondel his minstrel. \$3.50

ROSS AND THE NEW YORKER

by Dale Kramer

How a great editor built a great magazine. "As entertaining and informative as reading 'The New Yorker' itself."—*Lewis Gannett*. With 26 photographs; index. \$3.75

THE ABBOT SISTERS

by Mary-Carter Roberts

"The strangely gripping and exciting account of the loves and hates and deaths of four sisters. . . . Unforgettable . . . remarkable."—*St. Louis Globe Democrat*. \$3.50

CHICAGO: CITY ON THE MAKE

by Nelson Algren

"A work of genius and absolutely the greatest piece of writing contemporary Chicago has produced." — *Chicago News*. \$1.50

THORNDIKE-BARNHART

Comprehensive Desk
DICTIONARY

The revolutionary low-priced dictionary featured in *Life*, *Time* and *Reader's Digest*. 80,000 entries, 700 illustrations, 896 pages—for only \$2.75 standard, \$3.25 thumb indexed, \$3.75 flexible, thumb-indexed.

At all booksellers

DOUBLEDAY

Faults: (1) our negative attitude, anti-Communist but supporting every regime, however corrupt, that also opposes communism; (2) too much reliance on our military leaders in planning; (3) our subservience to British policy; (4) our belief that we could save the world from communism by dollars, when it is ideas that are needed. **Policy:** (1) we must give up the idea of standardizing the world to American specifications; (2) our statesmen should turn the conflict between what the Asians want and what the Soviets are trying to get from them to our advantage, by making it clear that Soviet expansion in Asia is their greatest menace; (3) we must feed the starving; (4) emulating our missionaries and teachers already in the Middle East, we must step up our cultural activities; (5) we must be prepared for a long job; (6) we must realize that our security in Asia depends more on a political than a military program; (7) we must evaluate the Asian peoples not by the *standard-of-living* yardstick, but by that of the *"standard of life"*, which its leaders espouse and to which they aspire."

- FOR THE ART TEACHER
- FOR THE ART STUDENT
- FOR THE PARENT
- FOR ANYONE WHO WANTS TO PAINT OR DRAW

THE Artist In Each Of Us

By FLORENCE CANE. New methods in developing the creative life, presented with such clarity and precision that the teacher, the parent, and the adult art student will be able to apply them.

HUGHES MEARNS, *Professor in Education*: "A superb achievement, a documentary of thousands of hours of professional skill, fitted to an amazing range of human situations. A great piece of recorded teaching."

LEWIS MUMFORD: "In every way an extraordinary performance; full of life wisdom as well as educational insight."

Nearly 200 illustrations, many in full color
7½" x 10", 380 pages, \$6.50



At your bookstore, PANTHEON BOOKS, N. Y. 14, N. Y.

Our no-punch-pulling Justice should travel even more widely. After a trip across North Africa from Morocco to Egypt, for example, what he might have to report could stir up some interesting and healthy trouble. For such journeys may Allah preserve him.

CARLETON S. COON

The Real Melville?

THE MELVILLE LOG: A DOCUMENTARY LIFE OF HERMAN MELVILLE. By Jay Leyda. Two Volumes. Harcourt, Brace and Company. \$12.50.

THE appearance of this "documentary life" of Melville has been eagerly awaited. In scholarly and literary circles an interesting myth had grown up around Mr. Leyda which presented him as a man whose selfless devotion to research was unparalleled and whose book on Melville would be a heroic accomplishment. Indeed, it had become a part of the myth that Mr. Leyda *was* Melville, Melville come back to earth in search of his own life. And although this was a witticism, no irony stained the general prediction that Leyda's researches might well recapture from the wastes of time, from trunks, from attics, from letters, libraries, and ledgers, the true, the complete, the *real* Herman Melville. It may be said immediately that "The Melville Log" does not project the "real" Melville, or any other Melville—no author, that is, who may be conceived as in a large encompassing act having lived a certain life and having written certain books. Nor, I believe, does Mr. Leyda himself mean to claim that it does.

The declared intention of the "Log" is modest enough: "to give each reader the opportunity to be his own biographer of Herman Melville." To this end Leyda has collected well over 800 pages of quotations from letters, diaries, crew lists, business documents, Melville's juvenilia, his journals of his trips to Europe and the Near East, reviews of his works, passages Melville marked in the books he read, and so on. These materials are arranged chronologically over the span of Melville's life, from 1819 to 1891.

Yet on the whole the book reviewers have not honored the author's becoming

modesty. And in fact "The Melville Log" has occasioned a display of public fatuity for which it is difficult to recall a precedent. The burden of the pacan has been that here at last is the "real" Melville and that—although we may make small talk about the mythical Mr. Leyda—we need never again be concerned with the "mythical" Melville who has hitherto been presented by "over-imaginative biographers." It is true that Melville criticism has sometimes pursued a giddy course and that an interpretative reading of certain sections of "The Melville Log" may help to bring rationality to the subject. But the trouble is that behind the public acclaim lurk a huge complacency and an unspoken assumption that the "mythical" Melville we can now forget is the author who wrote "Moby Dick," "The Confidence Man," and "Billy Budd" and that the "real" Melville is the fellow whose name appeared on the roster of employees at an Albany bank in 1832, or who, on August 19, 1861, drove "into town to pay his Town, County & State Tax for 1861: a total of \$20.89 (less \$1.04 discount)," or who, in January, 1850, triple-scored a passage on page 168 of the "Final Memorials of Charles Lamb" by Thomas Noon Talfourd, or who ate one or more macaroons on the evening of August 9, 1875. Naturally Mr. Leyda's enormous assortment of documentary evidence—some of it already known to Melville scholarship, some of it not—bears a varying relevance to our questions about the great writer and his works. But fundamentally the author of "The Melville Log" belongs to, if he has not actually invented, what may be called the macaroon school of criticism. Nor, one must repeat, has he intended a more ambitious approach, despite some inconsequential remarks in the Introduction about modern theories of time and Russian biographical procedures, along with dimly heard overtones implying a cinematic method.

From all appearances, we are now fairly launched in a period of literary Know-Nothingism, during which the criticism of American literature seems likely to lose whatever zest and enlightenment it has recently had. Melville criticism, since Mr. Newton Arvin's admirable book of two years ago, has appeared eager to content itself with any kind of approach which does not

involve judgments or ideas. And in general there has been no period in the last forty years when so many critics, some of whom used to be alert and adventurous, have succumbed to a morose and prudential anti-intellectualism and have grown resentful and suspicious of any writer who makes a judgment or is interested in ideas or who, writing about any of our lesser or greater literary artists of the past, implies that his subject had, or ought to have had, a mind, an imagination, and an imaginative sense of what his own life meant. Within Melville criticism we seem to be in a period during which Mr. Arvin's book will be thought fundamentally to be just as indefensibly wild, "Freudian," and intellectual as Charles Olson's "Call Me Ishmael" is usually said to be.

I cannot help believing that many of the critics who have proclaimed their gratitude to "The Melville Log" have done so because they have sensed the relief which one may experience by reposing within the bosom of Mr. Leyda's documentary chaos and concluding that, after all, Melville and his writings need not "mean" anything but are merely another image of the "real"—that realm of being wherein the actions of man and the productions of his mind happily dissolve themselves into the savage minutiae of ultimate futility. Yet one may also be more honorably grateful to Mr. Leyda, if partly in the name of the future critics and biographers who may find some pages of the "Log" useful in evolving coherent conceptions of Melville.

RICHARD CHASE

The "Old Party"

CLOSING THE RING. By Winston S. Churchill. Houghton Mifflin Company. \$6.

IN HIS novel "Guard of Honor" (1948), J. G. Cozzens set his leading character to musing on "the Protagonist of the Bull Dog Breed" at the Quebec conference of 1943, "often grumpy, half a mind on his brandy-soured stomach and throatful of cigar-flavored phlegm. Grimacing, too, Mr. Churchill must taste, too, the gall of his situation. . . . Except as a piece of politeness, he did not even sit as an equal." That pitying condescension, which many shared, if with less gro-

tesqueness, was wasted. This fifth volume of "The Second World War" covers the period from June, 1943, to the eve of D-Day in June, 1944, and the relationships of the alliance against Hitler and Japan that were highlighted at Quebec, Washington, Cairo, and Tehran. Sometimes ignored, condescended to, or overridden by Roosevelt, often the target of bruising boorishness for Stalin, Mr. Churchill retained his astonishing determination, dignity, and resilience.

He stuck by his convictions as to Hitler's errors and the advantages to be reaped from them. His rejected plans for the Aegean, the Balkans, and Turkey, for instance, the subject of his only serious difference with Eisenhower, were considered devices to exploit Hitler's insistence that his legions hold their ground in the Middle East, after the loss of Africa and the invasion of Italy, by securing the Dardanelles as a substitute for the costly North Cape supply route to Russia. Yet when the needs of the Channel crossing were judged paramount and requests for even small or temporary services elsewhere from troops, planes, and landing-ships (the greatest bottleneck) were overruled, he took his lickings as facts, even if, as in the Aegean islands, they proved to be deplorable ones.

He metaphorically threw up his hands when he could not make the generals see that they were sacrificing striking power to land vehicles in their plans for invasions. He and Stalin both felt that Roosevelt overrated Chiang's China, but Churchill, having accepted the unhappy first effects of that at Cairo, ultimately defeated the diversion of needed strength to the Andaman Islands. In some senses, also, this whole affair represented a deflation of Roosevelt's brief preference of Mountbatten over Churchill. Throughout a year of slights and disappointments that would have broken a lesser man he remained buoyed up by the increasing fulfilment of the Grand Alliance that had been his single-minded objective during the grim first two years of the war. Even pneumonia failed to rob him more than temporarily of his bounce.

This volume seems an improvement on its predecessors, the product of greater deliberation, for it is planned with more art and the slabs of documentation have been trimmed to somewhat

more digestible proportions. It is just as infused with the vim and drama which its author so consistently injects into and extracts from life, particularly from war. He refuses to "accept" an insulting message from Stalin, with healthy results. He identifies and lauds the daring Polish engineer, A. Kocjan, who salvaged an unexploded German long-range rocket, was picked up for flight and report to England, returned to Poland, and was executed on August 13, 1944. He engages in a unique and amusingly involved struggle to go to Normandy on D-Day and finally yields to repeated appeals from his King, who points out that he is younger and a trained and experienced naval officer. "I have agreed to stay at home; is it fair that you should then do exactly what I should have liked to do myself?" Here, just as in his other defeats, Churchill records his case for history. "A man who has to play an effective part in taking, with the highest responsibility, grave and terrible decisions of war may need the refreshment of adventure. He may need also the comfort that when sending so many others to

FLASH! George F. Kennan
has been proposed as
Ambassador to the Soviet Union

**"Most important
political book
of the season"**

N. Y. POST

AMERICAN DIPLOMACY

1900-1950

By **GEORGE F. KENNAN**

● "Deserves to find a wide audience in America desperately in need of mature reflection on questions of foreign policy."—THE NATION.

● "A bold and stimulating effort to uncover the mistakes of the last fifty years."—NEW YORKER.

At all bookstores, \$2.75
UNIVERSITY OF
CHICAGO PRESS



their death he may share in a small way their risks."

While Mr. Churchill confines himself to making "a contribution to history from the standpoint of the British Prime Minister and Minister of Defense," he does convey a reasonable sense of unity in the war. For one thing he never loses sight of sea power, on both sides and on all the oceans, even though the Atlantic and the Mediterranean get more attention and space than the Pacific and the Indian Ocean. He seems not to have grasped the revolutionary significance of the American "sea-train" technique of supply in the Pacific. He is somewhat less inclined than in past volumes to enlarge the "British" effort by embracing in it the enterprises of the Commonwealth nations. He faithfully outlines Russia's victories without attempting seriously to explain them in either Russian or German terms.

His sincere devotion to Roosevelt carries him through substantial differences of opinion, compromises that were obvious and therefore painful sops, and such troubling mysteries as Hopkins's

fall from the President's favor. His insistence on standing up to Stalin is accompanied by unremitting, honest efforts toward understanding, except in the supposed 'secret of the atomic bomb. Indeed, Churchill's respect for Stalin in the give-and-take of strategic discussions is one of the most interesting parts of the book, particularly since, at Tehran, he had good grounds for believing that the Russians were trying both to damage Anglo-American understanding and to persuade Roosevelt that the U. S. A. and U. S. S. R. could henceforth tell the rest of the world what to do. Where he is aware that his account differs, say, from Sherwood's concerning Cairo and Tehran, he enters a documented record without recrimination or rancor. He explicitly and carefully provides the evidence for his adverse opinions of an Elliott Roosevelt or a Charles de Gaulle.

In all, here is another instalment of God's Plenty on scores of moot topics for today's readers and tomorrow's historians. The book is several times larger than the extracts that appeared in the press. It is to be hoped that some gifted biographer of the future can somehow compose from it and less subjective sources a satisfying portrait of the "old party" who has just enjoyed the sublime satisfaction of confounding practically unanimous British and foreign political commentators of the past half-century by becoming Prime Minister in peace time. The impossible merely took a little longer than the difficult.

J. B. BREBNER

The Trophies of the Mind

TWO CHEERS FOR DEMOCRACY.

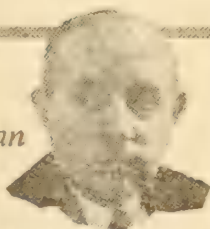
By E. M. Forster. Harcourt, Brace and Company. \$4.

THE title of E. M. Forster's new collection of essays—his first since "Abinger Harvest" of 1936 and the second of his career—was to have been "The Last of Abinger." But, he says, "I do not really want to record the last of anything"; so when the present title, a phrase from the essay "What I Believe," was proposed by a friend as a joke, he "decided to adopt it seriously," jokes taken seriously having before this served him as a test of values as much as the reverse process of taking solemn concerns lightly.

The decision was well-advised. "Two Cheers for Democracy" accurately suggests both the prevailing content of the book and its angle of vision and justice. Like a poet he once praised—C. P. Cavafy—Forster still stands "at a slight angle to the universe"; and like an artist he respects—André Gide—his is one of the "free minds" which "are as rare as great [ones], and even more valuable at the present moment." He too makes it his business to transmit not "life's greatness" ("a nineteenth-century perquisite, a Goethean job") but "life's complexity and the delight, the difficulty, the duty of registering that complexity and conveying it." He too "reacts to the European tragedy as a humanist" whose characteristics are not only the free mind but "curiosity, belief in good taste, and belief in the human race." He shows the same properties of mind and temper that he has exercised in his art from its beginnings: sympathy in justice, reason in conviction, moderation in loyalty, vivacity in passion. He subscribes to Freedom, Democracy, Humanity, and Culture—the grand capitalized ideals of liberal civilization—but not to the abstractions or mandates by which these can be brutalized or made impotent. Therefore he believes even more in the realities that work better when they are kept in lower-case type: in tolerance, in harmony, in personal relations, and in art. He also believes in an aristocracy "not of power based upon rank and influence, but an aristocracy of the sensitive, the considerate, and the plucky." That is why, even in 1939 and on the brink of disaster, two cheers for democracy were "quite enough"—"one because it admits of variety, and two because it permits criticism. There is no occasion to give three. Only Love the Beloved Republic deserves that."

The voice that speaks its relaxed if sometimes deceptively amiable accents in these sixty-eight long and short pieces—essays, lectures, reviews, broadcasts, obituaries, journal entries—is still unmistakable. It remains one of the stubbornly honest voices of our century. It ranges over the interests and commitments of a lifetime: from England, Germany, America, India, and South Africa to Shakespeare, Tolstoy, Eliot, Gide, and Auden; from literature and music to the events of the historic moment—the 1930's and '40's—which im-

Never has an
American
clergyman
written so startling,
so revealing an
autobiography.



■ This is the life story of a man who dared to follow his conscience wherever it led. The very personal memoirs of Charles Francis Potter . . . crusader, social reformer, heretic . . . the God-seeking Baptist boy who became famous as ■ Unitarian Minister, preached a religion without God, startled American Protestantism through his debates with Straton in Carnegie Hall, and played a major role in the Scopes Evolution trial, about which he reveals facts that will amaze the world.

The Preacher And I

By CHARLES
FRANCIS POTTER
Author of *The Story
of Religion and
Is That in the Bible?*

\$4.00 at all bookstores, Crown Publishers

posed on a faith in sanity the tests of politics, society, and war, and of that "challenge of our time" which has brought the traditions of order and justice to peril. But what operated in Forster's novels operates here. They too, long before the arrival of world crisis, were aware of delusion and treachery, the hostilities of temperament, caste, and race, the errors of the heart that remains "undeveloped" and the mind that works inflexibly. In that perception lay their tough and resilient strength, and that strength, however supply exercised or humorously modulated, remains the spring that has kept Forster's intelligence unstiffened by conformity, fresh in energy, uncompromising only when mind is threatened by brutality or love and art by the coercions of that sanctimony which is their death.

"We must love one another or die"; Forster admits himself "commanded" by Auden's precept but with a qualification: "we can only love what we know personally." When the idea is promoted that "nations should love one another, or that business concerns or marketing boards should love one another, or that a man in Portugal should love a man in Peru of whom he has never heard, it is absurd, unreal, dangerous"; and then love must yield to a "very dull virtue," tolerance, which, however "boring," "negative," or afflicted with a "bad press," permits the humbler but more practicable virtue of "putting up with people, being able to stand things," the "sound state of mind which we are looking for."

So also, in the face of the believers in Art who dictate the equally "perilous and vague sentimentalism" that "only art matters" or talk about "The Life of Art," "Living for Art," or "Art's High Mission," Forster emphatically asserts an "unfashionable belief" in all its "eternal importance": "I believe in art for art's sake." It exists for its own sake and no other because it remains one of the two categories of experience (religion "on the evidence of the mystics" is the other) that "possess internal order," testify to "the internal harmony," which, like lonely "lighthouses [that] have never ceased sweeping the thankless seas," do "in fact concern people who do not care about art at all."

If this book shows Forster in a more public and social role than he has ever

assumed before—a large share of its contents is made up of war-time broadcasts, peace-time lectures, and literary journalism—it also shows him in another aspect which his fiction and criticism have never lacked, even at their most unconventional. He is the kind of artist who conceives of his art as a mediator between art's rightful superiority to use and the humanity that does not care about art at all. He is an individualist who recognizes the existence of society, a believer in freedom who knows that liberty must be responsible if it is to escape anarchism, a liberal who admits the law of necessity ("We live in freedom by necessity"). He shows a conscious effort to reconcile the two tendencies which he sees in the prose of his era: "the popular, which absorbs what is passing, and the esoteric, which rejects it, and tries to create through art something more valuable than monotony and bloodshed." When he says he does not "believe in Belief"; when he rejects dogma and indorses curiosity; when he praises honesty in Tolstoy, Proust, or Gide, in Skelton, Crabbe, or Butler, he reminds us of another standard which he has applied throughout his work and which now gives his book its central subtitle: the principle of "art in action." It is the principle that has given him his success as an artist and an intelligence, and wins for the row of his books the inscription he accords to those of Virginia Woolf: "These trophies were won by the mind from matter, its enemy and its friend."

MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL

The Great Painters

PORTFOLIO EDITIONS OF THE LIBRARY OF GREAT PAINTERS.

Van Gogh. Text and Commentaries by Meyer Schapiro. *Renoir.* By Milton S. Fox. *El Greco.* By John F. Matthews. *Masterpieces of Italian Painting.* By James W. Thompson. *Great Masterpieces.* By Milton S. Fox. Harry N. Abrams. \$1.25 Each.

THE publishers of the luxurious volumes on El Greco, Renoir, and Van Gogh in the Library of Great Painters have embarked on a project to reach a wider public with their remarkably good color reproductions. The quality of these plates is of the same standard; in

fact, those in the portfolios on the three artists mentioned above are simply a selection from the larger volumes. The significance of this project, it seems to me, lies precisely in its potentiality of correcting the bad effect of poor reproductions which are flooding the cheap market. With reproductions of the quality of these portfolios (costing 12 cents apiece to the buyer), it is possible to learn something about the experience of painting. Not miniatures either, these color pages will not give the viewer a feeling of having been let down if one

"A rich narrative of travel and adventure . . . one of the liveliest and most unusual travel chronicles of the year."

New York Times

JUSTICE
WILLIAM O.
DOUGLAS'

Strange Lands and Friendly People

IRAN • JORDAN • LEBANON
SYRIA • IRAQ • ISRAEL
GREECE • CYPRUS • INDIA

■ "Tales that might have come out of the *Arabian Nights*."—CLIFTON FADIMAN, *Book-of-the-Month Club News*.

■ "A warm and entertaining chronicle." — QUENTIN REYNOLDS, *New York Herald Tribune Book Review*.

● "Forthright and, on occasion, startling . . . an easily read, fast-moving volume." — *Christian Science Monitor*.

■ "A graphic picture . . . full of vital information."—*Boston Post*.

■ pages of photographs • \$4.00
at all bookstores

HARPER & BROTHERS

day he has the chance to compare them with the originals.

With the brilliant exception of Schapiro on Van Gogh (his comments are reproduced from the larger book), the texts which accompany the plates are rather elementary, I think too much so. The present treatment of El Greco, though competent, is pedestrian. I miss Bronstein, of the big book. He is quoted in the portfolio, and not always with a proper credit to direct citations.

In general, I think the most valuable kind of text for such works is one that educates the reader to see, item by item. The capsule surveys, inevitably surveys of surveys, can hardly avoid tedium. Here they are fortunately kept to the minimum of a sort of polite salute to the reader. The real difference in quality of text comes in the comments on the individual paintings. Those that continue mainly in broad historical generalizations seem to me to miss an opportunity to educate.

S. LANE FAISON, JR.

"A Blizzard of Butterflies"

THE GRASS HARP. By Truman Capote. Random House. \$2.75.

THE imitation of the real thing is always more popular than the real thing, and Mr. Capote's new novel exhibits once again how the imitator becomes the imitation. This particular form of purveyance to popular taste occurs when the real thing no longer exists. Here it is the small town, the characters that are characters, the folksy humor, and the tall story made to order for a class of readers who can well afford such sophisticated luxuries. Since Mr. Capote is aware that recreation of the small town is now largely a matter of sentimental archaeology, he exploits even its deadness by serving it up as a dream. "The Grass Harp" is the end of a long and sturdier line. From Main Street to a tree house the descent is upward, and the dream is the greater luxury.

The tree dwellers are a sixteen-year-old orphan boy Collin, through whose older but still innocent "I" the story is told, an old lady cousin, Dolly, "whose presence is a delicate happening," and Catherine Creek, an old Negro who thinks she is an Indian and calls Dolly, Dollyheart. They

are in the tree house to escape from Dollyheart's masculated sister Verena, whom Catherine calls That One and who is mean, although she doesn't mean to be mean, because, with a little help, she too finally climbs up. The three are joined by Judge Cool, a transcendentalist papa whose "chain of love" embraces Dolly, and by Riley Henderson, a wild boy who doesn't want to be wild and succeeds. Under the tree stalks authority, represented by the two bad men, Reverend Buster and the Sheriff, who are given a slapstick beating. In addition there is a goodly assortment of homespun types like Sister Ida, a revivalist with fifteen illegitimate children and a story, the Katydid bakery woman, a cute little fairy barber, and Dr. Morris Ritz, a city slicker. Except for the Sheriff and the Reverend all these folks—and others with only walk-on parts—have good hearts.

In the old days such tetchéd or eccentric characters were not endowed with the local color of a good heart. Now Dolly is *civilized* by her own private world, and this really astounding process of civilization is nullified by the every now and then impinging cruel world. The patriarchal Judge's "No matter what passions compose them, all private worlds are good, they are never vulgar places," is where, presumably, we have arrived. A very public statement, it is addressed to those who, seeing the tree from their own superior point of view, can indulge in the private world and the good heart as the refreshments of good society. Of course the credo need not be taken seriously even in its own terms. The isolation of the tree dwellers is made palatable by being pitched in a dreamlike key. Like the precious "deepdown ownself part of you," it has only a sentimental currency.

Mr. Capote's reading includes Huck Finn and Carson McCullers, and he is knowing enough about the American themes of innocence and the good heart to exploit them. But the ingredients are stale even if they are more than ever pre-digested, dished up with cuteness and a fine artificial flavor equal to the exactions of the most up-to-date reader of women's magazines, spiced with delicate indelicacies, and served with sensibility. He is best in the creation of

moods of suspended animation during the progression of which the tree dwellers are united in a hazy undetermined state which dissolves them into a twittering oblivion—"a blizzard of butterflies." And the relationship between the boys is convincing because he lets it alone.

Certainly Mr. Capote has abused what talent he has—and, perhaps, his own fans—in the crassest manner. No one knows better than he that he has come a long way from the tree house.

H. P. LAZARUS

Out of South Italy

THE BRIGAND. By Giuseppe Berto.

Translated by Angus Davidson. New Directions. \$2.75.

BERTO'S "The Brigand" is a moving tale of the frustration of social justice in the agrarian south of Italy, and its effect on a veteran of the Fascist and partisan wars. Young Berto is, as in his other published works, preoccupied with the impact the war has had on the mind and soul of the individual, and, as ever, the individuals he chooses are the straightforward types commonly called "the little people" of Italy.

But Berto's straightforward types are not "simple." His peasant hero, Michele Rende of the present novel, is a highly complex, articulate, and consciously rebellious man. At the end of his tether, Rende says to the boy-narrator in explanation of his own actions, "A man can have the best will in the world to lead a quiet life, and instead of that, things happen to him that his nature just won't stand." Hence, rebellion—in this case, the taking of justice into the hero's own hands. But the narrator, under seventeen when the story closes, has observed the perpetration of individual justice by his friend, the brigand, and concludes with a wisdom beyond his experience, "... he too was doomed to death, I understood that now. He would shed all the blood that his vengeance demanded, and then he would die. He would have no more reason for living after that. You could not carry justice to mankind with hands that were befouled with so much blood. The poor, who were waiting for justice... would certainly not attain it through him."

According to this parabola of action Berto's conviction is that reform and not reprisal must right the wrongs from

which his country suffers, "and I dare say there's no place in the whole world that has more need of justice."

Berto was just a boy when the war was on. He could not have known—or did he?—that a brilliant and articulate and consciously rebellious man, Giuseppe Garretto, had published in exile in France (1939) a novel, "Sicile, terre de douleur," which chronicles in almost identical incident the attempted seizure of the land by the peasants, their hopes, their action, their defeat. (Garretto's book has not, I believe, appeared in Italian since the fall of fascism either.) But the older author, a confirmed Communist at the time he wrote "Sicile," had a specific answer, and it was not reform.

For the American reader the knowledge that two equally valid and equally socially conscious young writers have treated the same theme in partly similar terms more than a decade apart adds urgency to the theme itself. It also further documents the fact that decades come and go in Italy, but no serious grappling with the problem has yet been done.

Until agrarian reform is in effect and not a campaign promise, the frustration of the most elementary social justice throughout the south is inevitable. Berto has brought the problem vividly before us and has cloaked it in convincing story form. The translation, by the way, could not be improved upon. It carries over the delicacy and subtle shading of Berto's descriptive passages into English and makes the conversations believable, full of the impact of urgent speech.

FRANCES KEENE

Verse Chronicle

THIS department does not usually feel willing or able to devote all its space to the notice of one book by one poet. Walter de la Mare's "Winged Chariot, and Other Poems" (Viking, \$3.50) is the justifiable exception, without even claiming the technicality that here we have, really, two books, for the volume separately published in England as "Inward Companion" is included.

"Winged Chariot" is a long poem, predominantly in iambic-pentameter triplets, though the pattern often breaks and diverges, expressing the moods, the

musings, on the score of time of the life-long lyric poet who approaches his ninth decade. The tone, the cadence, is not unlike that of the Rubaiyat as we know it through Fitzgerald; the music and the meaning are appreciably wiser and deeper. There is sorrow in this long poem, and resignation, gaiety, and composure; there is bravery as unself-conscious as that of the flower-clocked woods and meadows, the skylark and the windflower. Any long-loved and true enthusiast will welcome this blessing and praise, will take heart from this goodness. Dare we listen?

With each cold clear pure dawning to perceive
The Sun's edge earlier; and, at fall of eve,
When the last thrush his song is loth to leave,

To mark its latening, however brief!

Not by mere age, renown, power, place
or pride

The heart makes measurement. Its quickening tide

Found once its egress in a wounded side:

Love is its joyful citadel. Its moat
A lake of lilies, though they wither not...

Love on; and faithfully...

Only the impotent grieve—"The hours
drag by."

Self is their burden. That's a bond-slave's cry.

Plague on the blank forebodings, heart-ache, dole,

The grim chimaeras which our wits cajole,

The signs and omens that never reach their goal;

and, finally, the last four lines of the poem:

The true, the guileless, meaningful and fair

Rest for their essence on our heed and care;

These are Earth's everything, Heaven's everywhere,

However small the commons we ourselves may share. . . .

Oh, yes; and around the margins of the longer poem stand many little quotations, summoned by the poet's memory or imagination to look on and to chime in. Grace-notes, as the lyrics are grace-notes; the poet speaks, for instance, of Rarities:

Beauty, and grace, and wit are rare;

And even intelligence:

But lovelier than hawthorn seen in May
Or mistletoe berries on Innocents' Day

The face that, open as heaven, doth wear—

With kindness for its sunshine there—

Good nature and good sense.

Go far; come near—it is all summed up in:

Ah, when clocks stop, and no-more-time begins,

May he who gave the flower

Its matchless hour,

And you the power

To win the love that only loving wins,

Have mercy on your miseries and your sins.

In a long lifetime there are, no doubt, many good things to be, but surely, from this evidence, one of the best is to be the lyric poet,

Whose every thought was courtesy; whose one care

To show his friendship and to speak us fair:

Dare we listen to such a one? How dare we not? ROLFE HUMPHRIES

BOOKS OF ALL KINDS FROM THE USSR

1952 Subscriptions Open for All Soviet Newspapers and Magazines

PRAVDA, IZVESTIA, in Russian
NEW TIMES, NEWS, in English

Delivered to Subscribers by Airmail

Request Complete Catalogue "Periodica-52"

Latest Soviet Records, Handicrafts

Ask for Complete Catalogue "P-51"

FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.

55 W. 56 Street, N. Y. 10 Murray Hill 8-2600

NO LUCK FINDING A PUBLISHER?

We are established book publishers whose basic policy is to encourage new or unknown writers. If you are looking for a publisher of your novel, short stories, play, scholarly work, poetry, etc., perhaps we can help you. Write today to Natalie Miller for Free Booklet 102. VANTAGE PRESS, 230 W. 41 St., New York 18

Buy Your Books through THE Nation

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C.O.D. No C.O.D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to
Miss Le Pach

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
2 Vesey Street New York 7, N. Y.

CONTRIBUTORS

VINCENT BROME is the author of "H. G. Wells, A Biography."

PARKER TYLER is the author of "The Hollywood Hallucination" and "Chaplin, Last of the Clowns."

CARLETON S. COON is the author of "Caravan, The Story of the Middle East."

RICHARD CHASE is the author of "Quest for Myth" and "Herman Melville: A Critical Study." He will shortly publish a critical biography of Emily Dickinson.

MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL is professor of English at the University of Chicago. He is the editor of "The Portable Conrad" and "The Portable Henry James."

S. LANE FAISON, JR., is chairman of the Art Department of Williams College.

HAROLD LAZARUS is a member of the English Department of Temple University.

CORRECTION: In the last issue, in a review of "American Forest Policy" by L. H. Gulick the title was erroneously given as "American Foreign Policy."

BOOK DOLLARS

stretch longer for more books with us as many *Nation* readers know. Visit if you can, or write and save on books in this issue.

DOWNTOWN BOOK BAZAAR
212 Broadway, cor. Fulton, N. Y. 38

PULITZER PRIZE and CRITICS' AWARD
RICHARD RODGERS & OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd
present in association with
LELAND HAYWARD & JOSHUA LOGAN

ROGER RICO
MARTHA WRIGHT
IN
South Pacific

Music by **RICHARD RODGERS**
Lyrics by **OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd**
Book by
OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd & JOSHUA LOGAN
Adapted from **JAMES A. Michener's Pulitzer Prize Winning "TALES OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC"**
Directed by **LELAND HAYWARD**
Scenery & Lighting by **Jo Mielziner**
with **MYRON MCCORMICK**
MAJESTIC THEATRE, 44th St., West of B'way
Evenings 8:30. Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:30

Books in Brief

THE MAGIC CURTAIN. By Lawrence Langner. Dutton. \$6.60. For Americans at least this is the richest volume of theatrical reminiscence to appear in a long time. Mr. Langner begins with his British boyhood and tells something of his career as a patent attorney, but the bulk of the book is devoted to his thirty-odd years as a director of the Theater Guild, from the days when it began as the Washington Square Players down to the present. As he himself admits, the time came fairly quickly when no sharp line could be drawn between the kind of plays the Guild produced and those produced by the best of the technically "commercial" managers. Nevertheless, it was undoubtedly the Guild which first demonstrated that such plays could be successful on Broadway, and no other American "art theater," not even the Provincetown Players, had so important an effect on the whole theatrical scene. Mr. Langner tells many anecdotes, often very funny ones, about Shaw, O'Neill, and dozens of other well-known figures. It's a longish book with more than a hundred well-reproduced photographs, and it will be indispensable to the historian as well as highly entertaining to all who remember the plays, players, and playwrights of the last third of a century. One story alone is worth the price of admission: Mrs. Shaw, knitting quietly while her husband entertained the company, answered a whispered inquiry as to what she was making. "Nothing, really. But I've heard the Genius tell these same stories at least a hundred times, and if I didn't have something to do with my hands, I think I'd go stark raving mad."

EMBATTLED MAIDEN. By Giraud Chester. Putnam. \$4. A well-written and carefully documented life of Anna Dickinson, one of America's forgotten celebrities. Famous as a child orator in the anti-slavery cause, Anna took a prominent part in the political campaigns of the Civil War period and once reached the dizzy height of an invitation to address Congress, with Lincoln and his Cabinet in attendance. After the war she made and dissipated a fortune as Queen of the Lyceum, wrote and starred in her own plays, and

in politics put her oratorical talents at the service of the highest bidder. During this time she had long and curious relations with Benjamin F. Butler and Whitelaw Reid. Drink and misfortune drove her into insanity and a series of sensational lawsuits. She finally dropped out of sight and died in 1932 in upstate New York. Anna was one of the more fascinating of the over-sized personalities of the last century, and her biography gives some odd glimpses of American life of that period.

Drama

JOSEPH
WOOD
KRUTCH

A FEW years ago the present reviewer—who had been at it a long time—decided that he had seen all the musical shows he could stand. On a few stupendous occasions like "South Pacific" he broke his rule, but until now that was the last previous occasion upon which he did so. It was a wise procedure, because he discovered at "Paint Your Wagon" (Shubert Theater) that he had regained his innocence—or at least as much of that commodity as it is possible to recover. And it is a kind of innocence which these entertainments, even the bawdy ones, presuppose in the spectator. They usually involve guileless fables in which unabashed sentiment alternates with knock-about humor to produce a mixture which would curdle in any except a naive imagination; they depend heavily upon costliness and glitter, which please just because one realizes to what lengths the entrepreneurs have been willing to go in order to please one; and of course they assume that legs are a treat. Since tickets are costly and hard to come by, the bulk of the audience must usually be composed of spectators who are not the ideal ones, and the fact suggests that there must be a large section of the public protected by certain gifts or limitations of the spirit which make it impossible for those who compose it ever to lose one kind of innocence even after they have forgotten the existence of every other kind. But the best spectator is still one who has never seen many musical shows, and the next best is the spectator who hasn't seen any for a long time.

What I should have thought of "Paint Your Wagon" if I had seen all the other entertainments of that class last season and this, I don't know. Speaking not as a professional but as one relapsed into innocence, it seems to me a very pleasant show. The scene—influenced I suppose by "Oklahoma!"—is the Far West, this time during the gold rush. But there is no fatal determination to follow history or folk atmosphere here beyond the point where it might begin to interfere with the usual elements of the musical show. The miners provide a rousing male chorus; the only female in camp, namely, the adolescent daughter of one of the miners, is naturally an ingenue close enough to the *fausse ingénue* to provide comedy as well as sentiment. And before the audience has begun to resent the absence of more women they arrive in the form of a group of Agnes de Mille dance-hall girls who proceed to liven up the proceedings with can-cans and other dances whose vigor and abandon would undoubtedly have shocked the habitués of the Bird Cage in Tombstone. There are also some episodes concerning a Mormon who arrives with two wives and is persuaded in the interests of sound morality to auction the extra one off to the ingenue's father. Aristotle would probably object that these episodes are a plain violation of unity, but since they introduce Marijane Maricle, a pleasant comedienne-vocalist, I shall reverse my usual practice and not go along with the Master of Those Who Know.

The two principal performers are Olga San Juan and James Barton. Miss San Juan is a tiny, very young, and very attractive ingenue with a small and rather shrill but pleasant voice, half innocent, half rowdy. As for Mr. Barton, he has played in everything from the burlesque troupes in which he got his experience to "Tobacco Road" and "The Ice-man Cometh." As a result he is one of the few surviving examples of just what is meant by the term "old trouser." Several of his scenes strongly suggest the style of the traditional burlesque bit, but it is a pleasure to watch the superb, confident rightness of his performance, and he manages an almost non-existent singing voice with the same expertness. To repeat: a very pleasant show—at least for the innocent.

Music

B. H.
HAGGIN

BALANCHINE'S "Apollo" as it is performed by the New York City Ballet Company is like a great painting after it has been cleaned—the accumulated obscuring grime removed, the original splendors revealed. The grime on the "Apollo" presented by Ballet Theater in recent years was, to begin with, the excessively fast tempos of the Stravinsky music that provides the foundation for the dancing, the consequent hurrying and cramping of the movements, and the inaccuracies of dancers who forgot between the infrequent performances what they had barely learned in the insufficient rehearsals; and at City Center now one hears the music played well and sees the movements executed accurately. One can merely consider the work that is presented to ear and eye—the beautiful, imaginative, and touching details of movement into which the poetic ideas are transmuted. But one may in addition reflect that what is so beautiful and touching was also amazingly original in 1928, and that while still in his twenties Balanchine produced a wonderfully beautiful and great work of art which defined a new personal classical style that he had made out of the traditional idiom of classical ballet and was to elaborate in the great works that followed. And one doesn't need to think of the equivalent in painting, literature, or music to realize the magnitude of the achievement and of the powers involved in it.

I have looked up Edwin Denby's review of Ballet Theater's 1945 production and found my recollection of Eglevsky's performance confirmed by the terms "magnificently powerful" and "sweep" that Denby applied to it. This time, however, one sees no Apollo with god-like power, magnificence, and sweep—only an Eglevsky with a hugely muscular body but no strength in the quiet movements in which he steps delicately with wrists upturned, no vital energy even in his leaps. It is the muses—Tallchief's Terpsichore, LeClerc's Polyhymnia, Adams's Calliope—who have this strength and energy; and in addition—contradicting a casual Balanchine observation that "the muses

were not intelligent"—Polyhymnia is irradiated by LeClerc's joyous intelligence. And it is their beautiful and brilliant dancing that achieves what Denby described as "the melodious lines and lyric of forceful climaxes . . . which are effects of dance continuity, dance rhythm, and dance architecture," and in the end the impression of "effortless and limpid grandeur."

Alexander Schneider has at last formed a string quartet, for the purpose of playing all of Haydn's quartets on sixteen Monday evenings at the Y. M. H. A. and recording them for the Haydn Society. The November 5 concert began with Opus 1 No. 3 and Opus 3 No. 1, which proved to be inconsequential; then came Opus 20 No. 3, and one found oneself in a different world—the world of the mature Haydn, the unpredictable operation of whose richly inventive mind can be exciting to follow, as in fact it was in this work that I was hearing for the first time. And I dare say the unfamiliar works at subsequent concerts will continue to in-

30% Less than List on LP Records

Send 15¢ for LP catalog to:

DISCOUNT RECORD CLUB

DEPT. N-36

Box 175, Radio City Station, New York 19, N. Y.

Add 15¢ per record postage and handling charges
(50¢ minimum) SAME-DAY SHIPMENT

WHAT'S THE SCORE?

Pocket-Sized "Urtext" Editions

BACH 6 English and 6 French Suites 98
3 Cello Sonatas, 7 Flute Sonatas 98
BEETHOVEN The 32 Piano Sonatas 3.98
The Violin Sonatas, 2 vols. . . ea. . 98

Order from Your Dealer, or direct from

LEA POCKET SCORES Dept. W, Box 138
New York 32, N. Y.

STRETCH THE XMAS LP DOLLAR

During December we expect to provide savings in excess of \$16,000 for *The Nation* readers. All independent make LP's (London, Westminster, Vox, etc.) are now \$3.82 per \$5.95 list price record. (Orders for 10 or more bring price down to \$3.59 each.) A selected list of hundreds more at ½ price (\$2.93) yours for .25 (refundable) and self-addressed, stamped envelope.

Add 15¢ per record for postage.

LES DISCOPHILES, 1079 Lexington Ave., N. Y. C.
Hours 12 noon-10 p.m. daily REGENT 7-8334

Christmas is coming . . .

and *Nation* readers will soon begin to shop around for gifts. If you have an interesting item to sell why not tell our readers about it. Call the Advertising Department today!
BARclay 7-1066

clude some early ones of little consequence, some late ones of minor stature, but some that will turn out to be exciting finds.

As for the Schneider Quartet, I was struck first by the agreeable sound of Schneider's playing—this in the same hall in which the tone of Roisman of the Budapest Quartet has been wiry and strident. In fact the sound of both violins had sweetness and radiance; but there was no complementing somber richness and weight of tone from the cello; and the viola one barely heard. Schneider was not always securely on pitch; but otherwise the playing of the group was precise; and it also was sensitive and lively, as the music required. But at the November 12 concert one heard for a time the more closely knit product of seasoned ensemble performance which made one think that the group would have done better not only with a better cellist but with longer practice before it began to play in concerts and make records.

The reviews of the revival of "Music in the Air" pronounced its book dated; but it seemed to me that it couldn't have been taken as anything but musical comedy make-believe in the early thirties, and was no less acceptable as such now. In fact I found it more acceptable than the book of "The King and I"—which is to say that I can take the conventions of musical comedy in a conventional musical comedy, but not in an "adaptation" of a play or novel; and I am not in sympathy with Oscar Hammerstein's desire to change musical comedy into something approximating a real play in which the songs take off from the dramatic situations, since it results not only in a mixture of "Anna and the King of Siam" and musical comedy corn but in something like "Allegro." But to get back to "Music in the Air"—the book, I contend, is no reason for anyone's depriving himself of the pleasure of some of Jerome Kern's loveliest music and the superb performance of Charles Winninger in what is in every detail a first-rate production.

"Top Banana," with some good songs by Johnny Mercer, has an up-to-the-minute book about a television comedian which provides the situations for an evening of clowning by Phil Silvers and several other expert comedians; and it must be the funniest show in town.

BOOKS OF 1951: A SELECTED LIST

THE WAR, THE PEACE, EUROPE, ASIA,
MIDDLE EAST, AFRICA

Lessons of the British War Economy. Edited by D. N. Chester. Cambridge. \$4.50.

Closing the Ring. By Winston S. Churchill. Houghton Mifflin. \$6.

History of U. S. Naval Operations in World War II. Aleutians, Gilberts and Marshalls. June, 1942–April, 1944. By Samuel Eliot Morison. Atlantic Monthly Press Book. Little, Brown. \$6.

The Russo-German Alliance, August, 1939–June, 1941. By A. Rossi. Beacon Press. \$2.75.

Seven Decisions That Shaped History. By Sumner Welles. Harper. \$3.

Croce, the King and the Allies. By Benedetto Croce. Translated by Sylvia Sprigge. Norton. \$3.

Law and Society in the Relations of States. By P. E. Corbett. Harcourt, Brace. \$4.75.

Europe Between Democracy and Anarchy. By Ferdinand A. Hermens. Notre Dame. \$4.

The Political Collapse of Europe. By Hajo Holborn. Knopf. \$2.50.

Peace Can Be Won. By Paul Hoffman. Doubleday. \$2.50, cloth; \$1, paper.

The United Nations and Power Politics. By John MacLaurin. Harper. \$5.

The Idea and Practice of World Government. By Gerard J. Mangone. Columbia. \$3.75.

Germany and the Future of Europe. Edited by Hans J. Morgenthau. Chicago. \$3.50.

Policy for the West. By Barbara Ward. Norton. \$3.75.

Under Two Dictators. By Margaret Buber. Translated by Edward Fitzgerald. Dodd, Mead. \$4.

Tito and Goliath. By Hamilton Fish Armstrong. Macmillan. \$3.50.

Central and South East Europe, 1945–1948. Edited by R. R. Betts. Royal Institute of International Affairs. New York Publications Office. \$3.50.

Czechoslovakia Enslaved. By Hubert Ripka. Macmillan. \$3.50.

The East European Revolution. By Hugh Seton-Watson. Praeger. \$5.50.

Russian Purge and the Extraction of Confession. By F. Beck and W. Godin. Translated by Eric Mosbacher and David Porter. Viking. \$3.50.

A History of Soviet Russia. Volume I. The Bolshevik Revolution, 1917–1923. By Edward Hallett Carr. Macmillan. \$5.

Cracks in the Kremlin Wall. By Edward Crankshaw. Viking. \$3.50.

Negotiating with the Russians. By John R. Deane, John N. Hazard, Sidney S. Alderman, Raymond F. Mikesell, George H. Blakeslee, E. F. Penrose, Mark Ethridge, C. E. Black, Frederick Osborn, Ernest J. Simmons, and Philip E. Mosely. Edited by Raymond Denett and Joseph E. Johnson. World Peace Foundation. \$3.50.

Taming of the Arts. By Juri Jelagin. Translation by Nicholas Wreden. Dutton. \$3.50.

Eleven Years in Soviet Prison Camps. By Elinor Lipper. Henry Regnery. \$3.50.

Soviet Attitudes Toward Authority. By Margaret Mead. Rand Corporation, McGraw-Hill. \$4.

Russia's Soviet Economy. By Harry Schwartz. Prentice-Hall. \$6.65.

Soviet Russian Literature, 1917–1950. By Gleb Struve. Oklahoma. \$5.

The Age of Elegance, 1812–1922. By Arthur Bryant. Harper. \$4.50.

Modern France. Edited by Edward Mead Earle. Princeton. \$6.

The United States and France. By Donald C. McKay. Harvard. \$4.

The Eighteenth Century. Volume III. Illustrated Social History. By G. M. Trevelyan. Longmans, Green. \$4.50.

India, Pakistan, Ceylon. Edited by W. Norman Brown. Cornell. \$3.

The Autobiography of an Unknown Indian. By Nirad C. Chaudhuri. Macmillan. \$6.

Time of Fallen Blossoms. By Allan S. Clifton. Knopf. \$3.

The Riddle of MacArthur. Japan, Korea, and the Far East. By John Gunther. Harper. \$2.75.

War in Korea. By Marguerite Higgins. Doubleday. \$2.75.

The Commonwealth in Asia. By Sir Ivor Jennings. Oxford. \$2.50.

A Dragon Apparent, Travels in Indo-China. By Norman Lewis. Scribner's. \$4.50.

The Voice of Asia. By James A. Michener. Random House. \$3.50.

The Pacific Islands. By Douglas L. Oliver. Decorations and Maps by Sheila Mitchell Oliver. Harvard. \$5.

India and British Imperialism. By Gorham D. Sanderson. Bookman Associates. \$4.50.

Japan in World History. By G. B. Sansom. Institute of Pacific Relations. \$2.

We of Nagasaki. By Takashi Nagai. Translated by Ichiro Shirato and Her-

bert B. L. Silerman. Duell, Sloan and Pearce. \$2.75.

The State of Asia. By Lawrence K. Rosinger and Associates. Published for the American Institute of Pacific Relations by Knopf. \$6.

Chinese Communism and the Rise of Mao. By Benjamin I. Schwartz. Harvard. \$4.

Failure in Japan. By Robert E. Textor. John Day. \$3.

Caravan: The Story of the Middle East. By Carleton S. Coon. Holt. \$5.

Strange Lands and Friendly People. By William O. Douglas. Harper. \$4.

The Near East and the Great Powers. Edited by Richard N. Frye. Harvard. \$3.50.

History of Syria. Including Lebanon and Palestine. By Philip K. Hitti. Macmillan. \$10.

Seven Fallen Pillars. The Middle East, 1915-1950. By Jon Kimche. British Book Center. \$3.50.

The United States and Turkey and Iran. By Lewis V. Thomas and Richard N. Frye. Harvard. \$4.25.

Fulfillment: The Epic Story of Zionism. By Rufus Lears. World. \$5.

My Mission to Israel, 1948-1951. By James G. McDonald. Simon and Schuster. \$3.50.

White Man Boss. By Adamastor. Beacon Press. \$3.

Attitude to Africa. By Arthur W. Lewis, Michael Scott, Martin Wight, and Colin Legum. Penguin Books. 50 cents.

AMERICA, PUBLIC AFFAIRS, HISTORY

Master Plan U. S. A. By John Fischer. Harper. \$3.

The Only War We Seek. By Arthur Goodfriend. Farrar, Straus and Young. \$3.

Crime in America. By Estes Kefauver. Doubleday. \$1, paper; \$3.50, cloth.

Freedom Is the Right to Choose. By Archibald MacLeish. Beacon. \$2.50.

One Woman's Fight. By Vashli Cromwell McCollum. Doubleday. \$3.

The Wall of Separation Between Church and State. By Conrad H. Moehlman. Beacon. \$3.

In Defense of the National Interest. By Hans J. Morgenthau. Knopf. \$3.50.

Catholicism and American Freedom. By James M. O'Neill. Harper. \$3.50.

The Citizen Decides. By Ralph Barton Perry. Indiana University. \$3.

The Negro and the Communist Party. By Wilson Record. North Carolina. \$3.50.

The General and the President. By Richard H. Rovere and Arthur M. Schles-

inger, Jr. Farrar, Straus and Young. \$3.75.

The Lobbyists. By Karl Schriftgiesser. Atlantic Monthly Press Book. Little, Brown. \$3.50.

Terror in the Streets. By Howard Whitman. Dial. \$3.50.

Congress: Corruption and Compromise. By H. H. Wilson. Rinehart. \$3.50.

The Tenney Committee. By Edward L. Barrett, Jr. Cornell. \$5.

The Loyalty of Free Men. By Alan Barth. Viking. \$3.

The Fear of Freedom. By Francis Biddle. Doubleday. \$3.

Civil Liberties Under Attack. By Henry Steele Commager, Robert K. Carr, Zechariah Chafee, Jr., Walter Gellhorn, Curtis Bok, and James P. Baxter, III. Pennsylvania. \$3.50.

Crisis in Freedom: The Alien and Sedition Acts. By John C. Miller. Atlantic Monthly Press Book. Little, Brown. \$3.50.

The Battle Against Disloyalty. By Nathaniel Weyl. Crowell. \$3.75.

The Story of the New York Times, 1851-1951. By Meyer Berger. Simon and Schuster. \$5.

Life in America. By Marshall Davidson. Published in Association with the Metropolitan Museum of Art by Houghton Mifflin. 2 volumes. \$20.

The Uprooted. By Oscar Handlin. Atlantic Monthly Press Book. Little, Brown. \$4.

The Struggle for Survival. By Eliot Janeway. Yale. \$5.

American Diplomacy, 1900-1950. By George F. Kennan. Chicago. \$2.75.

George Washington and American Independence. By Curtis P. Nettels. Little, Brown. \$5.

Midwestern Progressive Politics. By Russell B. Nye. Michigan State. \$5.

The Jeffersonians. By Leonard D. White. Harper. \$6.

Behold Virginia! The Fifth Crown. By George F. Willison. Harcourt, Brace. \$4.75.

Reunion and Reaction. The Compromise of 1877 and the End of Reconstruction. By C. Vann Woodward. Little, Brown. \$4.

THE AMERICAS

The Perón Era. By Robert J. Alexander. Columbia. \$3.50.

Birth of a World. Bolivar in Terms of His Peoples. By Waldo Frank. Houghton Mifflin. \$5.

Canada's Century. By D. M. LeBourdais. British Book Center. \$4.

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CRITICISM, ECONOMICS AND TECHNOLOGY

The Origins of Totalitarianism. By Hannah Arendt. Harcourt, Brace. \$6.75.

Communism, Democracy, and Catholic Power. By Paul Blanshard. Beacon. \$3.50.

Roads to Agreement. By Stuart Chase in Collaboration with Marian Tyler Chase. Harper. \$3.50.

Human Fertility: The Modern Dilemma. By Robert C. Cook. Sloane. \$4.50.

The Folklore of Sex. By Albert Ellis. Charles Boni. \$5.

Political Realism and Political Idealism. By John H. Herz. Chicago. \$3.75.

The Mark of Oppression. A Psychosocial Study of the American Negro. By Abram Kardiner and Lionel Ovesey. Norton. \$5. With the Assistance of William Goldfarb, Robert Gutman, Ethel D. Kardiner, and Zeborah Suesholtz.

Reflections on the Constitution, The House of Commons, the Cabinet, the Civil Service. By Harold J. Laski. Viking. \$3.

White Collar—the American Middle Classes. By C. Wright Mills. Oxford. \$5.

The Conduct of Life. By Lewis Mumford. Harcourt, Brace. \$5.

No Green Pastures. By Roi Ottley. Scribner's. \$3.

On Being a Negro. By J. Saunders Redding. Bobbs-Merrill. \$3.

The Decline of Laissez Faire: 1897-1917. By Harold U. Faulkner. Rinehart. \$6.

Business Cycles and National Income. By Alvin P. Hansen. Norton. \$6.75.

The Economics of Mobilization and Inflation. By Seymour Harris. Norton. \$4.50.

Defense Without Inflation. By Albert G. Hart. Twentieth Century Fund. \$2.

Financing Defense: Federal Tax and Expenditure Policies. By Albert G. Hart, E. Cary Brown. Assisted by H. F. Rasmussen. Twentieth Century Fund. \$2.

Economic Resources and Policies of the South. By Calvin B. Hoover and B. U. Ratchford. Macmillan. \$5.50.

The 1950's Come First. By Edwin G. Nourse. Holt. \$2.

Ten Great Economists from Marx to Keynes. By Joseph A. Schumpeter. Oxford. \$4.75.

What's Ahead for American Business. By Sumner H. Slichter. Atlantic Monthly Press Book. Little, Brown. \$2.75.

Capitalism and Socialism on Trial. By Fritz Sternberg. John Day. \$6.

The Damned Missouri Valley. By Richard G. Baumhoff. Knopf. \$3.75.
The Water and the Power. By Albert N. Williams. Duell, Sloan and Pearce. \$4.50.

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, RELIGION,
EDUCATION

Toward a General Theory of Human Judgment. By Justus Buchler. Columbia. \$2.75.
The Philosophy of the Enlightenment. By Ernst Cassirer. Translated by Fritz C. A. Koellin and James P. Pettegrove. Princeton. \$6.
The Rise of Scientific Philosophy. By Hans Reichenbach. California. \$3.75.
Dominations and Powers. By George Santayana. Scribner's. \$4.50.

Science and Common Sense. By James B. Conant. Yale. \$4.
The Nature of the Universe. By Fred Hoyle. Harper. \$2.50.

PUBLISHING SERVICE

AUTHORS! Sales Department available for your short stories, articles, books and plays. Free booklet, write today! Mead Agency, 419 Fourth Avenue, N. Y. 16 (OR 9-1150).

WE print, publish and distribute your non-fiction or fiction manuscript in pamphlet or book form. Send for free folder. WILLIAM-FREDERICK PRESS, 313 West 35th St., New York 1, N. Y.

HOME STUDY

SHORTHAND IN ONE WEEK. EZ longhand system. \$1.00. Returnable. Zinman, 215-N West 91 Street, New York 24, New York.

The Hell-Bomb. By William L. Laurence. Knopf. \$2.75.
The Impact of Science on Society. By Bertrand Russell. Columbia. \$2.
A History of Medicine. Volume I. Primitive and Archaic Medicine. By Henry E. Sigerist. Oxford. \$8.50.
Atomic Energy and the Hydrogen Bomb. By Gerald Wendt. Medill McBride. \$2.75.
Dragons in Amber. By Willy Ley. Viking. \$3.75.
Rockets, Missiles, and Space Travel. By Willy Ley. Viking. \$5.95.

The Oxford Group. By Walter Houston Clark. Bookman Associates. \$3.50.
Judaism and Modern Man. By Will Herberg. Farrar, Straus and Young. \$4.
Religious Faith and World Culture. By Harry Emerson Fosdick, K. G. Collier, Gordon W. Allport, Martin Buber, David Riesman, Dwight J. Bradley, John E. Burchard, Nels F. S. Ferré, Abba Hillel Silver, Philip Mosely, Erwin D. Canham, Amiya Chakravarty, Walter Robert Matthews, Alan Paton, Martha B. Lucas, Martin C. D'Arcy, S. J., and Gabriela Mistral. Edited by A. William Loos. Prentice-Hall. \$5.

This Happened in Pasadena. By David Hulburd. Macmillan. \$2.50.
Essays in Teaching. Edited by Harold Taylor. Harper. \$3.
Crisis and Hope in American Education. By Robert Ulich. Beacon. \$3.75.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY, JOURNALS, LETTERS,
BIOGRAPHY

A Soldier's Story. By General of the Army Omar N. Bradley. Holt. \$5.
Beckoning Frontiers. By Marriner Eccles. Edited by Sidney Hyman. Knopf. \$5.
Independent Member. By A. P. Herbert. Doubleday. \$5.
A Walker in the City. By Alfred Kazin. Harcourt, Brace. \$3.
The Forrestal Diaries. Edited by Walter Millis with the Collaboration of E. S. Duffield. Viking. \$5.
Immigrant's Return. By Angelo M. Pellegrini. Macmillan. \$3.75.
A Socialist's Faith. By Norman Thomas. Norton. \$4.
His Eye Is on the Sparrow. By Ethel Waters with Charles Samuels. Doubleday. \$3.
A King's Story, the Memoirs of the Duke of Windsor. Putnam's. \$4.50.
The Pavilion. By Stark Young. Scribner's. \$2.50.
The Selected Letters of Henry Adams. Edited with an Introduction by Newton Arvin. Farrar, Straus. \$3.50.
The Letters of Robert G. Ingersoll. Edited by Eva Ingersoll Wakefield. Philosophical Library. \$7.50.
The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt. Edited by Elting E. Morison. Harvard. Volumes I and II. \$20; *The Square Deal, 1901-1905.* Vols. III and IV. \$20.
Schnozzola. The Story of Jimmy Durante. By Gene Fowler. Viking. \$3.
George Washington. A Biography. Volume III. *Planter and Patriot.* Volume IV. *Leader of the Revolution.* By Douglas Freeman. Scribner's. \$15.
The Life of John Maynard Keynes. By Roy Harrod. Harcourt, Brace. \$7.50.
The Wright Brothers. By Fred C. Kelly. Farrar, Straus and Young. \$5.
Nelson's Captains. By Ludovic Kennedy. Norton. \$5.
Jefferson and the Rights of Man. Volume II. By Dumas Malone. \$6.
The Political Career of Floyd B. Olson. By George H. Mayer. Minnesota. \$5.
John Dewey. By Jerome Nathanson. Scribner's. \$2.
Dizzy, the Life and Personality of Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield. By Hesketh Pearson. Harper. \$4.
Charles Evans Hughes. By Merlo J. Pusey. 2 volumes. Macmillan. \$15.
Thomas Jefferson. By Nathan Schachner. Appleton-Century-Crofts. 2 vols. \$12.
The Two Lives of James Jackson Jarves. By Francis Steegmuller. Yale. \$5.
Florence Nightingale, 1820-1910. By Cecil Woodham-Smith. McGraw-Hill. \$4.50.

(Part II of the book list will appear next week.)

FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE

The NATION

MONEY-SAVING MAGAZINE
COMBINATIONS

☐ with Harper's Magazine . . . \$9.50 You Save \$2.50

The NATION

☐ with Consumer Reports . . . \$10.75 You Save \$1.25

These club combinations are for one year, and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses. Remittance must accompany all combination orders.

THE NATION by itself:

☐ 1 Year \$7 ☐ 2 Years \$12 ☐ 3 Years \$17

SERVICEMEN'S RATE \$5 A YEAR

Canadian and Foreign Postage \$1 a year extra.

THE NATION, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

- I want to subscribe to *The Nation* for _____ years.
☐ Remittance enclosed. ☐ Bill me.
- I enclose my remittance for the following *Nation* combinations as listed below.

NAME _____

STREET _____

CITY _____

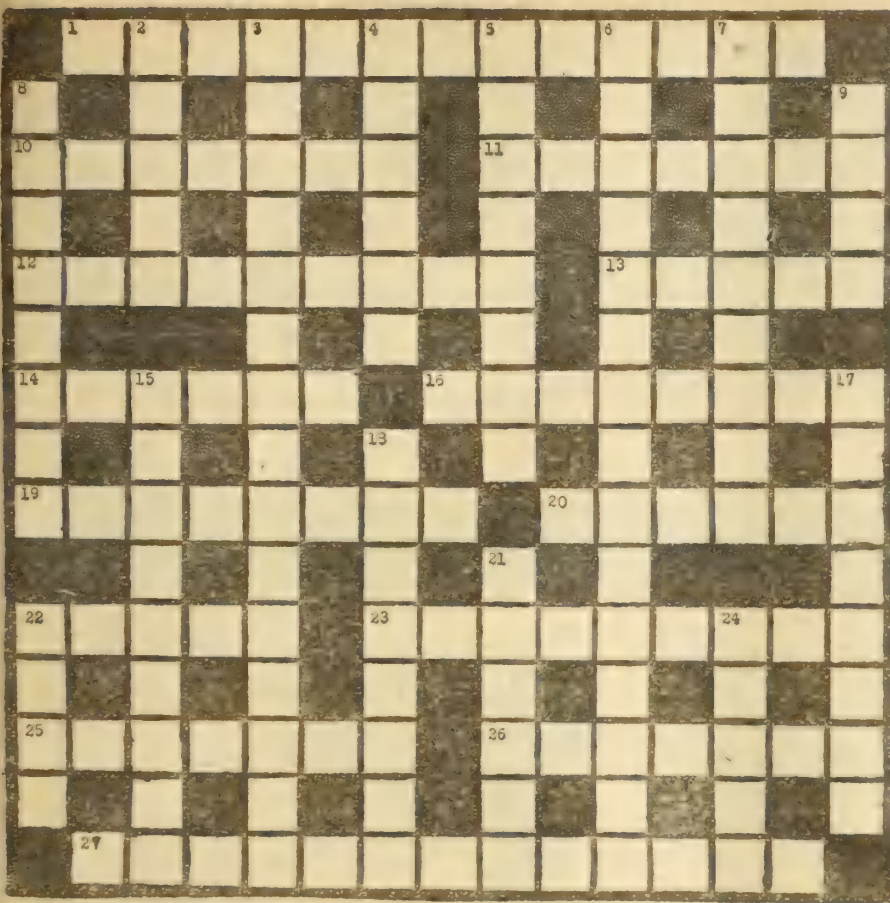
ZONE _____

STATE _____

12/1/61

Crossword Puzzle No. 441

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 Horse trade, or just a run-of-the-mill swap? (5, 8)
- 10 Down to the rims, yet not worn out. (7)
- 11 Count to six! (So important it's a matter of life or death!) (7)
- 12 A form seen in a fraternity man. (9)
- 13 Chance played a part with this Tinker's helper. (5)
- 14 If you do this to something, it isn't right. (6)
- 16 Not quite running away with a crib? (8)
- 19 Restraint. (8)
- 20 Might dangle more on one side, but less at the reverse. (6)
- 22 Entrance with this, if black. (5)
- 23 Is Wagner's work worth panning? (9)
- 25 Closely related to Provencal. (7)
- 26 Where to find conjugal felicity? (Perhaps one should be patient!) (7)
- 27 Sulky manners? It sometimes causes quite a strain! (13)

DOWN

- 2 The role of Butterfly. (5)

- 3 If rainbow trout have them, no wonder they can't take complete steps! (9, 6)
- 4 This hand is left to the dealer. (6)
- 5 A famous equestrienne barely got around here. (8)
- 6 and 21 Stage vehicle. (1, 9, 5, 6)
- 7 Match seers with a large isle. (9)
- 8 This acid was formerly oil of vitriol. (8)
- 9 The seers of 7? (4)
- 15 A tramp, perhaps, in the main. (9)
- 17 This is a fine way to keep valuable stuff! (4, 4)
- 18 Its turn usually signifies an exit or entrance. (8)
- 21 See 6.
- 22 Spice came out of it, obviously. (4)
- 24 The head pin is one! (5)

.....

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 440

ACROSS:—BIRD OF PASSAGE; 10 WEBER; 11 MÄLSTROM; 12 FREEHOLDS; 13 LOIRE; 14 PROPOSITIONS; 19 WELTERWEIGHT; 22 ELMER; 24 BESETTING; 25 INAMORATA; 26 ARSON; 27 CONTROVERSIAL.

DOWN:—2 IMBUED; 3 DARK HORSE; 4 FAMILY PEW; 5 AVERS; 6 SISAL; 7 GARISON; 8 SWIFT; 9 AMHERST; 15 SHIP-SHAPE; 16 TAHITIANS; 17 SWEETIE; 18 PLUMBAGO; 20 SIESTA; 21 AGONY; 23 ROOST; 24 BRAVO.

Readers are invited to send a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

RESORTS

50 MI.
FROM
NEW YORK



MAMANASCO
Lake Lodge

RIDGEFIELD, CONN.

Phone 6-7000

A resort of distinction offering relaxation and recreation in the modern manner. Winter activities include skiing and skating on mile long lake. Excellent cuisine and accommodations. Dancing, TV, recordings, roaring fireplaces. Reserve for Holidays now. Rates moderate.

50 MILES TO FOREST HOUSE

Near enough for easy travel, far enough for an unforgettable vacation. Forest House achieves new levels of gay relaxation in inspiring surroundings. Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality. Two grand lakes. All sports.

FOREST HOUSE

Lake Mahopac, N. Y. • Tel. Mahopac 8-3449

Christmas Is a Time for

MUSIC INN

Horse-drawn sleighing, sledding, ice fishing, skiing, skating in the moonlight on our own rink, music by the fire, Richard Dyer-Bennet, caroling walters from the Columbia University Glee Club. For New Year's—Edith Wilson singing songs blue and gay—music to dance to—and warmth within.

Write: MUSIC INN • Lenox, Mass.

RESERVE NOW FOR CHRISTMAS AND NEW YEAR'S

Glenmere
wood-burning fireplaces
in most rooms

The GLENMERE, Chester, N. Y.

Phones: Chester 2151; N. Y. Rector 2-5047

PERSONALS

500 LETTERHEADS, 500 ENVELOPES, \$7.58—Finest Quality—Hammermill, lowest prices in U. S. A. Jobbers, Box 31-N, Girard, Kansas.

ANY NUMBER can play YAHTZIE, successor to Canasta. Great gift game for ages nine to ninety. Complete introductory set postpaid anywhere, \$1.00. P. O. Box 1505, U. Station, Austin, Texas.

exit loneliness

Somewhere there is someone who would like to know you. We can help you find a richer, happier life through discreet, dignified "social introductions." Write for booklet, or phone

MAY RICHARDSON
Dept. TN, 111 West 72 Street
New York City EN 2-2033



IF UNMARRIED AND MATRIMONALLY MINDED, WOULD LIKE TO MEET SOMEONE WHO MIGHT LIKE TO MEET YOU? Write for free copyrighted pamphlet. Address Personal Introduction Service, 2112 Broadway, New York City 23.

Advertising Rates

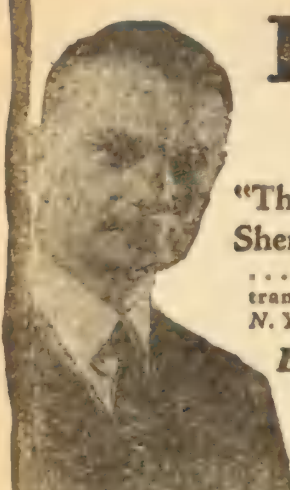
CLASSIFIED
74¢ a line (6 words)
Three-line minimum

CLASSIFIED DISPLAY

\$7.42 per inch (minimum)
Remittance must accompany all orders

The NATION

TWENTY VESEY STREET
New York 7, New York
BARclay 7-1086



**THE
Forrestal
DIARIES**

**"The best book of its kind since
Sherwood's *Roosevelt and Hopkins*
... a striking inner history of the years of
transition, 1944-1949."—CHARLES POORE,
N. Y. Times** **Illustrated \$5.00**

Edited by Walter Millis

Your Christmas List from THE VIKING PRESS

**A superb collection for the
reader who also enjoys music**

This completely new idea in anthologies will delight readers with its great wealth of fine writing that music has evoked. Stories, articles, notes; fantasies, confessions, maxims and anecdotes; all make this big and engaging collection a treasure trove for the reader who enjoys music. **\$5.00**

Pleasures of Music

A Reader's Choice of Great Writing about Music and Musicians by Various Hands from Cellini to Bernard Shaw

Edited by Jacques Barzun

A Short Walk from the Station

The suburban town Miss McGinley sings about might be your own, and she views it with a friendly eye — clear, discerning, and wryly amused—in her latest verses. *Illustrated \$2.75*

by Phyllis McGinley

Skid Road

An Informal Portrait of Seattle

A rare and racy treasure of American history and legend—the story of ■■■■ gusty personalities who burst a settlement's ■■■■ and built a metropolis. **\$3.75**

by Murray Morgan

The Fathers of the Western Church

From St. Paul to Thomas Aquinas, these men were human heroes before they became saints. Their stories form a stimulating record of men who fought barbarism and corruption while seeking the Kingdom of Heaven. *Illus. \$5.00*

by Robert Payne

... and a reminder of these gift books: James Joyce's *EXILES*, a limited edition with his hitherto unpublished notes, discovered after his death, \$5.00; *ROCKETS, MISSILES, AND SPACE TRAVEL* by Willy Ley, illustrated \$5.95; Steinbeck's *LOG FROM THE SEA OF CORTEZ*, with Ed Ricketts' story, \$4; *EXILE'S RETURN: A Literary Odyssey of the 1920's* by Malcolm Cowley, \$3.50

*Give someone
the time of
his life. Give
him the life
and times of
Jimmy Durante*

Schnozzola by Gene Fowler

"A great book. No arguments about it."—JOHN McNULTY, N. Y. Times

"Funny and friendly, warm and wise, and thousands of Americans . . . are going to enjoy every word of it."—JOSEPH HENRY JACKSON, San Francisco Chronicle *Illustrated \$3.00*

**Irwin Edman's
informal reflections on
this wayward world**

UNDER WHATEVER SKY

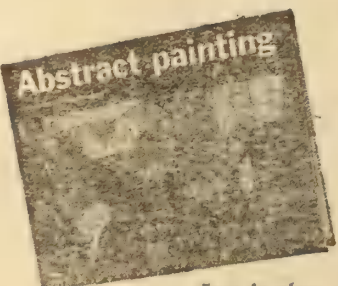
Here is new delight for readers of *Philosopher's Quest* and *Philosopher's Holiday*! Dr. Edman's moods are many—philosophic, ironic, and gay—in these charming, brief essays. A book of varied pleasures to be savored often and at random. **\$3.00**

**Graham
Greene's**
*new novel—"the finest
book he has written."**

The END of the AFFAIR

"An absorbing piece of work, passionately felt and stirring written. There are ■■■■ exceedingly few novelists who can match Greene's superb command of language, mood, and suspense."—CHARLES ROLO, *The Atlantic* **\$3.00**

*JOHN BETJEMAN,
London Daily Telegraph



*Just in time
for Christmas giving!*

This handsome book—with its 107 illustrations (12 pages in full color)—traces the history of abstraction and analyzes American avant-garde painting. *Illustrated \$7.50*

by Thomas D. Hess

Use a Broom, Mr. Truman!—*An Editorial*

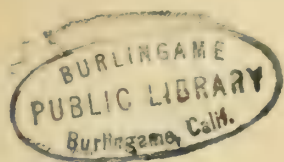
THE *Nation*

December 8, 1951

Tensions in the West

New Alignments in the U. N.

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO



Ambivalent Albion

BY ANDREW ROTH

✱

Postscript to *Collier's* World War III

Comment by *Walter P. Reuther, Robert E. Sherwood, J. B. Priestley, Erwin D. Canham, Stuart Chase, Lowell Thomas, Margaret Chase Smith, A. E. Coppard, Alex Comfort, Naomi Mitchison, John Cousins*

AROUND THE U. S. A.

Green Risings of the Landless

Madison, Wisconsin

SPONSORED by the University of Wisconsin, with the financial and technical assistance of the Department of State, E. C. A., and the Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, the World Land Tenure Conference recently held at Madison has focused attention on "land reform" as an item of imperative importance on the agenda of the free world.

The six weeks' conference, which included a two weeks' tour of the South and Middle West, brought experts from thirty-seven countries to the campus of the University of Wisconsin. In addition, some thirty persons will remain for a full year to study at the university. Delegates were selected with special reference to the influence they might exert in their respective countries in initiating and implementing land-reform programs. Some were professors; others were government officials.

The delegates emphasized almost to the point of monotony the old problems of "excess" population, concentration of land ownership in the hands of a few, and the abject poverty and degradation of agricultural workers. A summary statement which might well suffice for the situation in practically all of the Far East, the Middle East, and a good part of Latin America was given by Salim Akib, agricultural officer of the Federation of Malaya:

The Malayan farmers are backward and illiterate and use primitive implements and traditional farming methods. The average farmer has little or no incentive to work hard and better his living conditions. He is undernourished, poorly housed, and inadequately clothed. As is true in most parts of Southeast Asia, where four out of five have to till the good earth, agriculture is looked upon as an undignified and humble occupation. . . . Rents are very high, and there is usury and debt without end. Seventy per cent of the cultivated area (not including the rubber plantations) is owned by landlords who do not cultivate it themselves.

Land reform, however, poses many questions. In countries in which population pressure is heavy, the introduction of labor-saving machinery is likely to deprive many persons of even their

present modicum of employment. In such countries, too, the individual units of operation are so small as to be extremely uneconomic, but if they were combined to make satisfactory "family farms," many families would be displaced. Another dilemma: if the large estates are broken up, there is always the possibility that economic efficiency will be reduced. Moreover, if mechanization is a goal, then the small farms do not provide an adequate base. In any case, the new recipients of land parcels must be provided with credit to buy animals and equipment, and, what is of equal importance, must be taught how to manage a farm and use improved agricultural methods.

The Madison conference gave much attention to the possibility of forming cooperatives for the acquisition and employment of modern machinery and even for the joint cultivation of the land. The Pakistan delegate, Professor S. M. Akhtar of the University of the Punjab, urged cooperative farming as an alternative procedure for solving some of the tenure problems of his country. Professor M. L. Dantwala of India also listed "cooperative joint farming for palpably uneconomic farms" as one item in a ten-point program for India.

Several other delegates looked with favor on the cooperative farm as a desirable alternative to "collectivization" on Communist lines, as well as a possible solution to the problem of small, uneconomic holdings. The difficulties associated with establishing cooperatives were generally recognized, but the delegates were hopeful about the possibility of surmounting them. It was felt that under capable management the cooperative farm would provide for the exercise of private initiative and also meet the requirements of efficient farming.

To relieve population pressure, practically all countries are today seeking to bring more land into cultivation by irrigating arid regions, draining swamp-land, and clearing forests, and to improve existing arable land by leveling and grading.

Another problem which plagues much of Europe and Asia is the fragmentation of holdings. Many farmers of Germany, France, Switzerland, and the Low Countries hold their land in as many as 150 small parcels, none of

which are contiguous. Although the economic disadvantages of such a system are obvious, attempts to consolidate holdings by redistribution of plots have met with indifferent success.

Listening to the delegates, one was impressed, once again, by the terrific hold of custom on people; this is probably the major deterrent to achieving any rational solution of the intertwined problems indicated above. People in the countries of the free world, with a tradition of respect for the individual, are loath to take the drastic steps which the Communists take without hesitation. They prefer "gradualism" and try to achieve the desired goals with a minimum disruption of the social order. Yet a policy of gradualism sometimes requires more patience on the part of the peasants than they can muster. On the other hand, a drastic redistribution of the land, while providing immediate psychological satisfaction to the peasants, may prove in the long run economically disastrous.

Probably the landless have never been more universally aroused than they are today. Throughout history there have been numerous sporadic slave and peasant revolts, practically all of which have failed, but today "agrarian reform" echoes are areas of greatest social predominantly rural fourteen countries U. N. Food and Agriculture, Raymond W. there was scarcely a Middle East in which revolutionary ferment" It is typical of the of land reform that speaking in San Francisco from Wake Island obliged to assure that the United States land reform—after peasants already fallen to Communist control! Indeed, it is ironic that the land-reform programs of governments of the free world have been given impetus by Soviet efforts to stir up "green risings" everywhere. But give the devil his due!

LOWRY NELSON

[Dr. Nelson teaches rural sociology at the University of Minnesota. He attended the World Land Tenure Conference at Madison.]

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 173

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • DECEMBER 8, 1951

NUMBER 23

The Shape of Things

THE MIXTURE OF SOPHISTRY AND WRATH which marked Mr. Truman's denial that a cease-fire had been ordered in Korea increased the confusion and did an incalculable amount of harm on its own account. By this time the facts are relatively clear. An order that originated probably in General Ridgway's office was transmitted to the commanders in the field. Although this order made it plain that hostilities were officially to go on until an armistice was signed, it was none the less a de facto cease-fire. It included such items as "avoid all casualties"; "maintain present defensive positions"; "avoid engaging the enemy unless he threatens our positions"; "no offensive operations"; "no exposure of our own troops on features that would draw enemy fire." It was the response to this command rather than any distortion of it which accounted for the anger and agitation displayed by Mr. Truman in his own denial that a cease-fire had been ordered and his denunciation of the press for issuing "false reports." With reason, the President was alarmed by the wave of relief that swept both the battlefield and the country as a whole—not to mention our U. N. allies. He and his advisers know how hard it will be at the end of a thirty-day lull to start the fighting again if no armistice agreement has been reached. He knows, too, that a relaxation of tension in the Western world as a whole will multiply the difficulties already complicating the effort to construct an Atlantic defense system. But it is a question whether Mr. Truman's insistence that the shooting must continue has had the effect he hoped. Reports from around this country and Europe indicate that people who had welcomed with enthusiasm the respite from killing felt as if they had been slapped in the face.

✱

SENATOR TAFT HAS DENIED THAT HE MADE any "deal" with Governor Frank Lausche, a Democrat, in regard to the Ohio election last year, but Lausche could have done no more for Taft if the two men had had a signed and sealed contract of mutual aid. Ohio liberals and labor had no desire to be saddled with State Auditor Joseph T. Ferguson as the Democratic nominee against Taft. They wanted Murray T. Lincoln of the Ohio farm cooperatives, a man of stature and ability. But every time Lincoln was ready to announce his candidacy,

some spokesman in the Lausche camp allowed it to be known that Lausche himself might want to run or that, in any case, he would not promise to pit his powerful machine against Ferguson's personal machine in the Democratic primary. Lincoln finally decided not to run, and independent liberals and labor could never get Lausche's pledge of support for anyone else. Having made it impossible for anyone but Ferguson to win the Democratic nomination, Lausche then pointedly refrained from supporting Ferguson against Taft. A "deal"? Perhaps not. But Lausche, the Democrat, carried sundry areas in his later fight for reelection as governor that Taft, the Republican, carried in the Senatorial contest. The anti-Taft forces were stuck with a weak candidate denied support by the Democratic governor. If Lausche didn't get any quid pro quo from Taft, the governor of Ohio should be entitled to sue "Mr. Republican" in whatever court has jurisdiction over ungrateful politicians.

✱

UNDER THE CAPTION "SINISTER DOINGS AT the UN," Craig Thompson has concocted an extravaganza for the readers of the *Saturday Evening Post* (November 17). According to Mr. Thompson, the great glass peace palace by the East River has been infiltrated by "a group of Communist wreckers," who have succeeded in capturing control of the Staff Association numbering some 3,390 members. Published in the crackpot "fringe" press, the article could be dismissed as merely another manifestation of the mania which is a striking characteristic of these times. But it was not printed in *The Cross and the Flag*; it was published in the *Saturday Evening Post*. It is quite apparent that this was an article written with a purpose—to smear the 3,390 members of the Secretariat. No effort was made to verify any of the facts with officers of the Staff Association. Yet the article contains information, such as biographical details, which could only come from personnel records. The inference arises, therefore, that some administrative officials must have talked with Mr. Thompson and supplied him with information. More disturbing still is the silence which the administration has maintained since the *Post* article appeared. It is known that the Staff Association formally asked Mr. Lie to join with it in making a public statement that might offset the damaging effect of the attack. But no statement has been issued. In Paris Mr. Lie's exec-

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things	489
Use ■ Broom, Mr. Truman!	491

ARTICLES

New Alignments in the U. N. <i>by J. Alvarez del Vayo</i>	492
Ambivalent Albion <i>by Andrew Roth</i>	493
The Battle for Free Schools: "What's Wrong with Our Schools?" <i>by Kenneth D. Benne</i>	495
Postscript to <i>Collier's</i> World War III	498
Disarmament: Facts vs. Propaganda <i>by Lawrence H. Fuchs</i>	500

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

The United Nations—a Critical Survey <i>by Peter Kihss</i>	503
Of New Americans <i>by J. B. Brebner</i>	504
Contrasts and Parallels <i>by Howard Doughty, Jr.</i>	505
Dilemma in Hollywood <i>by Harvey Swados</i>	505
Jesse Jones and the RFC <i>by Willard Shelton</i>	506
Books in Brief	506
Records <i>by B. H. Haggin</i>	507
Drama <i>by Joseph Wood Krutch</i>	508

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 442

by Frank W. Lewis opposite 508

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Associate Editor: Carey McWilliams

Foreign Editor J. Alvarez del Vayo *Literary Editor* Margaret Marshall

Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin

Assistant Editor: Charles R. Allen, Jr.

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside

Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting

Staff Contributors

Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: Mary Simon

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1951, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$7; Two years \$12; Three years \$17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: *The Nation* is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

utive assistant told a representative of *The Nation* that the administration could not comment on the article at present but that the matter was being "carefully studied" by Mr. Lie, who would make a full statement in due course. It is clearly Mr. Lie's responsibility to defend the staff against such irresponsible charges. Either the charges are true, in which case the Secretary General must accept responsibility; or they are not true, in which case he should speak out. Mr. Lie's failure to speak out is the more remarkable in view of his past record as a friend of labor. The question that needs answering, therefore, is this: from whom is Mr. Lie taking advice these days and why? *

THE OFFICE OF CIVIL DEFENSE IN NEW YORK City nearly came a cropper recently when it attempted to apply its own litmus test to the town's fourth estate. All newspapermen were required to sign a loyalty oath before receiving a "press card" from the Civil Defense. The card in effect superseded the time-honored press card issued by the Police Department; without it a reporter could not cover a Civil Defense demonstration. "We are complying in full," intoned the *New York Times*. Most of the other publishers went along. But Ted Thackery of the *Daily Compass* let loose a blast at the absurd "I-am-not-and-never-have-been" highhandedness of the oath and also pointed out that the Office of Civil Defense had dictated conditions of work. The real rub came, however, when the *New York Post* suggested that the O. C. D. had unwittingly recruited the entire press corps. With this membership went certain legal responsibilities: for example, if a reporter received an injury while covering a Civil Defense story the agencies would clearly be responsible. And there were other far-reaching consequences. Overnight the O. C. D. reconsidered. Defense Director Arthur W. Wallander assured *The Nation*: "The oath is an entirely voluntary thing . . . it is not obligatory, and we are not trying to lay down conditions of employment. Above all, we don't want to interfere with the freedom of the press." It is an unfortunate commentary on the whole affair that the real issue—intimidation through the witch-hunting device of a loyalty oath—was resolved not by the united resistance of the newspaper industry to such harassment but by O. C. D.'s legalistic fear of liability for bodily injury. *

TWO ASPECTS OF THE CONTROVERSIAL personality of General Douglas MacArthur have never been questioned—his courage and his egotism. In politics as on the field of battle, the General likes to draw the fire of the enemy and to let the sun shine on his gold braid. Not content with having sassed his superiors in public debate, the General has now encouraged his Chief of Intelligence to take a lusty poke at a formidable array of individuals and institutions some of which have been numbered among his admirers. By bestowing his per-

sonal imprimatur on Major General Charles A. Willoughby's preposterous attack on the American press, with pats on the back for the Hearst and Scripps-Howard chains, General MacArthur has again proved that he is both vain and valorous. General Willoughby's denunciation of such journalists as Drew Pearson, Hal Boyle, Homer Bigart, Joseph Alsop, and Hanson W. Baldwin as "careless chroniclers," "ragpickers of modern literature," "inaccurate, biased, prejudiced, petulant," and guilty of "calculated deception," indicated surprisingly defective political intelligence. But it must be admitted that he and his chief never count the odds. To take on the New York *Herald Tribune* (with a chivalrous exception noted for "the beauteous Marguerite Higgins"), *Time*, *Newsweek*, the *Saturday Evening Post*, *Reader's Digest*, *U. S. News and World Report*, and, by inference, the Associated Press and the United Press, is clearly a manifestation of a form of madness generally identified as courage.

★

ONE CAN BE GRATEFUL TO GENERAL Willoughby, however, for clearing up a major mystery of the Korean war. MacArthur's famous reference to "getting the boys home by Christmas," according to his Intelligence Chief, was not a careless but a clever instance of "psychological warfare" devised in Washington to convince the Chinese of our pacific intentions. After reading Edmond Taylor's "Richer by Asia," we have always been wary of the rigmarole that carries the tag "psychological warfare." It is likely to be more dangerous to the deceiver than to the deceived, especially when it is directed by persons lacking self-discipline and objectivity. Frankly we can see no need for the Psychological Warfare Strategy Board, but if such an agency must exist, it might better be directed by Gordon Gray, who recently resigned from the chairmanship to return to the University of North Carolina, than by his successor, Dr. Raymond B. Allen, president of the University of Washington. Dr. Allen launched the witch hunt at the University of Washington in 1949 that brought disgrace to the institution and set off as a chain-reaction the loyalty-oath controversy at the University of California, several legislative investigations of universities and colleges, and enactment of the Feinberg law in New York. By yielding to the artificial panic created by the Canwell committee in Washington, Dr. Allen demonstrated not only a lack of political insight but a susceptibility to delusion that hardly qualifies him for his new assignment.

★

THE FINANCIAL REPORT FOR 1950 OF THE Anglo-Iranian Oil Company helps to explain the nationalization of the company's properties in 1951. For Anglo-Iranian, 1950 was a banner year. Its trading profit was nearly \$228,000,000—more than double that for

1949—while net earnings, after royalties and British taxes, amounted to \$92,700,000 compared with \$51,500,000 the previous year. These brilliant results were due to increased sales at higher prices unaccompanied by any appreciable rise in production costs. Royalties paid to the Iranian government in 1950 total just under \$45,000,000, about \$7,000,000 more than in 1949 but less than half the company's profits. Moreover, the British government collected from the company in taxes no less than \$140,000,000 in addition to dividends on its large stockholding. It is not surprising, therefore, that Iranians believed they were getting something less than a fair share of their oil wealth. True, as Sir William Fraser, the Anglo-Iranian chairman, points out in his annual report, the Iranian government would have had its royalty income doubled in 1950 had the supplemental agreement negotiated with the company in 1950 been ratified; and this year it would have received about \$140,000,000. Since it is highly improbable that the nationalized properties will ever be able to earn sums of this order except in partnership with some international oil concern, there is no doubt that from a business point of view the Iranian government has made a colossal blunder. The pity is that the hard-headed Scots who manage the company failed to realize that the problem was not one that could be solved on a purely business basis. Had they made a greater effort to understand, and adjust their policies to, the psychology of Asian nationalism, their oil wells might still be flowing to the mutual benefit of Iran, the company, and the world.

Use a Broom, Mr. Truman!

ONE of Mr. Truman's weaknesses as President is his reluctance to recognize that some criticisms of his Administration may be grounded in fact. Demonstrated by his slowness in responding to charges of widespread corruption among his subordinates, this reluctance may cost the Democratic Party the 1952 election.

The President barely escaped another mink-coat scandal in his official family by firing T. Lamar Caudle as Assistant Attorney General just before Caudle's nauseous private business affairs were ventilated by the King subcommittee investigating tax frauds and fixes. He branded the Fulbright investigation of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation as "asinine" until so much petty graft and favoritism were exposed that he was compelled to reorganize the agency and oust all its directors. He defended William M. Boyle's "integrity" and fine sense of honor before firing him from the chairmanship of the Democratic National Committee when Boyle's operations were revealed by a Senate investigation. And he seemed unwilling to admit that anything serious was wrong with the Bureau of Internal Revenue until publication of the unsavory facts forced him to recognize that field

branches, if not the top administration in Washington, were honeycombed with incompetence and crookedness.

Unfortunately, those who made the charges against the President's subordinates have been right. Mr. Truman's famous loyalty to his friends and cronies—his toleration of Vaughan's deep freezers, Wallace Graham's commodity-market speculation, and the "free-loading" of other White House characters at Florida luxury hotels—apparently gave sundry lesser officials the idea they could get away with anything short of rape and murder. When did Mr. Truman ever express indignation at the thieves and election hoodlums who broke into a vault in Kansas City, Missouri—when the town was staked out by police and Secret Service operators because the President was there—and stole the ballots under investigation, or alleged investigation, by federal authorities? Perhaps if he had expressed some indignation T. Lamar Caudle, who at the moment was chief of the Criminal Division of the Department of Justice, would not have had to tell the King committee in 1951 that he "just couldn't remember" exactly what he had done, if anything, to push the inquiry and find and punish the thieves.

If the President had demanded a higher standard of performance from J. Howard McGrath, and his predecessor Tom Clark, the Justice Department's tax division might never have been headed by Caudle. The Attorney General goes around making speeches attacking Supreme Court decisions holding that Communists, like other people, are protected by constitutional guaranties against excessive or unreasonable bail. That is an easier and more agreeable task than to jack-up a department conspicuous for indolence, complacency, low morale, and—it now appears—granting favors to friends in tax trouble.

There is something revolting in the idea that "corruption" could become a serious campaign issue when the basic considerations of the 1952 Presidential and Congressional elections are the problem of war or peace, America's relations with the world, the survival of democratic liberalism. The corruption of Harding's Cabinet was not a successful issue for Democrats in Teapot Dome days, but Teapot Dome, in a sense, was remote from the people. Taxes are not. The man who sweats to earn his taxes, file an honest return, and pay his money can become exceedingly angry to learn that rich crooks with the proper political connections can thumb their nose at the tax laws and obtain protection if they are caught.

Belatedly the President is getting rid of officials who embarrass him. Belatedly the new chairman of the Democratic National Committee is announcing his devotion to the Cleveland doctrine that public office is a public trust. But Republicans would never have been handed "corruption" and the "big fix" as campaign issues if Mr. Truman had long ago given his full support to Democratic members of Congress who started the job of exposure and cleaning up.

New Alignments in the U. N.

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Paris, November 29

THE negative results of the Rome conference, taken together with Britain's firm refusal at Strasbourg to participate in either the Schuman Plan or the European army, have highlighted the determination of the lesser powers represented at Paris to prevent the present Assembly from ending in failure. What is taking place today is a major crisis involving the entire political, diplomatic, and military strategy of the West.

While the public debate on the American-British-French disarmament plan versus the Russian has continued in the Political Committee, new attempts have been made in the corridors to bring about a compromise. Mr. Vishinsky's speech of the twenty-fourth, though a merciless criticism of the West's proposals, seemed to some delegates to have an encouraging side in that it offered amendments to the Acheson plan instead of flatly rejecting it. There are even some delegates who claim to find three points of agreement in the two plans: both assign a decisive role to the Security Council, prohibit atomic weapons, and call for a disarmament conference.

In private conversations the Russians deny the charge that, because of Europe's economic crisis and the disappointing results of the recent military conferences at Paris and Rome, they are uninterested in reaching an accord with the West. I have even experienced myself how they react to this charge. Through an error in transmission my dispatch in *The Nation* of November 17 stated that the Russians were "waiting for revolution to take over a continent collapsing economically under the burden of rearmament." Their representatives here picked this up immediately. "If we were gambling on European revolution," said one man who very directly reflects the Soviet view, "to solve the problem of war or peace, we would have pursued an entirely different policy." No one, in fact, who examines objectively the conditions accepted by the North Koreans and Chinese in agreeing to the thirty-day truce plan and realizes that they must have followed Moscow's advice can accuse Russia of trying to prevent a settlement in Asia or in Europe.

But even if the gap between the Eastern and the Western point of view seems to be slowly closing, it will be necessary in the coming weeks for some delegations to have the courage to start serious private conversations on ways of effecting a reconciliation. Though it is possible that nothing will be accomplished, a curious and significant trend toward independence may be observed in delegations which in the past have always voted with the United States, those composing what the Russians call America's "automatic majority."

The most impressive indication that this "automatic majority" is crumbling is the changed attitude of the Arab states. In the last Assembly several of these states took a position on Korea which was not entirely satisfactory to the Western powers, but now they are rebelling as a group. Egyptian diplomats here have repeatedly emphasized their distrust of the West and their friendship for the Soviet Union, and not only on the question of Morocco.

Nor is it only the Arabs who are becoming unreliable. Some of the Latin American delegates have shown a similar tendency toward independence. Take, for example, the able speech of Señor Santa Cruz of Chile on November 20. No one could call Santa Cruz pro-Russian or doubt his support of the Atlantic Pact and the defense measures undertaken by it. In the speech I refer to he reaffirmed that support in unmistakable terms. But he also pointed out that the sacrifices demanded by the West's rearmament plans endanger the political and economic stability of the non-Communist world.

"A study of the food situation in 1948-50 made by the U. N. Food and Agricultural Organization," he reported, "states that the daily per capita food consumption of calories and proteins is now lower than it was before the war, especially in Asia." And statistics for seventy countries as given in the Secretary General's Economic Report published at the beginning of this year show that "twelve of those seventy countries, one-third of the population of the world, dispose of only 4 per cent of the total income, less than \$50 per inhabitant." The poverty and despair indicated by these figures forced the Chilean delegate to conclude that "90 per cent of the people in Asia, Africa, and Latin America are indifferent to the struggle against Communist aggression." His words must have given pause to those who think that

victory in the war against communism is only a question of having enough planes and atom bombs.

"I do not hesitate to say here," he added, "in this great organization of the United Nations, that neither the Charter with its elaborate system of collective security, nor the Atlantic Pact, nor the Middle East and inter-American pacts can guarantee the security and peace which we must seek in the total and active support of the common people."

I suggest that Señor Santa Cruz's warning should be pondered by American liberals, who in general lack his understanding of this indisputable fact: that while the cold war might go on for some time longer without developing into a shooting war, the cold war, plus the social conflict which the conditions cited make inevitable, must eventually lead to a real war, and one fought in what would be for the West the worst imaginable political and psychological conditions.

Another delegation which has insinuated, if feebly, that the antagonistic great powers might be reconciled through the mediation of a "neutral group" is the Argentine. Its chief, former Foreign Minister Paz, has stressed his neutral position in a public speech and in private conversations. His views would perhaps be considered unimportant if one did not know that in the last elections in the Argentine the four million who voted for the government and the two million who voted against it agreed in favoring neutrality. The opposition knew as well as the government that the popular thing to do was to take no part in the struggle between East and West. All during the campaign, therefore, it repudiated "pacts which lead to war" and specifically the Rio pact.

As the rearmament program demands greater and greater sacrifices, the sentiment called "neutralism" spreads and deepens. The West cannot afford to ignore it.

Ambivalent Albion

London, November 29

THE eighth session of the North Atlantic Council concluded its work on November 28—in the words of C. L. Sulzberger of the *New York Times*, "after much discussion and little agreement." Significantly it was Britain's attitude that was reported to be "negative," and "amiable but aloof." Little attempt was made to conceal or minimize the sharp differences between Britain and America.

ANDREW ROTH, a staff contributor, was for a number of years *The Nation's* correspondent in the Far East. He is now living in London.

December 8, 1951

BY ANDREW ROTH

What are the causes of the undeniable tension? It is the habit of most American reporters in London to suggest that apart from the Communists everyone in Britain loves the United States except a small group of "Bevanites" on the left wing of the Labor Party. It is worth while therefore to consider the source of the following remarks:

As the balance of strength between the United States and this country has changed to the British disadvantage, so American policy has become less restrained, less comradely in matters of vital interest to the whole Commonwealth. . . . The dominating factor in future defense planning—the atomic weapon in all its forms—has been treated as an American monopoly, despite the scientific

achievement and strategic bases that Britain contributes. . . .

It should . . . be the British purpose to discuss with the Americans not only the grand strategy of defense but the grand strategy of settlement. Stalin insists, and Beria has again insisted, on the possibility of peaceful coexistence. Is coexistence on such terms the most that can be hoped for in the lifetime of Stalin and Mr. Churchill? Very probably it is. But will the Americans be content with this? There is not the slightest reason to doubt the sincerity of Mr. Acheson when he states that the aim of his peace policy is to contain Communist imperialism by creating situations of strength, and then to negotiate from strength. Negotiation—but what about? . . . From strength—but how much strength and at what cost?

This is not the voice of a Labor back-bencher, or of the *New Statesman*, or of any other alleged "Socialist appeaser." The passage is taken from the rightist, pro-American *Economist's* lead article of November 17.

America's energetic replacement of Britain as the central organizing power of the non-Communist world during the last decade has naturally produced irritations. In the early stages of the Persian crisis, when the American position differed considerably from the British, it was openly charged in both Labor and Conservative circles that the United States was pushing out Anglo-Iranian in order to bring in an American oil company. More recently Britain's empire-builders have been fuming about Washington's success in bringing down the price of natural rubber and tin. Since the United States buys half the world output of the two products, it has been able to do this by keeping purchases in government hands and staying off the market until the price declined. The Manchester *Guardian's* financial editor said last week:

Malayan rubber and tin are two of Britain's foremost dollar-earning commodities. The huge dollar deficit of the sterling area in the third quarter and in October has clearly been aggravated by the decision of the United States government to monopolize tin and rubber imports, to stop all tin purchases, and sharply to reduce rubber purchases in Malaya. . . . Britain is forced by United States government policy to buy cotton at 44 cents which costs less than 10 cents to produce. Where are the real cartelists today?

This same theme is propounded even more frequently and bitterly by the *Financial Times*, whose chairman is Mr. Churchill's close friend Brendan Bracken.

While British leaders are envious of the United States' growing power and irritated when they think it elbows them, they are at the same time absolutely certain that their survival hangs on American support. They know they need not only direct economic help but the backing of American military-diplomatic power. The Kremlin, they are well aware, is not afraid of British military

power but does respect the military-industrial potential of the United States. British leaders believe that the primary reason why the Kremlin has not given the green light to the Tudeh Party in Persia is that the United States might consider this an act of aggression and launch World War III. While pleased with American defense of the status quo in Iran, Britain still has no desire to share its stakes in that country. Britain welcomes the American assumption of responsibility for strengthening the French position in Indo-China. But in all the bitter newspaper comments on the deteriorating situation in Malaya there has not been a single suggestion that the United States be asked to help in that fight.

In the recent foreign-affairs debate in the House of Commons, Geoffrey de Freitas, Under Secretary for Air in the Labor government and a Yale alumnus, was worried that "the great personal popularity of the Prime Minister in America may confuse the American people and mislead them into believing that he is representative of the feelings of this country toward the United States. The Prime Minister has gone far indeed in saying that we must stick to America at all costs." De Freitas thought it would be better to send Foreign Secretary Eden to Washington, who "has a better understanding of . . . the limits which public opinion places on our cooperation."

AMERICANS are doubtless deceived by the British capacity for self-censorship in print and speech. You can read Conservative newspapers like the *Daily Telegraph* or the *Yorkshire Post* for months and imagine that "love the Yanks" is their chief thesis. But if you talk with their editorial writers you soon perceive their resentment that the United States now sets the pace, in a manner that they consider crude and unmindful of British interests. Thus W. L. Andrews, editor of the *Yorkshire Post*, in conversation recently revealed a fear of an Eisenhower-precipitated "showdown" in Europe in 1952 which is only pallidly reflected in his writings.

The dominant group in each party is convinced of the necessity of the Anglo-American alliance and suppresses its doubts about the way Washington acts. Mr. Eden, for example, in his November 19 survey speech, declined to say anything about the admission of Communist China to the U. N., excusing himself with, "I think . . . members will realize that nothing could be more unwise at this moment than that I should raise the subject of the status of China in relation to the United Nations." Experienced Englishmen know that Americans like to be liked and are indignant when they are criticized—particularly by allies in need of aid.

The Labor Party leadership is as pro-American as Churchill and Eden. In office they were equally chary of uttering a word which might be misconstrued by a

sensitive American Senator. Out of office they are dis-
closing, in a guarded manner, the doubts they stifled
before. Even the most devoted friends of the United
States now reveal their fears that headstrong American
action may precipitate an unnecessary war. "A mo-
mentary aggressive mood, or, what is perhaps more
possible, a needless attack of nerves—it may be on the
part of one nation alone—could plunge us into the
Third World War," warned former Foreign Secretary
Morrison on November 19. Conservatives tend to voice
their fears in their clubs more than in the House of
Commons, but the Tory M. P.'s from Lancashire are
just as worried about Japan's American-supported come-
back as their Labor colleagues. The journals which form
Conservative opinion have been fairly plain-spoken, in
their own British way. As early as last July 25 the
Times said:

There are times when European governments and
peoples ask uneasily whether the pace of rearmament
is not too fast. Will the momentum of the whole
process carry the United States further than it desires
to go? At what point will the United States consider
that deterrent strength has been sufficiently established?

Evidently the crime of the Bevanites was not their
criticism of the rearmament speed-up or of American
policy but their refusal to observe the hush-hush con-
vention. The essential fact to recall is that the bulk of
the Labor Party accepted rearmament last year because
they felt it was insurance required by the aggressive
tendencies of the Communist world as demonstrated in
Korea. Now they are beginning to wonder whether the
premium is not too high. They feel that rearmament
is crippling Britain's recovery and worry about what
the United States will do when it thinks itself strong
enough to cope with the Soviets. As De Freitas said:

A situation might arise in which this country is in-
volved in war with Russia and in which a large number
of people here might believe that it had been brought
about by an error on the American side. . . . The fact
is that there are people in this country who fear that the
Americans are moving toward a stage in which even to
suggest a settlement with Russia might be regarded
as treachery. This wave of hate and intolerance—
which is very real—is amazing to those who know the
kindness and the warmheartedness of ordinary Ameri-
cans in their day-to-day life.

THE BATTLE FOR FREE SCHOOLS

"What's Wrong with Our Schools?"

BY KENNETH D. BENNE

NEARLY everyone, layman and professional alike,
seems to have notions about what is the matter
with our schools. Almost no one wants to leave our
educational program as it is. John Dewey, Robert M.
Hutchins, Dorothy Thompson, Westbrook Pegler—even
Allen Zoll—agree at least to this extent: that changes,
often sweeping ones, are needed in school policies and
programs. And surveying the vast and varied educational
undertakings in the United States—pre-school, ele-
mentary, secondary, higher, professional, and adult—one
can no doubt find changes under way which are dedi-
cated to the educational ideas urged by each of these
voices and by many others not named here.

It is far from easy to determine which changes repre-
sent "progress." Those that have been advocated or at-
tempted differ radically in scope and direction. Some
changes involve the introduction of one or another new

gadget—method, content, or device; others involve a
profound reorientation of the total conception and prac-
tice of education. Some seek anchorage and security in
historical educational ideas and practices; others build
upon recently developed sociological and psychological
knowledge and upon responsible diagnoses of contempo-
rary society. Some would reject the democratic ideas
of freedom, equality, and sharing, in so far as they have
been built into the practices of the schools; others are
dedicated to the extension of these democratic ideas
and to the abolition of all inherited authoritarian pat-
terns. The conflicts among various proposals are even
more numerous and complex than this series of an-
titheses suggests. Different "innovators" advocate differ-
ent gadgets as means of saving the schools. Different
"authoritarians" are devoted to different ultimate authori-
ties. "Democrats" are by no means fully in agreement
concerning the central values of democracy or their oper-
ational meanings for school practice. In this chorus of
competing Cassandras, how can the voice of progress be
identified and its prophecy clarified?

To recall that the problem of finding acceptable direc-
tions for educational change is part and parcel of the

KENNETH D. BENNE, professor of education at the Uni-
versity of Illinois, is the author of "A Concept of Authority"
and other books. The concluding article of this series, *A*
Working Agenda for Schools of the People, by Theodore
Brameld, editor of the series, will appear next week.

problem of finding acceptable directions for wider social and cultural changes provides no simple answer to this question. It may, however, help us to get and keep our bearings in searching for an answer. Conflicts over the method, content, and objectives of educational programs are reflections of conflicts over the goals, values, and ways of thinking and working which should prevail in the society surrounding the schools. Schooling is always a deliberate attempt to influence the beliefs and conduct of more or less plastic members of a society. To attempt to clarify directions for educational progress, if it is done responsibly and clear-headedly, is to attempt to clarify directions for social progress.

THE dissonant medley of voices speaking of educational change in America today furnishes additional evidence, if more were needed, that our culture is caught in a profound crisis. The word "crisis," since it has come to be used widely by contemporary vendors of eloquence—Claghorns and columnists—as well as by responsible students of history and society, has acquired a variety of imprecise meanings. It is important, since crisis is a key concept in the present argument, that it be not equated with the latest diplomatic tension between Kremlin and Pentagon, or with some mysterious "weakening of moral fiber" which may be invoked to "explain" West Point cribbing scandals and the data of the Kinsey report. Diplomatic tensions and moral confusions are related symptomatically to the more profound and pervasive maladjustment of contemporary culture and society to which "crisis," as used here, refers. But to attempt to use symptoms as causes is as mischievous in social as in medical diagnosis.

The crisis in contemporary culture is reflected in the decline of the traditional local community. In the traditional community men shared deeply a common belief and outlook and resolved conflicts as they appeared by commonly accepted traditional methods. In that community children grew into common identifications and loyalties with a minimum of conscious tutelage. The counterpart of the decline of the traditional community is the growth of organized interest groups which have come, in industrialized and urbanized societies, to supply partisan centers of identification and loyalty to their members. Where the alternatives of our culture get caught in the grip of organized group conflict, organized interest groups do not in themselves provide mechanisms for reaching commonly acceptable resolutions. Rather they tend to perpetuate and stabilize social conflict.

In general, mechanisms and methods are needed for resolving inter-group conflicts at various levels of social organization—local, regional, national, and international. *It is probably true that the crisis in culture can be resolved, and at the same time the dynamic forces of modern science and technology maintained and directed*

toward common social ends, only as planning mechanisms, employing democratic and scientific methods of problem-solving, are built at strategic points into the fabric of industrial society. We can no longer rely upon the control of custom or upon the non-deliberate methods of historical selection (whatever euphemism may be used to describe it—providence, historical reason, or the unseen hand) to restore community where it is threatened, as the traditional society tended to do. We must deliberately organize and plan for building and maintaining community where it has been threatened or lost.

On this view, it is in finding and building mechanisms and methods for effectively resolving social conflicts with respect to the major alternatives of contemporary culture that the general directions of social progress now are to be found. And it is in helping to equip people to build and use such mechanisms and methods in the pattern of their daily lives that directions for progress in the general education of our people are now indicated.

WITHIN this broad pattern of educational progress in American culture today four more specific directions stand out as strategic lines to follow. Only a brief comment on each can be attempted.

1. The program of education must be geared at all levels to the honest study of contemporary social problems. All members of our society must be helped to understand the crisis in our culture. They must be helped to see the complexity and importance of the major social issues of our time—the place of national and supranational effort and authority in an interdependent world, the problems centering around the role of government in our economic life, questions connected with the adequate conservation of human and natural resources, the problem of guaranteeing optimum levels of health and nutrition to all peoples. They must be helped to become responsible participants in the solution of these problems.

Some gains have been made both in secondary schools and in colleges in focusing segments of instruction upon the study of problems of contemporary civilization. Resistances to such organization of educational effort have come from those who do not want education to become an instrument of social progress and from others who are concerned with the possible loss of traditional educational values in a reorganized program of instruction. These resistances constitute part of the difficulty of maintaining the gains already made and of extending them.

One condition of effective instruction focused on social problems deserves special comment. The clarification and eventual solution of almost any social problem calls for knowledge and skill developed by several traditional academic and research disciplines. Such interdisciplinary effort is required in the preparation of materials and in at least some phases of instruction. It is nearly as hard to

get cooperative effort across the lines of traditional departmental organization in colleges and schools as to resolve conflicts between organized interest groups in lay society. Yet awareness of the complexity and importance of contemporary social problems and of the need for coordinated effort in their solution—an awareness which is growing where academic men are not blinded by fear and hysteria—is probably the most effective force in stimulating needed interdisciplinary experimentation in our colleges and schools.

2. The resolution of social conflict calls for innovation in educational method as well in organization of content. One element in the method required is clear. Any effective effort to solve a social problem, at any level of social organization, requires group deliberation, group decision, group experimentation, and group evaluation. Representatives of various interests with a stake in the problem must find effective ways of talking and thinking across the lines of divergent ideologies toward a commonly acceptable solution. Actually, we know relatively little about the building of the social and psychological conditions which will release concerted thinking and decision across lines of conflicting interest. But we may be quite confident that the most promising method will combine elements from both "democratic" and "scientific" methods. For example, on the "democratic" side, it must be collaborative and must be oriented to the realities of the problem to be solved, not toward the irrational enhancement of the prestige of any party to the conflict. On the "scientific" side, it must be based on the most valid information available and must be experimental, in the sense that the results of deliberation must be held subject to evaluation and revision in the light of subsequent experience.

Somehow these standards of method, which have become easy to state, must be accepted as the operating norms of the group engaged in solving social problems. Because it promises help at this point, "applied group dynamics" has become an attractive field of study for some members of the teaching profession. And experimentation with group methods, on both the research and training levels, is spreading in schools and colleges as well as in adult-education settings. If the focusing of instruction upon the resolution of social conflicts is accepted as an educational task, educational leadership cannot easily avoid the study and use of methods for developing productive problem-solving groups.*

3. Educational effort which is to be effectively directed to helping people to build the mechanisms and acquire the methods for resolving social conflicts cannot properly be confined to the elementary and secondary schools or to

*The work of the National Training Laboratory in Group Development is probably most representative of this emphasis. Its publications may be obtained through the National Education Association, Washington, D. C. For a popular account of its work, see Stuart Chase, "Roads to Agreement."

the colleges. Somehow the responsible study of cultural alternatives must be stimulated among adults not under formal educational influence. If such study is to be adequately encouraged, somehow influence needs to be exerted to persuade the major agencies now engaged in opinion formation among adults to assume responsibility for the educational consequences of these operations.

The agencies which are properly parts of a comprehensive adult-education program can only be named here. Powerful influence on adult opinion is exercised by labor unions, trade associations, service clubs, civic associations, and so on, but only a small part of the potential educative influence of these organizations is now realized. And a still smaller part of this educative influence is geared to the honest and responsible discussion of social problems. Ideally, this adult-education resource needs to be developed rapidly if progress in education is to be attained or maintained. A more baffling problem is how to induce the managers of the mass media—radio, newspapers, motion pictures, and television—to assist adults to think seriously about social problems. Frequently the interests which dominate the policy of these agencies are threatened by the extension of democratic and scientific values in the society. Yet educational progress requires dedication of these resources to democratic and scientific purposes.

One potential avenue for progress in educating adults deserves special mention here. Citizens are today widely interested in their schools. Much of this interest is misdirected. But it is nevertheless a means of adult education if it can be guided constructively. I have said that problems of educational improvement cannot be divorced from problems of social improvement. If citizens interested in the schools can be helped to deliberate seriously and honestly about desirable directions for the educational program, they must also deliberate seriously and honestly about desirable directions for social change.

4. In any responsible strategy for stimulating educational progress today, the improvement of teacher education is certain to occupy a central place. Educational change in the directions already indicated as "progressive" will require professional leadership of a high order. The development of such leadership, instructional and administrative, is the task of teacher education.

Teachers and administrators who are to help citizens, young and old, to study social problems and to seek commonly acceptable solutions must themselves be able students of social problems. Somehow, in their training, the interdisciplinary resources necessary to clarify contemporary problems must become part of their intellectual equipment. In an extended period of supervised internship, now typically too short and inadequately supervised, teachers and administrators must supplement their conceptual understanding of social problems with active experience of these problems as they center in ten-

sion spots in community settings. Somehow teachers and administrators need to become skilled in building and training groups capable of "democratic" and "scientific" problem-solving. Skill in working with adults, as individuals and in organizations, as well as with children and young people, must become part of the equipment of the teacher and the school administrator.

The task of retooling the profession is a difficult one at best. It will be an impossible one unless intelligent lay leadership can be developed to hear the voice of educational progress within the current medley of educational Jeremiads and to mobilize the public moral, intellectual, and financial support which educational progress requires.

Postscript to Collier's World War III

SINCE the appearance of D. F. Fleming's article, *Collier's Wins World War III*, in *The Nation* of November 10 many readers have wanted an answer to a question raised by Dr. Fleming—namely, why a group of distinguished authors, of moderate views and progressive, non-belligerent instincts, took part in the *Collier's* journalistic ultimatum to Moscow. To provide an answer, copies of *The Nation* containing Dr. Fleming's article were sent to the contributors of the *Collier's* special issue with a request for comment. All replies received before the deadline indicated in the letter are included in this postscript. A protest received from a group of British writers is appended.

Comments by the Contributors

I wrote the article for the *Collier's* issue, "Preview of the War We Do Not Want," after a conversation with the editor in charge of the project and after having read a précis of the editorial setting forth the purposes of the issue and the attitude of the editors. I did not read any of the other contributions except Stuart Chase's article until the magazine was published.

I was reluctant at first to do the article and raised specific questions as to the tone and effect of the whole issue. These questions were answered satisfactorily, both by the précis of the editorial and by the editor to whom I talked. I still believe that the aims and approach stated in the editorial are sound ones, particularly its emphasis on the point that war is not inevitable and its firm opposition to a preventive war.

However, I must say in all honesty that the issue did not do what I expected it to, and I am forced to agree with many of the criticisms brought against it, including most of the points raised by Dr. Fleming in his article in *The Nation*. The failure of *Collier's* to achieve what I believe would have been a worthy purpose was due in part to the tone and content of some of the articles and in great measure to the terrifying and horrible scenes depicted in the art work accompanying the articles.

I hope that such criticisms of this issue of the magazine as those voiced by Dr. Fleming may stimulate enough discussion and clarification that some good may yet come from the project.

I believe the editors of *Collier's* had the best of intentions, and certainly it was my intention to contribute to the cause

of world peace by participating in this special issue. I believe, however, that the issue fails of that objective and I sincerely regret that it does.

WALTER P. REUTHER

I was asked a simple question by the editors of *Collier's*: what would be the problems involved in the establishment of a free press and radio in Russia, assuming a world war had taken place and the Soviet regime had collapsed? I found this an interesting and legitimate question and did my best to answer it. If the total issue has conveyed to readers either the idea of the inevitability of a third world war or that victory would be easy, I strongly dissent. But I took seriously the assurance of *Collier's* editors that they do not believe war is inevitable and that they hope this issue will contribute to prevent it. Naturally I do not agree with all the techniques or viewpoints expressed in the issue. I hope the discussion it has engendered, at least, will help us to prevent such a catastrophe. I think the last sentence of Dr. Fleming's first paragraph, "It was therefore a quasi-official American plan for World War III" is a misstatement. In my observation it was certainly not "quasi-official."

ERWIN D. CANHAM,

Editor, the *Christian Science Monitor*

Having read Dr. Fleming's article, I must point out that I wrote my article, which was a fictional description of a hypothetical Third World War, without consultation either directly or indirectly with any "high-level Washington officials"—or, I may add, with any low-level Washington officials. In fact I was in England when I wrote it, and I did not consult with any officials there, either. Nor did the *Collier's* editors ever tell me that they had consulted high-level officials or that I was directed or urged to take any particular line in the article. Therefore Dr. Fleming's statement that this is a "quasi-official American plan for World War III" is entirely untrue. If it were described as a "pipe-dream," I could not complain.

When I first wrote the article, I had not read any of the other contributions to this issue. I had had two short talks about the project with Cornelius Ryan, of *Collier's*, and attended a meeting at which were present Mr. Ryan, Allen Cleaton (also of *Collier's*), Hanson Baldwin, Allan Nevins, Stuart Chase, Marguerite Higgins, and Harry Schwartz. Later, in London, I consulted Seymour Freidin, *Collier's* chief European correspondent. I did not talk to anyone else about this project.

In answer to the question why did I do this, I can only

reply that in 1935 I wrote a play called "Idiot's Delight" about the outbreak of the Second World War. I hoped that this play might help to inform some people that such a catastrophe was possible, and perhaps impel them to take measures to prevent it. When there is a widespread drift toward war, it seems to me advisable to call attention to it and its dreadful implications.

ROBERT E. SHERWOOD

The purpose of the *Collier's* Russian issue, as discussed repeatedly with contributors months before publication, was to show graphically the awful consequences of atomic war, to spike the guns of the preventive-war faction in Washington, and to suggest how a wedge could be driven between the Russian people and their masters in the Kremlin. These purposes seemed desirable to me, and I was glad to cooperate in the venture.

Whether the venture produced the effect that the editors and contributors hoped for is another question. Some say yes, others say no. It is too early to tell about that, for *Collier's* was not talking to the intellectuals or the liberals, but to the people.

STUART CHASE

I wrote the article for *Collier's* as I felt it might contribute to discouraging Russia from starting a third world war.

SENATOR MARGARET CHASE SMITH

I was in England when I was asked to write the article on the Arts in Russia. The general project was explained to me, though not in detail. I was told that the decision to publish such an issue of the magazine had not been made until after much deliberation. I did not see the contributions of my fellow-writers.

For my own article, however, I take full responsibility. (And I cannot help wondering if Dr. Fleming and some other critics have really read this particular article.) It offered me a valuable opportunity to put before several million American readers the view that the Russian people are not mysterious monsters but are among the most richly creative folk of this world, as they proved in the nineteenth century and might demonstrate again once they are free of the present frustrating and tyrannical system. And the article was based not only on my own first-hand knowledge but also on discussions I had with recognized authorities on Russian life and character. Dr. Fleming ignores the main part of my article and merely quotes a statement about an immediate "huge, excited demand for anything foreign and Western, for books and plays, pictures, films, ballets, and operas." It is not quite clear to me why this statement was chosen, but if Dr. Fleming sees it as an instance of brash absurdity, I can only point out that that is what happened, in similar conditions, in Germany, as I know from personal experience, one play of mine having been given about fifteen hundred performances. It has been suggested elsewhere that it is equally absurd or insensitive to imagine Russians enjoying "Guys and Dolls." But in point of fact this is precisely the kind of full-blooded satirical musical that the Russians would enjoy, and which at the moment they are dismally prevented from enjoying.

Finally, it is not for me, an Englishman, to decide if an elaborate project of this kind, designed for American readers,

is likely to do good or harm to the average American mind. I can only declare emphatically that not one word I contributed to it could possibly widen the gulf between the American and Russian peoples, inflame anybody's hatred, or make the task of creating international understanding more difficult. As an infantryman throughout World War I and a London radio speaker throughout World War II, I know something about wars; and I can assure Dr. Fleming and you, sir, that my family and I are so situated that I have every reason to hope we shall not see World War III.

J. B. PRIESTLEY

Collier's gave me a general account of the contents of the issue, and I read some of it in advance. Their view was that they were warning against a Third World War, in accordance with the title, "The War We Do Not Want"; that they were emphasizing the devastation atomic attacks would inflict on us and were thereby conducting a propaganda for peace. At the same time they were urging America to prepare against the dire possibility and were setting forth, for the benefit of oppressed people behind the Iron Curtain, the hope the American people would have if a conflict could not possibly be avoided, the ideals for which they would fight. I pretend to be no expert on such matters as propaganda but think *Collier's* fairly carried out the general idea they gave me.

LOWELL THOMAS

A British Protest

[The following letter was addressed to the editors of *Collier's* by the four British authors who signed it on behalf of the Author's World Peace Appeal. Copies were sent to the English press, Les Lettres Françaises, and J. B. Priestley.]

November 17, 1951

Dear Sirs: It is with a sense of bewilderment and despair that we write to protest against the irresponsibility of your issue of October 27, 1951.

We feel bewilderment that people who could so glamorize and cheapen the tragedy of the fresh world war they envisage could at the same time so piously protest their desire above all else to avoid it; despair, that in this broken world of 1951 any human being can still believe that such a war could lead to any good or happy result, even the rather trivial and conventional Hollywood happy ending your correspondents seem to combine in predicting.

You have chosen the method of presenting us with a *fait accompli*. Evidently you did not wish to harrow your readers, unduly, since on not one page, in not one picture, is there more than the merest hint of the wastes of human suffering that such a war must entail. You make scarcely more than a conventional grimace of pity for the innocent victims of such a war. Most Europeans are living in the chaos caused by the two world wars through which they, perhaps more than the Americans, have suffered. Yet you show not one shadow of the doubt we feel, the doubt whether such a war could have any end at all except the end of total annihilation—annihilation of life itself and of everything that makes life worth living. Nor do you mention the widely held conviction that such a war, even such a victory, might only end in the

communism it seeks to extirpate. Your method of presentation has precluded any mention of such doubts, such thoughts, such arguments, which are perhaps our greatest security against a renewed world war. That in itself appears to us an intellectual and emotional dishonesty for which the responsibility rests squarely on your shoulders as editors.

Your correspondents have as much right to their private wish-fulfilment fantasies about the fall of communism as anyone, but by presenting these in the manner you have you have incurred a public responsibility which no journalist in this country will envy you and which, we hope, few would wish to share.

If you aimed to produce an effect, you have certainly done it. We cannot recall any previous publication which has caused such widespread alarm and indignation. Not only have you frightened and offended your friends, but you have put a God-given weapon in the hands of everyone who hates or distrusts your country, and dealt a crippling blow to those of us who do not equate peace with militant anti-Americanism. If that has been the effect in this country, and we can assure you that it has been, what do you imagine has been the effect in Russia, where you have already been widely quoted? If your idea was to separate the Russian people from the Communist government, it is unfortunate that you should have chosen as your weapon a mixture of arrogance and threat which seems to confirm practically every allegation of warmongering that the Communists have made against America and which can only generate a state of indignation in every Russian, whatever his private view of the Kremlin.

We do not believe that by outlining the desired ends you

are striving to justify in your minds the horrifying means; we do not believe that you are attempting to foster such a feeling of justification; we do not believe that any American would wish so to justify a war in which America would quite possibly be the only survivor.

Yet if words still have meaning, if they still have power to sway men's minds and emotions, we can only believe that your words have brought nearer the very war you profess to deprecate.

One of us showed your paper to his office cleaner—we can, if you wish, give you her name and address though she would much rather we did not. In the First World War she lost her father, in the Second her husband, her daughter, and her home. That may, of course, have influenced her judgment. She made this comment: "I never believed until this moment, sir, that old Joe Stalin was right when he called those Americans warmongers. Perhaps then, after all, it ain't all his fault." If you believe this woman is a Communist you will end by believing your own fiction columns.

The group of 400 English writers at whose request we are sending this protest is not subsidized from Moscow any more than she. Our only common political eccentricity is the desire to stay alive and permit others to do so—to prevent, as far as it is in our power, the catastrophe which you so blithely assume. We desire friendship with all countries, including your own, and we deplore the mischief you have done to Anglo-American relations as much as the wider mischief you have done to world confidence.

A. E. COPPARD ALEX COMFORT
NAOMI MITCHISON JOHN COUSINS

Disarmament: Facts vs. Propaganda

BY LAWRENCE H. FUCHS

THE disarmament proposals presented to the United Nations by the Western Allies amid fanfare and huzzahs were more than a "mouse" but something less than sensational. The only new thing about the offer was the announcement by the Allies that they were ready for a census of all weapons, including atomic weapons, and that they were willing to set disarmament machinery in motion just as soon as the census was completed.

Otherwise, the "fresh approach" hailed by President Truman was merely a warmed-over version of various suggestions which both the West and the Soviet Union had made previously. To a large extent the "new and sensational" offer represented an American switch to positions on disarmament and arms control heretofore held by Moscow. The point seems to have eluded our

press and radio commentators entirely. Nor was it recognized by American spokesmen for the proposal.

By failing to emphasize this point, the American spokesmen abandoned a genuine weapon of compromise and negotiation—recognition that something might be said for the adversary's position. If we had reminded the Russians that they have long demanded a census of all armaments, urged widespread disarmament, and agreed to the principle of inspection in the control of atomic energy, Vishinsky would have been unable to damn Acheson's speech in the cavalier fashion he did. Moreover, by forcing a more reasonable reply, we would have eased tensions and impressed the world with a sincerity as fresh as it was bold.

What are the facts about atomic control and disarmament which we could have exploited in the cause of peace?

Until President Truman made his speech on eventual disarmament in October, 1950, American leaders had shunned the idea like the plague. Moreover, we had put

LAWRENCE H. FUCHS, formerly national secretary of the United World Federalists, is now a teaching fellow at Harvard in the Department of Government. He has just completed a study of the Soviet peace offensive.

every obstacle we could in the way of merging the atomic-energy and conventional-armaments commissions. Our position, as expressed by Assistant Secretary of State Hickerson in the fall of 1949, was that there were "fundamental differences between the two fields which made it impossible to deal with them under one and the same plan." We accused the Soviet Union of disregarding these differences. The Russians had tried from the first to combine the work of the two commissions. At one point the Polish delegate to the General Assembly argued that the logic of the American position would demand separate commissions for revolvers and machine-guns. In 1950 President Truman advocated merging the two commissions, adopting without acknowledgment the Soviet position.



Secretary Acheson

As for disarmament, Vishinsky has been pressing since 1947 for a one-third, across-the-board cut in arms by all permanent members of the Security Council. This offer has been recognized for what it is—propaganda. He has suggested no plan for inspection and verification of the disarmament program. Furthermore, disarmament in all weapons, despite an appearance of simplicity, is a complex business, and a one-third cut in our atomic stock pile is not the same thing as a one-third reduction of the Soviet army.

But the facts remain. Until the fall of 1950 we opposed disarmament talks and the notion of combining work on the control of atomic energy with planning for the control of conventional weapons. Until that time the Russians persistently urged the merging of the two commissions, and from 1947 until the present time have talked constantly of disarmament. Now we announce a plan in some respects close to the Moscow line—and we dare Moscow to accept it.

The idea of a census of arms is "old hat," too. We had previously urged a census of conventional armaments, as distinguished from atomic weapons, verifiable by inspection. We, of course, opposed an inventory of atomic weapons just as long as we held a near-monopoly of bombs. The Russians quite naturally urged an inventory of all weapons, including atomic ones, but made no suggestion for verification by inspection. Now an important part of the West's new proposal stresses a census

of *all* armaments plus inspection. This is the first time we have agreed to a census of atomic bombs.

It is frequently said in this country that since the Russians will not allow inspection, there is no hope of working out a satisfactory atomic-control plan. Actually the Russians gave in on the principle of inspection long ago. Genuine and vital issues contribute to the impasse on atomic-energy control, but inspection is not one of them. Let Vishinsky speak for himself:

The Soviet Union's draft proposed to give the international control commission very wide powers. It proposed that it should be given access to all enterprises concerned with the mining, production, or stockpiling of atomic energy.

The Moscow delegate further explained:

As early as 1947 . . . the U. S. S. R. representative had explained that there should be periodic inspection of all enterprises, beginning with mines and ending with factories; and that inspection should be carried out, not at intervals fixed in advance, but whenever necessary. That necessity was to be determined by the international control commission. . . . Finally, to put an end to all allusion to the veto, the proposals laid down that all decisions would be taken by a majority vote.

WHAT, then, are the differences which have prevented atomic compromise?

The Baruch proposals, which have majority support in the U. N., demand international ownership of all atomic facilities. Some atomic-energy plants would be licensed by international authority to the member states. The Russians have opposed international ownership. They have argued that the industrial needs of the Soviet Union for atomic energy are too great to allow an international authority controlled by the West to parcel it out to member nations.

Another major difference concerns the destruction of existing atomic stock piles. The Soviet Union wants the bombs destroyed as soon as a convention for the control of atomic energy goes into effect. As long as we maintain our atomic superiority it is unlikely that the U. N. majority will agree to a destruction of bombs already produced until it is certain a control plan would work. This means a period of international ownership plus continuous inspection. But the Russians do not want a mere promise that we will destroy our bombs at some future date.

The issue of the veto provides the one other important point of disagreement. The Russians have made it clear that a majority vote by the international authority on questions of inspection and recommendation to the Security Council satisfies them. But they insist that the big-power veto in the Security Council shall not be given up when it comes to applying sanctions against a member detected in a violation of the control program. This, however, is really a phantom issue, since de-

tection of a violation by any one big power would be followed by war whether that nation used its veto or not. The illegal seizure of atomic facilities or manufacture of atomic bombs by one power would be a certain signal for war.

The crux of the impasse is who shall own the mines and facilities used in the production of atomic energy. Shall it be the nations themselves or shall it be the international control authority? We have maintained that there can be no satisfactory control without international ownership: the same processes are involved in the production of atomic explosives for industrial purposes as for weapons of war, which makes inspection without ownership very difficult. Moscow, on the other hand, rejects the idea of international ownership under the aegis of the United States and a hostile U. N. majority. But it probably wants very much to establish international control over the one weapon in which the United States has an obvious superiority. If this were not the case, it is extremely unlikely that the Russians would have conceded the right of the international control authority to inspect all atomic facilities. It is this significant ideological concession that the West should have exploited to the hilt in making its disarmament proposal this fall.



Foreign Minister Vishinsky

So close is the Soviet position to the Western plan that on the day President Truman announced a "fresh approach" the World Peace Council, which reflects the Communist point of view, met in Vienna and passed a resolution calling for "a general census of all types of arms and armed forces and the application of an international inspection and control system to check the realization of such an agreement." Would Vishinsky have laughed as cynically as he did if Acheson—two hours before the Soviet spokesman took the rostrum—had referred to the already published Vienna resolution?

HOW effective it would have been to point out to the world that part of our program already had the support of the Soviet Union! If this approach was considered at all, it was probably opposed and dropped for the following reasons: First, we wanted at all costs to be righteous, to appear consistent. We also did not want to seem to be saying, "me too." But no one will be fooled except ourselves if we pretend we have been consistent.

Informed U. N. observers know that we wanted no census of atomic bombs as long as we held an atomic monopoly. They know that we have deliberately avoided disarmament talks in our effort to build arms to a parity with the Soviet Union.

If we had acknowledged that we were supporting something the Russians had previously suggested, Vishinsky would have had a hard time explaining just why the Kremlin was changing its mind. Secretary Acheson could then have asked, "Will the Soviet Union permit inspection of atomic installations and hedge on the need for inspection of all military might?" Widespread inspection is undoubtedly viewed with apprehension by the Politburo, but since Moscow has accepted the principle of inspection, it could not easily let the question go unanswered.

Another reason why the approach suggested here was probably never considered seriously can be ascribed to McCarthyism. To agree on anything with Moscow provides meat and drink for the Wisconsin Senator. But we certainly cannot allow our foreign policies to be guided by McCarthy's instability. The State Department must get over its reluctance to accept abuse. It is in a position which the victims of race and religious prejudices know so well. Whether you do or you don't, you're damned.

The President talked earnestly in his speech about ending the cold war. No doubt he meant what he said. It has been pointed out, however, that our government immediately dismisses as sheer propaganda all Soviet proposals that are made in public and not through appropriate diplomatic channels. The temptation to seize the initiative in the propaganda war must be great. But the statement Mr. Acheson made at Paris was unwittingly of a kind to maintain the tension which makes realistic discussion of disarmament so difficult.

Debate in the Political and Security Committee has been more moderate than it was in the General Assembly. Mr. Acheson tried to reassure the Russians that inspection of all military organization would not bring a swarm of Western spies to Moscow. He also made it clear that we are willing to discuss atomic-control plans other than our own. For his part, Vishinsky presented a battery of amendments to the Western plan in a context which was notably free of vitriol. Under the prodding of delegates from the Arab-Asian bloc and from West European countries the atmosphere may improve, but the basic issues outlined here will remain.

Tensions must be eased if we are to negotiate. The self-righteousness and recrimination which pervade Soviet speeches do not make our task easier. Nevertheless, there is still a good deal more to diplomacy than beating our own breast and attempting to beat the other fellow's skull. Skilful presentation of the quite unsensational Western proposal for disarmament might at least have helped to usher in a period of negotiation.

BOOKS and the ARTS

The United Nations— a Critical Survey

THE UNITED NATIONS AND
POWER POLITICS. By John Mac-
Laurin. Harper and Brothers. \$3.

MANY a Western leader will dislike John MacLaurin's book, for in this season when General Assembly headlines again set people thinking of the U. N. promise, Mr. MacLaurin complains that Western policies in the U. N. have been devised to serve military, political, and economic interests—instead of morality. He finds the Soviets often guilty, too, but he thinks the Western majority should try for conciliation. "Machiavellian statesmanship," he contends, "is not only morally revolting but more unrealistic than the most wide-eyed idealism. On the other hand, policies which pay heed to moral claims are likely to secure for us all that is legitimate in the concept 'national interest.'"

What is moral? What is right? These are the fundamental questions. Mr. MacLaurin—this is the pen name of an educator who has served as a U. N. consultant—thinks the right would call for support of freedom movements in the world's colonies and trust territories. It would mean civil liberties for 300,000 Asians in South Africa and for 1,000 Soviet wives who wish to join their husbands abroad. It would mean promoting better living standards by means of technical aid and capital investment through the U. N., instead of national programs of power domination.

Many a citizen of good-will would support such prescriptions. But the test of morality is hard to apply. Mr. MacLaurin thinks the United States should not have pulled out of the gentlemen's agreement of 1946 that allotted the Soviet bloc an elective small-power seat on the Security Council, as well as the permanent U. S. S. R. place. The West in 1949 elected Yugoslavia to that seat—a Communist but not Cominform country. Which was the moral policy? To let the Soviet Union dictate the choice? Or to elect democratically? Experience had indicated that the second Soviet bloc

seat was simply turning into a Soviet echo, whereas Mr. MacLaurin himself hails Yugoslavia as a third force, a symbol of independence, a U. N. voice with positive proposals.

Mr. MacLaurin suggests that the United States might turn over half its arms funds for good works by the U. N. "in leveling up the depressed half of mankind," with no political strings. "Would not this in fact give the United States greater security than any other nation enjoys?" he asks. "Who would want to attack such a country, indeed who would dare so?" He doesn't care for the North Atlantic alliance too much.

But strength may deter attacks. Denmark and Norway threatened no one in 1940. Nazi Germany overran them. Soviet forays in Finland and the Baltic states have taken place. Mr. MacLaurin himself says bluntly that "the Soviet government unleashed a breach of the peace" in Korea, even while he dislikes the U. N. intervention in behalf of the regime of Syngman Rhee in South Korea, which he calls "corrupt, tyrannous, and socially a blind alley." (That opinion is not shared by the current U. N. commission in Korea.) Is it safe, given this Soviet neighbor, to lay down arms? Is it right? Or moral? Should not the South Koreans have been defended? By the U. N.?

It is good to have books like Mr. MacLaurin's, even if he does sometimes lean too far backward. He stimulates thinking outside the usual ruts. Incidentally, it is a bit regrettable that he should have chosen to use a pen name; his identity—whilom visiting professor of education at Teachers College and New York University, UNESCO consultant, active frequenter of U. N. halls in 1949, brother of a much more leftist British politician—is an open U. N. secret. He has done an enormous amount of research, and much hard thinking. He might as well take the credit—and the criticism.

His book of 468 pages, including index, portrays effectively, comprehensively, and often dramatically the workings and works of the U. N. organs. Half

of it is given to studies of the U. N.'s efforts for a more abundant life which are being made by the various agencies whose resources are so much less than the world's expenditures on propaganda and even crop destruction. He dwells on the struggle for independence as aided by U. N. programs. He admires the influence in the U. N. of single individuals like the Reverend Michael Scott—who is concerned with issues in South West Africa. Inevitably he makes some factual slips, relatively minor, and there can be many a quarrel with his opinions. But his philosophy is a sound one—that the U. N. can do whatever its member governments wish, and what those governments wish depends upon their peoples.

He tries to reason out the U. N.'s successes. The original proposal for British, French, and Italian trusteeship over segments of Libya failed in his opinion because "selfish and unjust proposals will always risk colliding head-on with the self-interest of a large number of others. This is how the U. N. at present principally functions as guardian of peace and justice." He thinks the present solution for Libyan freedom by January 1 is better.

He thinks the continuance of the children's fund is a tribute to the smaller powers—the United States had preferred to cut out U. N. relief work in favor of simple advice. In this chapter, however, he is unfair to individual delegates. As he notes elsewhere, they may be blamed for the tone and wording of their own speeches, but the substance of the speeches is drawn from government instructions at long distance.

He correctly minimizes the hurdles of machinery. He contends that the main effect of Soviet Security Council vetoes has been to block membership for Western-backed applicants and to prevent inquiry into the Czechoslovak Communist coup. (They also thwarted a pioneer atomic-control cooperative.) Other vetoed issues, he notes, have been solved outside, such as the withdrawal of British and French troops from Syria and Lebanon and the lifting of the Berlin blockade. Or they have moved into the

Assembly, as in the Spanish and Balkan cases, or the International Court of Justice, as in the Corfu ship disaster. He thinks every nation ought to be admitted to the U. N., and credits the Soviet veto with keeping the U. N. from becoming too much composed of governments favored by the United States and Britain. He thinks the Czechoslovak inquiry would have done no good—a view that does not quite square with his emphasis on the moral value of bringing facts before world opinion. He thinks the veto useful as a cautionary signal.

Mr. MacLaurin is for the U. N. in spite of all his strictures. He tells of "the man who came home and found his wife and mother quarreling on the new sofa; so, determined to stop the quarreling once and for all, he threw the sofa out of the window." He thinks, rightly, that the U. N.'s job is to try harder for agreement—not to heave out the sofa.

PETER KIHSS

Of New Americans

THE UPROOTED. By Oscar Handlin. An Atlantic Monthly Press Book. Little, Brown and Company. \$4.

NOT many of us realize that after almost forty years of restricted immigration the foreign-born have become "statistically negligible" in the population of the United States; in fact, some of us have recently been as absurd in our fears of "foreign inundation" as in other contemporary fears that have astonished detached observers. Our historians and sociologists, however, have been inquiring into the strength that came to us from what the late Marcus

L. Hansen a decade or so ago called the Atlantic Migration, and into the strains that it imposed on the migrants. Professor Handlin has not written a history of that migration. He has not even fully achieved his expressed intention of recording "the effect upon the newcomers of their arduous transplantation," because his treatment of immigrants to rural regions is nearly negligible. It seems not to have occurred to him, for instance, that the normal indoctrination for the successful rural immigrant came as the "hired man" of the initiated.

Yet his account of those who left their European villages and stopped in the cities of the American eastern seaboard, most obviously New York and Boston, is a novel and great achievement, an imaginative, moving, almost poetic distillation from the lives of millions of new Americans. It is as if he had blended the dynamics of the migrations, with which Hansen first made us familiar, and the adventures, tangible and intangible, of urban Americanization, as Alfred Kazin has recently communicated them in "A Walker in the City." This combination has the historical depth that was lacking fifty years ago when the writings of Jacob Riis and others gave off more heat than light.

Because the book is brief and generalized, a good many objections can be raised to particular points. The New World, for instance, is frequently credited—or debited—with effects which industrialization would have had upon the stay-at-home European as his own country was industrialized. And the rather strained thesis of the introduc-

tion that the immigrants lived in a perpetual crisis of dilemma and necessity of choice, because they "could not impose their own ways on society; but neither were they constrained to conform to those already established," is open to obvious qualifications. The desire to be inconspicuous by conformity normally dominated. The young took on the new coloration more easily and gladly than the old. The strong urge to conservatism of the majority, already discussed by Hansen and others, can be more simply explained, as can the lower rate of crime among foreign-born than among natives.

Yet no one has dealt with the city-bound immigrants of 1820-1920 more understandingly or sympathetically. This is an intensely humanistic book which gets under the skins of harassed, self-questioning people, feels their feelings, and thinks their thoughts, in convincing ways. It is full of fine perceptions and penetrating explanations. It amends, for the East to some extent, Hansen's Middle Western conception of the cities as distribution points and temporary refuges. It brings out the absorptive role of the urban as well as the rural construction industry. It is particularly revealing of the inevitable schisms in families, groups, and churches, orthodox and dissenting. When one thinks of the manifold fraternal associations and activities among native American migrants, some of the similar attributions to immigrant Europeans are made too peculiar to them, but Chapter VII, *In Fellow Feeling*, illuminates many facets of American city life. The process that has been progressively pinched down to

THE BRIGAND



Giuseppe Berto, author of the bestselling *The Sky is Red*, gives us a romantic adventure story full of action and suspense. Its hero is a modern Robin Hood, fighting injustice in an Italian town. \$2.75

NEW DIRECTIONS • 333 SIXTH AVENUE • NEW YORK CITY

narrow proportions since 1917 reaches its dramatic conclusion in Chapter X, *The Shock of Alienation*, and Chapter XII, *Promises*.

All of which leads one to regret that Handlin did not tackle the larger task which Hansen left unfinished—at 1860—when he died prematurely in 1938.

J. B. BREBNER

Contrasts and Parallels

TURN WEST, TURN EAST: MARK TWAIN AND HENRY JAMES. By Henry Seidel Canby. Houghton Mifflin. \$3.50.

MR. CANBY'S Plutarchian parallel of the lives of Mark Twain and Henry James is, up to a point, a happy enough device. The contrasts of course speak for themselves; what the parallel felicitously brings out is the common concern of these writers with the moral quality of American "innocence," the coming full circle in this theme of Twain's turn to the West and James's turn to the East. Mr. Canby establishes his cross-references with a very tactful sense of exactly what they can be made to yield by way of insight into the art and meaning of both writers—and with a very tactful sense of exactly where they cease to be useful. He reaches common ground, that is to say, without blurring differences; and the "good reader," who can respond to both Twain and James for what they are worth, is thereby fortified.

Nevertheless, Mr. Canby's "good reader," who steers so evenly between Twain's deficiencies in technique and James's excesses, who weighs so perceptively the claims of a single book of one fictional order against the claims of a whole *œuvre* of not quite so consummate an order, and so on—this reader, one is inclined to feel, arrives at his conciliation of opposites with perhaps a shade too little expense of spirit. If one projects the East-West polarity of American culture beyond the frame of Mr. Canby's parallel it seems to have either a good deal more relevance than Mr. Canby gives it or a good deal less. The tensions of the question, that is, are not altogether resolved by the ability of the "good reader" to appreciate Mark Twain on the one hand and James on the other. One thinks, for instance, of Ferner Nuhn's undeservedly

forgotten "The Wind Blew East," with its brilliant foray into the subject from an anti-Eastern point of view. One conceives the possibility of an equally lively and equally partisan book from the opposite point of view. Or again one may regard the whole question as a perennial irrelevance of American literary discussion. But, in any case, Mr. Canby's synthesis, one feels, is a mean arrived at by a little too facile ignoring of extremes to be entirely valid. However, this is perhaps to scrutinize too closely what is after all merely a point of departure for an informed and intelligent discussion of two of our major writers.

HOWARD DOUGHTY, JR.

Dilemma in Hollywood

THE PRODUCER. By Richard Brooks. Simon and Schuster. \$3.50.

THE producer is Matt Gibbons, son of Max Grubow, an immigrant plumber; husband of Natalie, expert on childlessness, spiritualism, psychoanalysis, dianetics, and Catholicism; father by adoption of little Natalie (at convent school) and little Matt (at military school).

Matt is near the top of the Hollywood ladder, but is tensely aware that one misstep—whether caused by the drunkenness of his leading man, the incompetence of his leading lady (a star of only the second magnitude, but the best he can afford under the million and a half dollar budget allotted him by the Studio), the Communist label on his script writer, or the uncompromising ending of the screen play—can end his chances of producing an "honest" movie and eliminate him from consideration as next production head of the Studio.

Matt reduces his tension with a plump divorcee, with barbiturates, and above all with an unshakable faith in the enduring nature of his own genius. It would seem that Mr. Brooks shares this faith to an extent, although the reasons for it are somewhat obscure.

"In the end, in the movie business, success was money." Still, Mr. Brooks suggests, Matt's success is due to more than his readiness to sacrifice principle to financial expediency; there are also his respect for honesty and independence—even when he cannot afford them himself—his genuine desire to accom-

A book about civil liberties

the fear of freedom

By FRANCIS BIDDLE

Introduction by Harold L. Ickes

Here is an authoritative statement that pours cold, clear common sense on the current flames of hysteria regarding un-American activities. In **THE FEAR OF FREEDOM**, Francis Biddle—one of America's outstanding liberals—exposes many of the serious dangers that threaten our country. In no uncertain terms, he calls upon all Americans to wake up to the fact that attempts to legislate private political opinion are destroying our basic liberties. This is a thoughtful, authoritative and highly intelligent book. "A splendid contribution to a very fundamental question at a most appropriate time."—STUART CHASE.

At all bookstores, \$3.50

DOUBLEDAY

- FOR THE ART TEACHER
- FOR THE ART STUDENT
- FOR THE PARENT
- FOR ANYONE WHO WANTS TO PAINT OR DRAW

THE Artist In Each Of Us

By FLORENCE CANE. New methods in developing the creative life, presented with such clarity and precision that the teacher, the parent, and the adult art student will be able to apply them.

HUGHES MEARNS, *Professor in Education*: "A superb achievement, a documentary of thousands of hours of professional skill, fitted to an amazing range of human situations. A great piece of recorded teaching."

LEWIS MUMFORD: "In every way an extraordinary performance; full of life wisdom as well as educational insight."

Nearly 200 illustrations, many in full color
7½" x 10", 380 pages, \$6.50



your bookstore, PANtheon BOOKS, N. Y. 14, N. Y.

plish worth-while things, and his complete immersion in the complex technical job of film production, of which we are given an excellent and highly entertaining account.

One is left, in fact, with the feeling that if only the dead hand of the profit-seeker were somehow to be removed from its control over the entire operation, Hollywood would be able, because of the concentration of skills and talents, to produce works of the caliber of—the "message" films of the past few years. Such at least is the impression that Mr. Brooks gives us by involving us, for example, in the question of whether Matt will be able to do an "honest" Main Street, 1951, or will have to do "Nero" for the stockholders. Of course he has to do "Nero" in the end—promising himself that in return he will do an honest movie about coal miners; but suppose he had won out and done Main Street, 1951—how much better would it have been than "Nero"?

Implicit throughout the book is the belief that the real artistic struggle is between the financiers of mass culture and the liberal journalists who battle for the freedom to defend minorities,

civil rights, and so on. Those for whom such a narrow view of cultural trends is sufficient will find "The Producer" completely convincing; others will feel that it is a shallow and unrewarding interpretation of the crisis in popular culture, particularly in a novel which cannot claim distinction for either the texture of its prose or the depth of its characterizations.

Nevertheless, despite Mr. Brooks's essentially ambiguous attitude toward the nature and the future of popular culture in America, he succeeds in exposing a number of particularly ugly sores. Especially significant is his insistence upon the constant use of the language of love—You're a sweetheart, a darling, I love you—as a soul-saving device among men whose loveless and friendless lives are a terrifying example of what can happen to a society where love and comradeship have been replaced by murderous competition, meaningless vanity, and insane mistrust.

HARVEY SWADOS

Jesse Jones and the RFC

FIFTY BILLION DOLLARS. By Jesse Jones with Edward Angly. The Macmillan Company. \$6.

THE trouble about the memoirs of those who were used and discarded by Franklin D. Roosevelt is that nobody can be sure what they would have said if Roosevelt had not fired them. Jesse Jones falls into the sad category of kiss-and-tell memoirists: he never resigned his New Deal job, but he is now convinced—after being ruthlessly fired in 1945—that Roosevelt deliberately plotted war in order to get the third term, that he did not like Negroes in general or Father Divine's prospective occupancy of an estate adjoining Hyde Park in particular, and that he was low, cunning, deceitful, and lacking in the capacity for gratitude for Jones's own remarkable public contributions.

Criticism of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation's handling of Baltimore and Ohio loans seems to Jones evidence of "some selfish or vindictive motive" on the part of Senator Tobey. Criticism of the war-time synthetic-rubber program directed by Jones "probably" arose from the fact that "my friend Baruch" and other Wall Streeters "were none too pleased that the RFC . . . could be run

without calling on some of them." As a matter of fact, Jones had a good deal to do with breaking Wall Street's monopoly of credit, management control, and the country's affairs. A hostile Congress could have made much of the Baltimore and Ohio's employment of RFC executives after these executives had helped grant loans, but no Congress in RFC history was hostile to Jones. The measure of events, in the Jones era, may be suggested by the parable of Jack Garner. Garner was deemed a wild-eyed radical by the Republicans in 1932 for introducing a bill providing a billion dollars for federal relief of the unemployed, but by 1940 Garner was merely a Texas rancher and banker conservatively opposed to the New Deal and all its works, and happy, indeed, to retire from Mr. Roosevelt's vice-presidency.

Whether Houston bankers like Jones are socially more responsible than Wall Street bankers remains a dubious question. "Fifty Billion Dollars," unfortunately, is a dull book. Jones's collaborator, Angly, is an experienced newspaperman, but the evidence is that he served as an amanuensis rather than as co-author in writing critical passages.

WILLARD SHELTON

Books in Brief

THE SELECTED LETTERS OF WILLIAM COWPER. Edited with an Introduction by Mark Van Doren. Farrar, Straus and Young. \$3.50. This is the second volume in a "Great Letters Series" of which Lionel Tilling's "Keats" was the first, and in both instances the letters are profoundly interesting in themselves as well as for their biographical information. Cowper wrote his for the same reason that he wrote his poems—because, as he said, "I have always more need of a laugh than of a cry." Both the poems and letters are the achievement of what he called "the arduous task of being merry by force," and yet there is nothing which seems forced in the playful humor of a man who nevertheless believed that he was predestined to damnation, who more than once attempted suicide, and who more than once went through periods of definite insanity. Mr. Van Doren has wisely chosen to represent Cowper's

BOOKS OF ALL KINDS FROM THE USSR

JUST RECEIVED!

■ STALIN PRIZE NOVELS!

■ HANS LEBERRECHT

LIGHT IN KOORDI

Illustrated — In English — 400 pp. — \$1.00

and **ELMAR GREEN**

WIND FROM THE SOUTH

In English — 320 pp. — 75¢

Latest Soviet Records, and Handicrafts

1952 Subscriptions Open for Soviet Periodicals

Ask for Complete Catalogue P-51

FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.

W. 56 Street, N. Y. 19 Murray Hill 8-2600

Buy Your Books through *THE Nation*

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C.O.D. No C.O.D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to
Miss Le Fuch

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
10 Vesey Street New York 7, N. Y.

melancholia as well as his playfulness, and his introduction strikes exactly the right note, neither minimizing the abnormality nor complacently attempting to explain its significance away by glib references to the Freudian or any other psychology. That it had its origins in some more or less understandable abnormal mental state is probably true enough. But it was also a central fact of his private and of his literary personality. Any understanding of his writing as literature must accept it as such. A writer must be granted his premises, and one of Cowper's premises was simply that he was a damned soul. Did any other man so minded ever succeed in being witty, playful, and tender?

THE DAY BEFORE TOMORROW.

By Robert Waithman. Scribner's. \$2.75. An American correspondent for the *London News Chronicle* has collected his impressions of this country and its people in a book of wit and insight, with truth between the lines and wisdom in the wisecracks. Particularly recommended are the four Dialogues in a Bar.

SEX AND THE LAW. By Morris Ploscowe. Prentice-Hall. \$3.95. A fascinating study of the legal crazy-quilt covering sexual conduct in this country, with suggestions that would lead toward more uniform and rational policies.

Records

B. H.
HAGGIN

THE LP dubbings of old—or even not very old—78 rpm recordings produce a sound which seems to have less space around it than the original and to be itself less full, expansive, resonant, and rich. In addition the transfers normally are made from special vinylite pressings of the 78 rpm masters, some of which are by now imperfect; and in some instances the master has deteriorated to the point where it is preferable to make the transfer from an old shellac record in good condition which gives less distorted sound and fewer swishes, but with some of the noise of the shellac surface. And finally, distortion may be introduced or ag-

gravated, especially near the center of the record, by too fine a groove-cut.

Concerning RCA Victor's impatiently awaited LP dubbings of the pre-war Glyndebourne Festival recordings of "The Marriage of Figaro" and "Don Giovanni" and Beecham recording of "The Magic Flute" I can report, first of all, that they produce satisfactory approximations of the sounds of the originals—the "Figaro," as before, less voluminous and bright than the "Don Giovanni," and the "Magic Flute" again the clearest and most brilliant of the three. In addition I can report that there is no distortion of the sound in the "Figaro" and "Magic Flute," and that one's pleasure from them is not diminished by the noise of the considerable number of shellac records used in the first or the few used in the second (the LP surfaces, I should mention, are not quiet). But concerning the "Don Giovanni" I must report some distortion of Elvira's *Ab chi mi dice mai* and very bad distortion of Leporello's *Madamina!* on side 1. Anyone, therefore, who would like to have those historic and great performances can acquire the "Figaro" and "Magic Flute" without hesitation; but with the "Don Giovanni" he had better wait, on the chance that Victor may remedy the defect.

The greatness of the Glyndebourne "Figaro" is its over-all style—the animation, lightness, suavity, and sharp wit of the progression of beautifully integrated vocal and instrumental sound—for which one accepts the shortcomings of Mildmay and Helletsgruber in the otherwise excellent cast. The new Columbia "Figaro" offers a Vienna State Opera performance conducted by Von Karajan, with the same brilliant style, and with a brilliant cast—Erich Kunz (Figaro), Irmgard Seefried (Susanna), Elisabeth Schwarzkopf (the Countess), George London (the Count), Sena Jurinac (Cherubino)—of whom only Seefried is open to criticism for her kittenish singing at certain points. And this performance is reproduced with present-day spaciousness, clarity, and brilliance (though also with echoing of the empty auditorium which, however, doesn't blur the sound).

As for the Cetra recording of "Figaro," it has one merit—that it includes the recitative which the Victor and

Columbia recordings omit. But the singing is inferior (Alda Noni, the Susanna, has a cold, tremulous voice; Gabriella Gatti, the Countess, and Jolanda Gardino, the Cherubino, have beautiful voices which are spoiled by tremolo); the performance conducted by Previtali is slow-moving and stodgy; and on a few sides there is distortion, and on one a loss of volume and brilliance, near the center.

Columbia's "Magic Flute" offers another Vienna State Opera performance with singers—Anton Dermota (Tamino), Erich Kunz (Papageno), Wilma Lipp (Queen of the Night), Irmgard Seefried (Pamina), Ludwig Weber (Sarastro)—who with one exception are better than those in Victor's Beecham performance. The exception is Lipp, who at times has a tremolo and is surpassed by the clear-voiced Erna Berger at the height of her powers. In addition Beecham, at the height of *his* powers, gives the performance an animation, a sharpness of phrase-outline, a forceful shaping of the orchestral part around the singing, which the Vienna performance conducted by Von Karajan doesn't have. Also the Berlin Philharmonic which Beecham conducts plays better than the Vienna Philharmonic. The Vienna performance is reproduced with greater brilliance (also with more pronounced echoing of the empty audi-

WHAT'S THE SCORE?

Pocket-Sized "Urtext" Editions
BACH 6 English and 6 French Suites..... .98
8 Cello Sonatas, 7 Flute Sonatas..... .98
BEETHOVEN The 32 Piano Sonatas..... 3.98
The Violin Sonatas, 2 vols.98
& MANY OTHERS—WRITE FOR FREE CATALOG
Order from Your Dealer, or direct from
LEA POCKET SCORES Dept. W. Box 100
New York 32, N. Y.

PULITZER PRIZE and CRITICS' AWARD

RICHARD RODGERS & OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd
present in association with
LELAND HAYWARD & JOSHUA LOGAN

ROGER RICO MARTHA WRIGHT IN South Pacific

Music by RICHARD RODGERS
Lyrics by OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd
Book by

OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd & JOSHUA LOGAN
Adapted from JAMES A. MURKIN'S Pulitzer
Prize Winning "TALES OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC"

Directed by JOSHUA LOGAN

Scenery & Lighting by Jo Mielziner

with MYRON McCORMICK
THEATRE, 44th St., West of B'way
Evenings 8:30. Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:00

torium); but the sound of the Beecham performance is excellent. And so if I had to choose between them I would choose the Beecham.

Last summer I reported on a Mercury recording of Mozart's delightful little opera "The Impresario," which I said was "excellently sung . . . with a chamber orchestra . . ." The singing was excellent; but I am embarrassed by my insufficient attention to the orchestra, whose inadequacy became strikingly evident when I heard the Period recording of a performance by German singers with the Stuttgart Ton-Studio Orchestra conducted by Rolf Reinhardt. Their singing of the florid passages is less brilliant; but the orchestra's playing makes this a real performance, which the Mercury was not. One defect the Period recording does have: it comes without the connecting spoken dialogue that Period included in its "Bastien et Bastienne" and that would separate passages of music which succeed each other without sense; nor is this dialogue even provided in the accompanying text.

PERSONALS

exit loneliness

Somewhere there is someone
You would like to know.
Somewhere there is someone
who would like to know you.
We can help you find a richer,
happier life through discreet,
dignified "social introductions."
Write for booklet, or phone
MAY RICHARDSON
Dept. TN, 111 West 72 Street
New York City EN 2-2083



IF UNMARRIED AND MATRIMONIAL-
LY MINDED, WOULD LIKE TO
MEET SOMEONE WHO MIGHT LIKE
TO MEET YOU? Write for free copy-
righted pamphlet. Address Personal Intro-
duction Service, 2112 Broadway, New York
City 23.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING analysis.
Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel.
WA 4-1775. Cooperating with doctors, psy-
chologists, schools, firms, industries. Lessons
by appointment, evenings. Marital, educa-
tional, vocational, psychological problems.
Fee, \$5.00.

Christmas is coming . . .

and Nation readers will
soon begin to shop around
for gifts. If you have an
interesting item to sell
why not tell our readers
about it. Call the Adver-
tising Department today!
BARclay 7-1066

An RCA Victor LP offers a strangely scrambled group of arias from "The Magic Flute," "Figaro," and "Don Giovanni," sung, with one exception, superbly by Pinza with undistinguished accompaniments conducted by Alfred Wallenstein. The exception is the taxing Champagne Aria from "Don Giovanni," which is rhythmically distorted—for lack of breath, I would say.

Drama

JOSEPH
WOOD
KRUTCH

NEVER SAY NEVER" (Booth Theater) is a farce which tries to be a comedy but never quite succeeds in making the grade. It is also what would be called in Hollywood "sophisticated," "adult," or even "Continental in spirit." But the words would have to be used in accordance with the publicity man's lexicon, in which "sophisticated" means "self-conscious," "adult" means "adolescent," and "Continental" means "after the manner of a Central European boulevard farce of the early nineteen hundreds." Carl Leo, the author, is a newcomer who has some obvious talents, but he has a good deal still to learn before he can be as smart and up-to-date as he would like to be.

The plot, which is serviceable without being exactly fresh, has to do with a young career girl living in high-minded sin with a ghost writer who has literary ambitions. When an old sweetheart from the crude and innocent Middle West turns up for a New York visit, she tries, with conspicuous lack of success, to prevent him from getting any right ideas about her. This constitutes the farcical part, the comedy supposedly consisting in the contrast between the keen intelligence and sophisticated mores of New York and the cultural obtuseness and prurient innocence of the rest of the country. It is in this department that the lack of success is most evident.

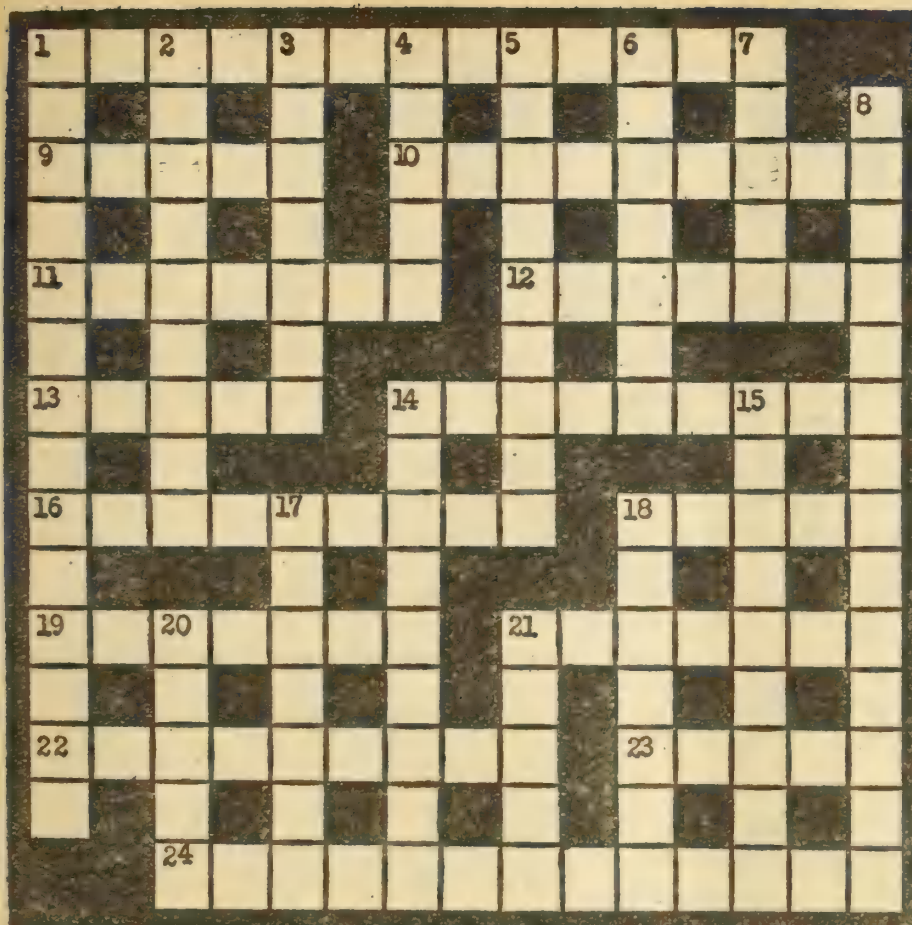
In the first place, while the butter-and-egg man is repulsive enough, the hero and heroine are not so impressive as they should be because their superior culture seems to consist chiefly in such things as an awareness of *Partisan Review* and a perhaps exaggerated idea of the importance of the difference be-

tween "the Stork"—not of course "the Stork Club"—and "Leon and Eddie's." Even more important is the fact that everything in the general tone and atmosphere is both slightly old-fashioned and in other ways not quite right. For example, I am sure that it has been at least twenty-five years since I, at least, have met a young lady who refused to marry her young man on the early-Shavian, early H. G. Wellsian ground that a really serious young intellectual owes it to herself to refuse compliance with such bourgeois customs as matrimony. Living in Sin is no doubt still common enough, and the reasons are many, but this particular one is no longer typical of those who read *Partisan Review* and are at home at "the Stork." There are dozens of other instances of just this sort of wrongness, and while they would hardly matter in a pure farce they are fatal to the kind of comedy "Never Say Never" aspires to be. So far as I am concerned, the most successful character was a semi-standard version of the innocent gold-digger, which is played with wonderful adenoidal and dead-pan charm by Miss Nita Talbot, making her Broadway debut. I liked especially her line to the hero when she drops in for a pre-breakfast chat and finds him in a rage: "I'm a single girl and I'm not used to being yelled at this early in the morning."

"To Dorothy, a Son" (John Golden Theater) is a typical example of a sort of old-fashioned, simple-minded farce which the British still like but we do not. It is all about one of those wills which leave a million dollars to somebody if a son is born before nine a. m. on a certain date, and there is no use in being patriotically superior about it. We don't understand London tolerance for this sort of thing any more than Londoners understand our liking for a noisier sort of nonsense. We call them childish; they call us vulgar; and both are right. The only thing which should cause any surprise is the fact that a successful producer should have failed to see how irrelevant a London run was in this particular case. The male lead is played pleasantly by Ronald Howard, who looks a good deal and acts a little bit as his father, Leslie, did. The feminine lead is performed with considerable verve by the American Hildy Parks.

Crossword Puzzle No. 442

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 The song suggests a trip to Dover this day. (6, 7)
- 9 A blind one is just like a pig. (5)
- 10 Implies flower rings? (9)
- 11 Literally slanted? (7)
- 12 Gefüllte fish might be to the 13. (7)
- 13 See 12 (5)
- 14 Is the German victory cooked up in character? (9)
- 16 Not present to speak to the office. (9)
- 18 This cap is sort of shaky on board. (5)
- 19 Comparatively like the soul of Webster's cartoon. (7)
- 21 Some might term it a piercing wind. (7)
- 22 Shaw's work might be upsetting. (5, 4)
- 23 What the first of 22 has to do to blush. (5)
- 24 Un-representer of enterprising undertakers. (13)

DOWN

- 1 Developing a slow burn (before you leave)? (7, 2, 5)
- 2 Rustic furniture for counters? (3, 6)
- 3 False sideburns for the little pests? (7)

- 4 Used to be turned down before turning in. (5)
- 5 Stop a part of an act with lines on steel. (Sounds like a critic might!) (9)
- 6 How lights get put out when put out? (2, 1, 4)
- 7 Surly. (5)
- 8 Embellished narratives for the Comptroller? (6, 8)
- 14 Did Rinehart's get around well? (9)
- 15 Improvised. (9)
- 17 It certainly couldn't be an evening piece. (7)
- 18 Sacred scripture means the reading. (7)
- 20 Ample supply of it in the north temperate zone. (5)
- 21 Pan pursues this in play. (5)

• • • • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 441

ACROSS:—1 STOCK EXCHANGE; 10 UNTIRRED; 11 VITALLY; 12 FREEMASON; 13 EVERS; 14 REFUTE; 16 TROTTER; 19 COERCION; 20 TASSEL; 22 MAGIC; 23 RHINGOLD; 25 CATALAN; 26 INMATES; 27 CROSSBREEDING.

DOWN:—2 TITLE; 3 CHROMATIC SCALES; 4 ELDEST; 5 COVENTRY; 6 and 21 A STREETCAR NAMED DESIRE; 7 GALERIES; 8 SULFURIC; 9 EYES; 15 FREIGHTER; 17 GOLD DUST; 18 DOOR-KNOB; 22 MACE; 24 OFTEN.

RESORTS

50 MILES TO FOREST HOUSE

Near enough for easy travel, far enough for an unforgettable vacation. Forest House achieves new levels of gay relaxation in inspiring surroundings. Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality. Two grand lakes. All sports.

FOREST HOUSE

Lake Mahopac, N. Y. • Tel. Mahopac 8-3449

Christmas Is a Time for music inn

music inn

Horse-drawn sleighing, sledding, ice fishing, skating, skating in the moonlight in our own rink, music by the fire, Richard Dyer-Bennet, caroling waiters from the Columbia University Glee Club. For New Year's—Gail Wilson singing songs blue and gay—music to dance to—and warmth within.

Write: MUSIC INN • Lenox, Mass.

RESERVE NOW FOR CHRISTMAS AND NEW YEAR'S

Glenmere

wood-burning fireplaces in most rooms

the GLENMERE, Chester, N. Y.

Phones: Chester 2151; N. Y. Rector 2-5047

50 MI.
FROM
NEW YORK



MAMANASCO Lake Lodge

RIDGEFIELD, CONN.

Phone 6-7000

A resort of distinction offering relaxation and recreation in the modern manner. Winter activities include skiing and skating on mile long lake. Excellent cuisine and accommodations. Dancing, TV, recordings, roaring fireplaces. Reserve for Holidays now. Rates moderate.

TRAVEL

MEXICO FOR CHRISTMAS, Dec. 22-Jan. 6. Sparkling festivals, superb scenery, colorful markets, colonial towns and Indian villages. Expert leadership. Elma Pratt, 232 East 15 Street, N. Y. C. 3. GR 7-2544.

FARMS & ACREAGE

BERKSHIRES. Beautiful small estate; 13 bedrooms; 6 baths; new \$5000 heating plant. View; landscaping; tennis court; ski run; 10 acres. 3 miles Tanglewood, 6 miles Pittsfield. Bargain \$22,500. Berkshire Farm Agency, East Chatham, New York.

PUBLISHING SERVICE

AUTHORS! Sales Department available for your short stories, articles, books and plays. Free booklet, write today! Mead Agency, 419 Fourth Avenue, N. Y. 16 (OR 9-1150).

WE print, publish and distribute your non-fiction or fiction manuscript in pamphlet or book form. Send for free folder. WILLIAM-FREDERICK PRESS, 313 West 35th St., New York 1, N. Y.

Advertising Rates

CLASSIFIED

74¢ a line (6 words)

Three-line minimum

CLASSIFIED DISPLAY

\$7.42 per inch (minimum)

Remittance must accompany all orders

The NATION

TWENTY VESKY STREET

New York 7, New York

Barclay 7-1066

Readers are invited to send a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.



MONEY-SAVING MAGAZINE COMBINATIONS

For Your Convenience

THE *Nation* with

☐ Harper's Magazine...\$9.50

You Save \$2.50

THE *Nation* with

☐ Consumer Reports...\$10.75

You Save \$1.25

These club combinations are for one year and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses. Remittance must accompany all combination orders.

THE *Nation* by itself:

☐ One Year \$7 ☐ Two Years \$12

☐ Three Years \$17

SERVICEMEN'S RATE \$5 A YEAR

Canadian and Foreign Postage \$1 a year extra

The NATION

20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

- ☐ I want to subscribe to *The Nation* for _____ years.
☐ Remittance enclosed. ☐ Bill me.
- ☐ I enclose my remittance for the following *Nation* combinations as listed below.

NAME _____

STREET _____

CITY _____

ZONE _____

STATE _____

12/8/61

SPECIAL NOTICE

TO NATION READERS:

To Subscribers:

We are asking subscribers who wish to change their address to give us at least three weeks' notice, indicating the old as well as the new address.

If you will renew your subscription on receipt of the first notice of expiration, your cooperation will be much appreciated. It will help us simplify our record-keeping, saving us time and expense, and shield you from further renewal letters. At the same time you will avoid interruption in receiving *The Nation*.

To Newsstand Readers:

Since *The Nation* is distributed on key newsstands only, you may have difficulty in obtaining your copy. Therefore, the only certain way of getting *The Nation* regularly is to enter a subscription. By doing so you will not only be sure of receiving your copy promptly every week but save considerable money.

DEC 21 1951

1951's Outstanding Records — *B. H. Haggin*

EASTON DR. BR.
BURLINGAME
PUBLIC
LIB.

THE *Nation*

December 15, 1951

New Facts on Korea

Willoughby Exposes MacArthur

BY I. F. STONE

*

KAY BOYLE—FROM GERMANY

Hans Jahn Fights Rearmament

*

- North African Storm Signals - - *J. Alvarez del Vayo*
The Public's Image of Big Business - - *Reinhard Bendix*
Adenauer in London - - - - - *Alexander Werth*
Four-Point Agenda for Education - - *Theodore Brameld*

PACKINGHOUSE WORKERS NEED AN

ANNUAL WAGE

HOW MUCH a year do you need to live on?

Government figures show it takes \$4,000 a year to keep a family at a reasonable standard of living.

Yet, nearly one-third of the nation's packinghouse workers averaged only around \$2,500 last year.

Since July, our organization has been negotiating with the leading meat packing companies for an annual wage with a \$3,000 minimum.

We are determined to raise the substandard income of the packinghouse workers by wiping out the recurrent layoffs and unemployment common in the meat-packing industry.

This year, layoffs in the industry were sharply increased when the packing companies cut down their operations in objection to price-control regulations. This repeats our experience in 1946 when the meat companies waged war against price control. Our efforts to have the price stabilization office bring together all sections of the industry to work out a solution to this problem have been turned down by the government agency.

Others Say:

► "It is about time we start thinking in terms of how much a fellow gets by December 31 instead of how much he gets per hour."

—Franklin D. Roosevelt

► "The annual wage is just; it is economically feasible; it is a democratic imperative."

—Bernard J. Sheil,
Senior Auxiliary
Bishop of Chicago

► "We must not forget that bad times have always returned—that good times have never lasted long. We must develop ways of mobilizing our nation for continuing prosperity. The guaranteed annual wage will help achieve this goal."

—Philip Murray

Packing Companies Can Afford It

Although our need for a yearly wage is urgent, the large packers have not indicated that they are willing to seriously consider our proposals.

We know the packers can afford it. They schedule their executive salaries, advertising budget, bank credit and operating costs by the year. Yet they pay the men and women who produce the meat by the week. Late in 1946, the companies agreed to a statement of policy recognizing the "desirability and importance" of establishing a guaranteed annual wage in the industry. But they have done nothing about it.

One large packer, George A. Horn Minnesota, proved that the industry and pay its workers by the year. At a house workers are assured of a steady free from the insecurity and fear of plagues their fellow packinghouse workers.

Everyone gains from a yearly wage markets at good prices. Stores and shoppers with full purses. Business helps for its products. The packers also stabilize their yearly pay system, for they can cut labor turnover.

We want you to know why we are negotiating for an annual wage.

We invite your support and would appreciate hearing from you.

UNITED PACKINGHOUSE WORKERS OF AMERICA, CIO

608 S. DEARBORN STREET, CHICAGO 5, ILLINOIS

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 173

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • DECEMBER 15, 1951

NUMBER 24

The Shape of Things

THAT MR. TRUMAN'S SUDDEN DECISION TO rush back to Washington for talks with the Joint Chiefs of Staff was without special significance nobody believes. But nobody knows, either, which particular emergency called him home. Both Europe and Asia, not to mention the crisis in defense production at home, offer problems urgent enough to warrant quick top-level consultations. The failure of the secret disarmament talks at the U. N., although announced and discounted in advance, increased the mood of futility that envelops the whole Paris meeting; but rearmament is going no better. Slowly the Western world is coming to realize what most experienced observers have been pointing out ever since Ottawa: the master program of the North Atlantic alliance has been proved unworkable—a fiasco before it is fairly launched. While the Harriman committee labors frantically to scale it down to a point somewhere near European capabilities, emergency dollar aid is being hurried to London and Paris to bolster the economies of our leading allies, already threatened with collapse. Perhaps the most revealing comment on the situation was Churchill's sensational acknowledgment that Bevan, by "accident," had been right. Meanwhile the Korean truce talks, bogged down on three critical issues, called for equally quick decisions in Washington. The question had to be faced what to do if no armistice agreement could be reached by December 27, when the allotted thirty-day period would end. There was talk of using atomic weapons, of the need to "reconsider" the issue of bombing Manchurian bases; in fact, the whole MacArthur strategy was being dusted off and newly scrutinized as the week began. But if Korea was the President's chief concern, it too would have to be dealt with in the context of mounting difficulties and the impatient demand for a supreme effort to end the cold war rather than extend the hot one.

★

"THE TRAITOR TO ETHICAL STANDARDS OF law enforcement," says J. Edgar Hoover in the current issue of the *FBI Law-Enforcement Bulletin*, "will eventually be discovered, but often not until he has brought a great deal of harm to both the public interest and the reputation of his organization." We take no exception

to that statement, but it prompts us to wonder how the tax collectors and Department of Justice officials whose questionable activities are now being studied by a House Ways and Means subcommittee escaped the vigilance of the FBI. Every government employee high and low is supposedly subject to a "screening" by Mr. Hoover's investigators, who, as we know, often delve deeply into private lives as well as political activities. The efficiency of the FBI is such that it can put an unerring finger on the Department of Labor stenographer whose boy-friend reads the *Daily Worker* or the attaché of the United States legation in Ruritania whose sex life has been a trifle unorthodox. How, then, is it that the extra-curricular operations of numerous Collectors of Internal Revenue and the deals in mink and motor cars of Theron Lamar Caudle were not reported until the pertinacious Senator Williams began his crusade? Were the loyalty checks of these men so perfunctory that their associations with lawbreakers remained undiscovered? Or were adverse reports in fact made by the FBI and suppressed? These questions seem to us highly pertinent, particularly in view of reports that the President is being urged to give Mr. Hoover the job of inquiring into all charges against government officials.

★

A NEW WAY OF DISFRANCHISING NEGROES was devised recently, when Circuit Judge M. B. Smith handed down an order which literally ruled out of town the Negro section of Altamonte Springs, Florida. Mayor John C. Goddard let the cat out of the bag by saying, "I believe the move will greatly add to the harmony in the town in general, as there will be no more rivalry and bidding for the colored vote." At the time of the unprecedented action there were 210 whites and 205 Negroes on the qualified-voters' list of the municipality. By court mandate white political supremacy in the community will now be based not on a shaky five-vote majority but on a solidly lily-white electorate. The stroke of the judge's pen deprived the town's Negro residents not only of all voice in the public affairs of the community but of all legal claim to police, fire, sanitation, or public-health services, previously provided them after a fashion. While they have ignored this aspect of the matter, Florida papers have made much of the fact that the court order prohibits the municipality from "exercis-

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things	509
Bevanism Spreads	512

ARTICLES

North African Storm Signals by J. Alvarez del Vayo	513
New Facts on Korea by I. P. Stone	514
Adenauer in London by Alexander Werth	517
Hans Jahn Fights Rearmament by Kay Boyle	519
The Public's Image of Big Business by Reinhard Bendix	521
The Battle for Free Schools: Four-Point Agenda for Education by Theodore Brameld	523
Science Notebook by Leonard Engel	526

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Young Italy Today by Frances Keene	527
Our Past and Its Uses by Oscar Handlin	527
Concerning Asia by W. Norman Brown	528
Books in Brief	529
Drama by Joseph Wood Krutch	530
Records by B. H. Haggin	531
Books of 1951: A Selected List (Part II)	532

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 535

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 443 by Frank W. Lewis opposite 536

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Associate Editor: Carey McWilliams

Foreign Editor J. Alvarez del Vayo Literary Editor Margaret Marshall

Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch Music: B. H. Haggin

Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting

Assistant Editor: Charles R. Allen, Jr.

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside

Staff Contributors

Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: Mary Simon

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1951, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year \$7; Two years \$12; Three years \$17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: *The Nation* is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

ing any jurisdiction" over the Negro community. This new emancipation can be compared with the removal of the American Indian to barren reservations where he was "free" to govern himself by tribal law provided there was no conflict with United States law. Nor can we escape the similarity with Hitler's consignment of the Jews of Europe to second-class citizenship behind ghetto walls.

★

THE WHITE SUPREMACISTS WERE FORMERLY content to gerrymander voting districts in such manner as to assure white majorities in each. Now for the first time Negroes have been gerrymandered out of town. There are, of course, a considerable number of communities and counties in the South which through terrorism and other forms of pressure have managed to maintain a lily-white status. That this is contrary to the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution does not appear to matter much; not since 1903 has the federal government admonished a community to open its doors to residents regardless of race. If the action at Altamonte is condoned, the way will be wide open for Dixiecrat politicians all over the South to crush the grass-roots democracy which has been slowly evolving since the Supreme Court decisions against the white primary. With racial residential zoning unimpaired by Supreme Court decisions forbidding judicial enforcement of restrictive covenants, it would be a simple matter to amputate Negro neighborhoods from the body of many communities. Since Negroes are no longer a majority in any state, the white supremacists are generally reconciled to increasing Negro participation in state and federal elections, but they are still eager to bar Negroes from local balloting. Altamonte thinks it has found the way.

★

THE REFUSAL BY THE UNITED STATES ON two occasions to grant a visitor's visa to Dr. Ernest B. Chain, co-discoverer of penicillin and 1945 Nobel prize-winner, brings into sharp focus the aberrations of United States visa policy in recent months. Dr. Chain was first refused a visa last spring when he asked for one in order to make a five-week trip to the United States, Britain, and the Netherlands, though the World Health Organization, of whose antibiotics committee he is chairman, supported his request. He was refused a second time when he wanted to attend the dinner given by the Chaim Weizmann Institute of Science on November 29 in honor of the seventy-seventh birthday of the President of Israel. Neither Dr. Chain nor the W. H. O. has been told why a visa was refused. Dr. Chain thinks that it may be in retaliation for his having undertaken a W. H. O. mission to Czechoslovakia to restore a penicillin plant in that country. In view of the extent to

which the poison of McCarthyism has seeped into our governmental system, it is probable that Dr. Chain was denied his visa because no consular official wished to accept responsibility for authorizing the visit of a person—even a very distinguished person—who had recently visited an East European country. But whatever the reason, Dr. Chain's case offers the United Nations an opportunity to break the bonds which prevent it from functioning fully. Why the W. H. O. failed to press the request for a visa is inexplicable. As a specialized agency of the U. N. it is entitled to certain privileges, among them the right to assign experts of various countries to missions conducted under its auspices. It is not too late for the U. N. and the W. H. O. to take this matter up again with the State Department. The refusal to grant a visa to Dr. Chain contravenes the agreement between the United States and the United Nations.

★

WILBUR YOUNG, INDIANA SUPERINTENDENT of Public Instruction, who is a Methodist and a Mason, has asked nineteen Catholic priests to assist him in screening future public-school textbooks "for traces of communism or subversive influences." Mr. Young is particularly concerned with thirty-eight new social-study books which have been submitted for possible use in the public schools. His Catholic advisers will report to him, and he in turn will report to the state textbook commission, of which he is a member. While indorsement by the advisers would not insure acceptance of a text, it is apparent that their veto would assure its rejection. A committee of Catholic advisers was appointed, Mr. Young says, because Catholics are "considerably versed in being able to spot Communist or subversive influences." This is the second manifestation in recent months of a strange malady afflicting certain Hoosier educators. Nowadays all teachers in the Indianapolis public schools must spend one full week, before school begins, visiting various local industries and being indoctrinated with the virtues of a free-enterprise system. Dr. Byron Williams has been placed in charge of the project, which, according to a report in the *Indianapolis Star* (September 2), has received "financial support . . . from public-spirited citizens." A state that sends Capehart and Jenner to the Senate has a heavy enough burden on its collective social conscience. These latest expressions of the same captious arrogance which the state's Senators exhibit has specific clinical connotations.

★

THE BIG-BUSINESS MAXIM THAT DOG DOES not eat dog makes for the concealment, contrary to the public interest, of much information about corporate affairs. So we can applaud that rambunctious Texan, Robert R. Young, when he quarrels with his fellow-tycoons at the top of his voice, even if we are not

prepared to indorse his objectives. His latest campaign, conducted with full-page newspaper advertisements, is directed against the "New York Financial Group" which, he asserts, is bilking both bondholders and stockholders of the Missouri Pacific in order to obtain control of that railroad. Mr. Young's purpose in making his revelations is admittedly not altogether altruistic. His Alleghany Corporation owns a majority of the common and a large slice of the preferred stock of Missouri Pacific—securities which are treated as worthless in the reorganization plan designed to rescue the company from its eighteen-year sojourn in the Bankruptcy Court. If this plan is finally approved—the Interstate Commerce Commission is now reviewing it—claims of holders of first mortgage bonds will be satisfied partly in cash and partly in new securities while junior bondholders will receive new preferred and common stocks. In other words, the bondholders will become the full owners of the railroad and their committee, really the creature of a group of big insurance and trust companies, will gain the right to name its first board of directors "with all the patronage in banking, supplying, and lawyering that goes with this right." On the other hand, if the plan is amended and the bondholders' claims met in full, as Mr. Young declares they can be, the equity in the company will revert to its old stockholders and effective control to the Alleghany. We don't propose to umpire this fight, but we are grateful to Mr. Young for a fascinating and educational glimpse of "insider" operations—a glimpse that confirms our suspicion that "corporate democracy" is a very distant dream.

★

IN DEALING WITH THE PROBLEM OF TIN, an important strategic metal for which this country is wholly dependent on imports, the Administration has contrived to be unusually clumsy. When the Korean war broke out, it went into the world market and purchased with both fists. As a natural result the price rose sharply—it doubled in a few months—and Washington complained bitterly that a wicked international cartel was gouging us. Then last spring the R. F. C. was given a monopoly of tin importing, and purchases for the stockpile were suddenly cut off. The price dropped like a stone, and there were loud outcries in Malaya and other producing countries to the effect that America, which normally consumes about 40 per cent of world production, was rigging the market. Malayan tin operators, who are operating under constant threats of attack by Communist guerrillas, assert that American policy is very shortsighted, since costs are rising as many properties approach exhaustion while the disturbed condition of the country precludes prospecting. However, the Bolivian producers of low-grade ore, whose only market is a United States smelter in Texas, appear to be in a worse

plight. They did not share in the post-Korean bonanza since they were selling on long-term contracts. Now these have expired, and the R. F. C. is offering to renew, paying \$1.12 a pound, a few cents under the current world price. The Bolivians claim that this is well below production costs—if the big Patino properties, all of whose ore is exported to Britain, are excluded—and are asking for \$1.50. No compromise has yet proved possible.

★

AS A RESULT OF THIS IMPASSE STOCKS OF tin ore are piling up in Bolivia, and the finances of that country are being strained, for as *The Nation* noted in its issue of October 27, tin accounts for the bulk of both government revenue and dollar exchange. The Bolivian press is voicing hot resentment against American tactics while recalling Bolivia's efforts during the war to keep America supplied with tin when other sources were cut off by enemy action. It is said that the United States is using its buying power to keep prices artificially depressed, and the point is made that much larger price increases have been allowed for copper, zinc, lead, and other metals. However, W. Stuart Symington, chairman of the R. F. C., shows no inclination to budge. Early in October he publicly announced that our tin stock pile was "very large," placing us in a strong bargaining position with foreign producers. On the other hand, the Defense Production Administration lists tin as among the "most critical" of the basic materials current supplies of which are "insufficient for defense and essential civilian demands," and it has recently ordered further restrictions on its use. With such economies, and by drawing on the stock pile, we may be able to wait long enough to compel the Bolivians to give way. But it will be a hollow victory if the outcome is to force the highest-cost properties to close down and to depress the already low wages paid to the miners.

★

A STEP IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION WAS TAKEN last week by the United Parents Association when it came out against section three of the notorious Timone resolution, passed by the Board of Education, which prohibits the use of school buildings and grounds by organizations found by the Justice Department or the New York State Regents to be subversive, or "organizations which the Board of Education or Superintendent of Schools has reason to believe to be totalitarian, Fascist, Communist, or subversive." What the U. P. A. objected to about the resolution was that it would open the way for a "dangerous abuse" of power. And indeed it would, for to take away rights others enjoy merely because an organization is on the Attorney General's list or because William Jansen, Superintendent of Schools, "has reason to believe" it is subversive is to deprive its members of due process. The U. P. A. is to be commended for its stand.

Bevanism Spreads

ADMITTING that Aneurin Bevan was right—"by accident"—Mr. Churchill told the House of Commons on December 6 that the British rearmament program could not be carried out on schedule. It is hardly surprising that the Prime Minister should have reached this conclusion. The British defense effort is bogged down by shortage of materials, shortage of foreign exchange, particularly dollars, and shortage of workers. To carry out the program in full, and in accordance with the original time-table, would force a more drastic reduction in British standards of living than has hitherto been contemplated, would necessitate many new controls to restrict civilian demands that compete with military needs, and would probably require reimposition of wartime direction of labor to provide workers for the seriously undermanned defense industries. Such measures would not aid that recovery of private enterprise which is the announced goal of the new Tory government.

By an interesting coincidence Mr. Churchill's statement followed closely on two speeches by leading American business men who appear to feel that the speed and scope of the American defense program is endangering our own economic system. Addressing the first International Conference of Manufacturers in New York on December 4, Philip D. Reed, chairman of the General Electric Company, argued that military expenditures of the United States and its North Atlantic partners ought to be reduced or, at least, spread over a longer period. It was necessary, he said, to find a balance between the defense program and the maintenance of political, social, and economic stability, since the dangers of inflation were "as great or greater" than those of Russian aggression. Mr. Reed did not attempt to minimize the threat offered by the Soviet Union, but he declared that "the evidence indicated that Russia will not deliberately precipitate another world war in the foreseeable future."

These opinions seem to be shared by Lewis W. Douglas, former ambassador to Britain and now chairman of the Mutual Life Insurance Company, who on the same day told the National Association of Insurance Commissioners that "in the speed with which we are attempting to restore our military strength . . . we may be running the risk of permanently modifying the foundations of our society." Mr. Douglas noted that expanded rearmament programs were causing "painful strains" in Western economies, with the cost of living reaching new peaks and the burden of taxation "a grinding, painful, debilitating total." In view of the dangers to our economy, he added, "we should make sure that no more is spent than is really essential," and it was thus necessary to make the shrewdest estimate possible of Soviet intentions. Personally, said Mr. Douglas, he questioned whether Russia would use force to obtain its objectives.

It is interesting to compare these statements by two eminent, conservative American business men with those of Aneurin Bevan and his associates which created such a ruckus a few short months ago. After his resignation last April Mr. Bevan argued that the full arms program adopted by the British government "cannot be achieved without irreparable damage to the economy of Britain and the world." The next day Harold Wilson, who had resigned as President of the Board of Trade, elaborated on this theme: "If the financial program for rearmament runs beyond the physical resources that can be made available, then rearmament itself becomes the first casualty, the basis of our economy is disrupted, and the standard of living, including the social services of our people, is endangered."

The Bevanites were sharply attacked, here as well as in Britain, because while they agreed that military strength was required to deter the Russians, they argued that the odds against the Soviet Union were already such as to render *open* aggression against the West improbable. Like Mr. Reed, they felt that the dangers of war were being overstressed and those of economic disruption disregarded.

Mr. Reed and Mr. Douglas are particularly concerned about the dangers of further inflation, and well they may be. At the moment retail prices seem to have settled on a plateau and we are even hearing complaints about overproduction. But this situation is not likely to last. Actual delivery of defense items, according to Charles E. Wilson, Director of Defense Mobilization, has reached a rate of \$24,000,000,000 a year and is due to rise steadily to a peak of \$48,000,000,000 in 1953. From now on, he says, "it will not be so much a case of guns and butter but of guns and less butter, or guns and margarine." The National Production Administration has recently announced drastic cuts in allotments of raw material to civilian producers of hard goods, which are bound to lead to shortages next year. That might be bearable, but at the same time incomes are continuing to rise, so that we are faced with an increased demand for such goods and, therefore, new inflationary pressures. The one possible remedy is a balanced budget, but that can be achieved only by a further drastic increase in taxation, which appears to be politically impracticable, or by a cut in military expenditure, since economies in ordinary government spending will not alone do the trick.

Yet the Pentagon is even now calling for more planes, more divisions, more warships, and still larger military appropriations. That is, perhaps, why a few farseeing American business men are urging a reassessment both of the immediate dangers that confront us and of those we may encounter by continuing to rearm at the present headlong pace. Bevanism, it seems, has spread to the United States and is becoming respectable.

North African Storm Signals

J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Paris, December 6

THERE have been ten days of calm in the United Nations. Holding secret sessions, with Señor Padilla Nervo as moderator, the representatives of the four great powers have been trying to square the circle—to combine in one disarmament program the main feature of the Western and Soviet plans. In a different atmosphere the task might be possible. The plans have important similarities and Vishinsky's last public statement, like the earlier speech of the British delegate, Selwyn Lloyd, contained suggestions that might lead to a compromise if one were really sought. Not once but many times the Soviet Foreign Minister has denied the West's contention that Russia is counting on the veto to paralyze any organization set up to control atomic weapons. However, the conflicting views of the antagonists on the central issue remain unchanged, permitting little optimism about the possibility of breaking the deadlock. While Mr. Vishinsky insists that atomic bombs must be prohibited immediately, putting this issue ahead of the issue of control, the three Western delegates stand pat on the reverse order. Vishinsky has been reported as making concessions on other points but maintaining firmly that—in his words—"whoever thinks it is possible and necessary to postpone the prohibition of atomic weapons until they have fixed their signatures to a convention on atomic weapons forgets that the setting up of control machinery and getting it running cannot be accomplished immediately on the day and the hour the prohibition decision is reached."

The present respite from debate in the Political Committee has permitted renewed discussion of the Moroccan question. The Arab League may pretend that it will fight to the last for Moroccan independence, but none of its member states, not even Egypt, will be heartbroken if they fail. For Egypt and the others Great Britain is the chief enemy; if France would keep up the appearance of being willing to negotiate, they would not press it too hard. At first the French government seemed disposed to accept a general debate on the resolution introduced by Egypt attacking French policy in Morocco, but in the end it adopted the bureaucratic view that the issue was not within the competence of the United Nations.

So instead of telling the Arab states that it would examine the demands, France simply stood on its record in Morocco, of which it claimed to be justly proud. Discussion was not in order. The Arabs could be confident that France would give Morocco full independence when the time was ripe. The item was ruled out in the committee charged with drawing up the agenda and afterward in the Assembly itself, thanks

mainly to the support of the United States. The Asian-Arab bloc, disappointed by the American stand not only on Morocco but also on the British-Egyptian dispute over the Suez Canal, made a strategic retreat. But only for the moment; it returned to the attack with a statement by Azzam Pasha, secretary of the Arab League, promising the Bey of Tunis "the complete support and assistance of the Arab and Moslem brethren" in his "difficulties" with the French.

Meanwhile General Guillaume, the French resident general in Morocco, was trying to induce the Sultan of Morocco to disavow the support of the Arab states. But in a speech impatiently awaited by both sides, the Sultan announced a few days ago that he was engaged in no negotiations with the Quai d'Orsay, thus disavowing not the Arab League but M. Schuman.

The Sultan is sticking to the position set forth in his Memorandum of November, 1950, after his visit to Paris. He demanded then (1) abrogation of the protectorate treaty, and (2) a new treaty providing for free trade unions, increased authority for the town councils, and more Moroccans in the administration. If these conditions were granted, collaboration with France would be continued. At the time General Catroux, a former resident general of Morocco, considered the Sultan's memorandum "reasonable and moderate." But General Juin, then resident general and now Eisenhower's right-hand man in N. A. T. O., moved so ruthlessly to crush this gesture of independence that in February, 1951, the Sultan was forced to issue a declaration condemning the Istiqlal (Independence Party) and to sign some forty

decrees dictated by the Resident. The Sultan later refused to carry out the terms of these decrees—called "reforms" by the French—on the ground that he had signed under duress, and his recent dealings with the Arab League show where he stands. The Istiqlal supports the Sultan, and unrest and revolutionary intrigue may be expected to increase unless the U. N. produces a solution. The situation is so explosive that it may well generate the first thunderclap of the storm over Africa.

Tunisia, though far less inflamed, is an even greater diplomatic worry to the French, partly because it is more clearly an international problem and partly because the Tunisian nationalists are better political strategists than the Moroccans. In the course of the prolonged negotiations since the war the Tunisians have carried on three political strikes—one for the purpose of demonstrating solidarity with the Moroccan nationalists. The French government signed an agreement granting autonomy to Tunisia early in 1951, but its implementation has been held up by the Bey's demand for a truly representative parliament and for a Tunisian government in which the proportion of Tunisians to French would correspond to the population figures—3,500,000 Tunisians, 150,000 French. The Tunisians maintain that after their demands for equality are met they will cooperate willingly with the French and "respect all French interests."

Whatever action is taken on these issues in the U. N., all true friends of France hope that it will profit from the lesson of Asia and the Middle East and not wait until the situation has got out of hand before making concessions already long overdue.

New Facts on Korea

BY I. F. STONE

Washington
MAJOR GENERAL Charles A. Willoughby set out to expose the American press when he wrote "The Truth About Korea" for the December issue of *Cosmopolitan*. He succeeded in exposing General Douglas MacArthur instead. Few seem to have noticed that MacArthur's Chief of Intelligence in that article contradicted much that MacArthur had testified to in the past.

If General Willoughby is telling the truth, MacArthur misled the U. N. in his first report on the Korean war. MacArthur informed the U. N. that "the character and

disposition of the Republic of Korea army indicated that it did not expect this sudden attack." General Willoughby now writes of the attack as an "alleged 'surprise'" and says, "The entire South Korean army had been alerted for weeks and was in position along the Thirty-eighth Parallel."

If General Willoughby is telling the truth, MacArthur also misled the Senate committee which investigated his dismissal last summer. MacArthur gave the impression that he paid little if any attention to events in Korea before the outbreak of the war. "I had no jurisdiction whatsoever over Korea," MacArthur told the Senate committee. "I had nothing whatsoever to do with the policies, the administration, or the command responsibilities, until the war broke out." Senator Morse questioned him about the gathering of intelligence in Korea before the war began:

I. F. STONE, for many years *The Nation's* Washington editor, now writes for the *New York Compass*. He will soon bring out a new book, "The Hidden History of the Korean War."

Senator Morse. General, regarding this matter of our intelligence information, as to what was going on north of the Thirty-eighth Parallel, whose responsibility was it in the military organization to supply whatever intelligence would be made available?

General MacArthur. I fancy that it was the South Korean government. . . .

Senator Morse. And if they did and they found any information that would be of importance to the military defense of this country, were they under obligation to make that available to your command?

General MacArthur. I would assume they would. . . .

These replies were less than candid, Willoughby says that while MacArthur was "not responsible for intelligence collection or surveillance" in Korea, "Tokyo headquarters could not remain indifferent to the general situation" and "quietly maintained a reportorial unit in Korea." Willoughby even claims that information collected by this unit "was relayed to Washington, and as early as March, three months before South Korea was invaded, it unmistakably traced the North Korean build-up for war." The implication is that MacArthur's G-2 knew-it-all-the-time. MacArthur did not mention this when he appeared before the Senate committee.

This modest silence becomes less surprising when one examines two little-noticed documents which Secretary of State Dean Acheson put into the voluminous record of the MacArthur inquiry. These show that MacArthur did indeed relay a report to Washington in March, 1950, that South Korea would be invaded in June. But the documents also show something Willoughby forgot to mention in "The Truth About Korea." MacArthur's "joint weekly intelligence cable" dated March 10 apprised Washington that he did not think this report of a pending invasion should be taken seriously. This was followed by a second cable from "G-2 of the Far East Command," that is, Willoughby's outfit, dismissing the report altogether and saying, "It is believed that there will be no civil war in Korea this spring or summer." The date of that cable was March 25, 1950. The war began exactly three months later, on June 25.

WILLOUGHBY is critical of American reporters, indeed of Americans generally. Born a German aristocrat, the son of a Freiherr von Tscheppe-Weidenbach, not naturalized until he was eighteen, when he took his mother's name, MacArthur's G-2 chief writes that "these ragpickers of modern literature . . . have developed an insufferable but peculiarly American characteristic: they have come to believe that they are omniscient." Willoughby says they "thrive on sensational exaggerations. Accuracy is quite unimportant."

This is distinctly hurled from a glass house. Accuracy has not always seemed a prime consideration in the briefings Willoughby himself gave, if one compares his new revelations with the information he supplied in the past.

A sample case is that of John Gunther. Gunther was in Tokyo when the war broke out, writing a book on MacArthur. He was given the V. I. P. treatment and had access to MacArthur and his top aides, including Willoughby. They seem to have given Gunther the same false impression MacArthur later gave the Senate committee investigating his dismissal. Gunther wrote in his book "The Riddle of MacArthur" that several of MacArthur's critics "have sought to lay at his door some responsibility for our negligent intelligence. The General was not to blame. Korea was not part of his domain."

On the basis of what he was told in Tokyo, Gunther wrote that "the South Koreans and Americans in Korea, to say nothing of SCAP in Tokyo, were taken utterly by surprise. They were as blankly astonished as if the sun had suddenly gone out. The North Koreans achieved complete tactical and even strategic surprise. It was more disgraceful than Pearl Harbor. Our eyes were shut, and even our feet were sound asleep." Willoughby did not tell Gunther the truth in Tokyo. He does not single him out for criticism now. This is the version of events MacArthur HQ preferred.

"No doubt," Gunther wrote, "this will all be investigated in good time." It was investigated the very day after the Korean war began. The inquiry was initiated by two pro-MacArthur Republicans—Bridges of New Hampshire and Knowland of California. The latter declared the day war broke out that the Administration had been caught "flat-footed." The former moved that the Senate Appropriations Committee, of which they were both members, summon Rear Admiral Roscoe H. Hillenkoetter, then director of the Central Intelligence Agency, for questioning on the breakdown of intelligence. The Republicans scented another Pearl Harbor affair but emerged from that private hearing on Monday afternoon, June 26, strangely mollified. The supposed failure of intelligence was not made an issue. It is clear now that if it had been made an issue MacArthur's own intelligence would have been put on the spot.

Though Senators Bridges and Knowland told waiting



Major General Willoughby

reporters outside the hearing room they were satisfied that intelligence had been "doing a good job," the official version of MacArthur HQ, the State Department, and the U. N. Commission on Korea was that the outbreak of the war was a surprise. The State Department White Paper spoke of it as a "surprise attack." The U. N. Commission reported to the Security Council that the South Korean forces "were taken completely by surprise, as they had no reason to believe from intelligence sources that invasion was imminent." MacArthur, as we have seen, reported to the U. N. that the South Korean army "did not expect this sudden attack." All three now appear to have been telling less than the whole truth.

STATE Department officials have been as reluctant as General MacArthur to speak frankly about the inception of the Korean war. This may be seen from the testimony given by Assistant Secretary of State John D. Hickerson last summer at a routine budget hearing before the Senate Appropriations Committee. Hickerson described how his phone rang on the night of June 24 "and we had our first news of the Korean difficulty" (the war began June 25, Korean time; June 24, Washington time). Senator McCarran asked whether they had not known "about the Korean situation before that." Hickerson replied, "The attack, so far as I was concerned, came without warning, sir, and it was news to me."

Unfortunately for Hickerson, Senator McCarran was familiar with the secret testimony of Admiral Hillenkoetter before the same committee the year before. Senator McCarran drew a series of piecemeal and unwilling admissions from the witness. Hickerson acknowledged that there had been warnings. Senator Ferguson wanted to know what the State Department had done about those warnings. Ferguson asked whether the department had "a plan laid out as to what you were going to do." Hickerson replied, "We had done some thinking about that."

Senator Ferguson. Well, thinking is rather indefinite. What had you done on paper? What had you planned to do?

Mr. Hickerson. We had planned to take it to the United Nations for immediate action.

Senator Ferguson. Did you have a proposed resolution drawn up?

Mr. Hickerson. We did not have a proposed resolution drawn up on Korea because we did not know when an attack might come.

Senator Ferguson. Then you did not have a plan.

Mr. Hickerson. We knew we were going to take it to the United Nations. We knew in general what we were going to say.

Senator Ferguson. That did not take much thinking because that was your department.

Mr. Hickerson. Yes. We had a skeleton of a resolution here first . . . but only in very rough outline form.

So the Assistant Secretary of State who began by saying that the attack came "without warning" ended by admitting that warnings had been received, preparations discussed, and "a skeleton of a resolution . . . but only in very rough outline form" drawn up for submission to the U. N. The day after Hickerson testified before the Senate Appropriations Committee, Acheson put those two MacArthur intelligence documents into the record of the MacArthur inquiry. But Hickerson's testimony and Acheson's MacArthur documents attracted little attention, and Acheson did not point up their significance.

It would appear that there are skeletons hidden in the Administration's closet as in MacArthur's. Willoughby's article inadvertently opened another crack in what appears to be a bipartisan wall of silence about the beginnings of the Korean war. If there was good reason to suspect that an attack from the north was brewing, why were not public opinion and the U. N. alerted, North Korea warned? MacArthur was not slow to alert public opinion on Formosa, which was also outside his sphere of authority. Similar warnings have been utilized when there were reports of preparations by the Soviet bloc to attack Yugoslavia. The week before the war broke out Dulles was in Korea conferring with Rhee; General Bradley and Secretary of Defense Johnson were in Tokyo conferring with MacArthur. Why did they say nothing about the possible danger? The question was not put to Bradley and Johnson in the MacArthur inquiry. Dulles was not even summoned.

ACHESON'S answer about the failure to take these warnings seriously deserves to be carefully considered, for it raises another possibility. "The view was generally held," Acheson told the MacArthur inquiry, "that since the Communists had far from exhausted the potentialities for obtaining their objectives through guerrilla and psychological warfare, political pressure and intimidation, such means would probably continue to be used rather than overt military aggression." This coincided with Willoughby's own estimate in his cable of March 25, 1950. "The most probable course of North Korean action, this spring or summer," MacArthur's G-2 advised Washington in that cable, "is furtherance of its attempt to overthrow the South Korean government by the creation of chaotic conditions in the republic through guerrilla activities and psychological warfare."

The moment chosen did seem a poor one for the North. On the preceding Monday a newly elected South Korean Assembly had convened in Seoul with an overwhelming anti-Rhee majority. It seemed folly to attack a government which might so soon be transformed from within. The Russians were boycotting the U. N. in protest against the failure to seat Red China, and there would be no one at Lake Success to veto counter-action against a North Korean attack. On the other hand, Rhee might

have felt that it was better to provoke an attack than wait for one under circumstances which promised to become increasingly less favorable to himself. It was too soon decided that the North Koreans were lying when they said they went over to the offensive that Sunday morning after repelling three attacks from the South.

This, if true, would excuse neither the political folly nor the aggressive magnitude of the North's response; both sides were spoiling for a showdown. Attacks repulsed that quickly and easily could have differed little from countless similar incidents which had precipitated many outbreaks of fighting during the preceding months along that tumultuous border. But a "civil war"—the phrase is from that cable of Willoughby's—so provoked would call for different treatment from that emotional world mobilization into which the United Nations was stampeded. It would hardly excuse that quick protectorate over Formosa so long desired by MacArthur and Chiang and so quickly put into effect in the wake of the Korean outbreak. As Gunther reported, "At this period not many people thought that the Chinese would enter the Korean war. One story was, in fact, to the effect that they deplored it—strange as this may seem now. For the North Koreans, aggression had, for the moment at least, cost Mao Tse-tung a prize he coveted above all—Formosa."

"I do not believe," Secretary Acheson told the MacArthur inquiry, "that there was a failure of intelligence." There was certainly a failure of the U. N. to look before it leaped, and a failure of frankness on the part of MacArthur and the State Department in dealing with the public. The hypothesis here suggested of a deliberate feint from the south to provoke a North Korean attack

prematurely and bring American and U. N. support for Rhee would explain a curious story told by Gunther. He was lunching with "two important members of the occupation" the day the war began, when one was called to the phone and "came back and whispered, 'A big story has just broken. The South Koreans have attacked North Korea.'" The war began at 4:20 a.m. Lunch time was about eight hours later. Gunther dismisses the incident lightly. "The fact that the first information reaching Tokyo," Gunther writes, "as relayed to our party, was of an attack by South Korea on North, instead of vice versa, is not particularly important. The message may have been garbled in transmission. Nobody knew anything much at headquarters the first few hours, and probably people were taken in by the blatant, corrosive lies of the North Korean radio." Maybe. It would be interesting to ask MacArthur and Willoughby whether they were still dependent on the North Korean radio that many hours after the war began.

One item should be added which Willoughby did not see fit to discuss in his "Truth About Korea." An intelligence staff officer during a briefing at MacArthur's HQ in Tokyo on July 30 made the curious statement that "the North Korean army had not carried out its full mobilization plan at the time the war began June 25 . . . that only six full divisions had been ready for combat when the invasion started, although the North Korean war plans called for thirteen to fifteen" (Walter Sullivan dispatch from Tokyo, *New York Times*, July 31). The intelligence officer offered no theory that day to explain why North Korea should launch an invasion before it was fully ready. Perhaps some day General Willoughby will explain.

Adenauer in London

Paris

THE cloven hoof of territorial revision emerged from under the well-pressed trousers of Dr. Konrad Adenauer when he came to Paris a fortnight ago. And territorial revision, as every sane person knows, can mean war. This is one of the things that have heightened French interest in Adenauer's visit to London. What is he up to, and what response will he get from the British Conservatives, so many of whom have a soft spot for Germany, and had it even in Hitler's time? Part of the Conservative press has been positively gushing over Adenauer. Sebastian Haffner, oracle of the *Sunday Observer*, described him as "the greatest German statesman since Bismarck," and without further ado proceeded to advocate a British-German alliance, with France as the

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

third—and presumably junior—partner. "A clear understanding on territorial policy in Eastern Europe," Haffner wrote, "would have to be the chief element of this tripartite alliance. It would have to include, on the British and French side, full diplomatic support for German national unity, and a German readiness for some territorial compromise with Poland." The last phrase means of course a Polish readiness for some territorial compromise with Germany—but Mr. Haffner has a tactful way of putting things.

There was always a marked difference between the Labor and the Conservative approach to Germany, particularly to Dr. Adenauer. The Labor government had a good deal of friction with the Germans—over dismantlement, over Helgoland, and much else—and Adenauer

himself was deposed from his post of Burgomaster of Cologne by Sir Brian Robertson. The present High Commissioner, Sir Ivone Kirkpatrick, still remembered by many as a convinced Chamberlainite in the Munich days, has been patiently working for a German-British rapprochement. He even arranged for Adenauer's visit to London before the British elections. Whether under a Labor government Adenauer would have been received in London with quite the same "crowned head" honors we do not know. The Labor government was not keen on German participation in Western defense, though it agreed to it in principle. Herbert Morrison as Foreign Secretary convinced the French that he would support them in their resistance to turning the European army into a mere screen for German rearmament. What is the Conservative position on this?

While Adenauer is the chief exponent of European "federalism," there is no doubt that, unlike the German Socialists, he is perfectly willing to have Britain excluded. He does not particularly want Britain in the Schuman Plan, still less in the European army. British feeling about German rearmament is mixed. In the Labor Party a strong element is in favor of unifying Germany first and leaving the question of rearmament for later—and even then limiting it as far as possible. At the same time it is realized that this is a blind alley, for the Soviet Union will not allow Germany to be united if it is to be rearmed. Therefore persons in both Germany and England who want a united Germany but are unwilling to commit themselves to German demilitarization are driven to accept a German settlement "from positions of strength." This is even truer of the Conservatives, but the indications are that they will be very careful in approaching the question of German unity—all the more so since Adenauer, as distinct from a large part of German opinion, thinks the time is not ripe. In other words, the "positions of strength" are not quite strong enough yet.

IT IS all a pretty dangerous business, and the Conservative government no doubt realizes it. For one thing, as seen from Paris, Churchill will be unwilling to commit himself to a forced unification of Germany, or to a revision of the eastern border, or perhaps even to large-scale German rearmament before seeing Stalin. He rightly considers that Germany is the key to an East-West understanding, and he is apparently anxious to avoid irreparable damage to its achievement. Whether this plan will receive the blessings of the United States when Churchill visits Washington is another matter.

Some French papers profess to see Anglo-French rivalry in the "cultivation" of Adenauer. As *Combat* puts it, "Sir Ivone Kirkpatrick has been trying for months now to free Adenauer of his embarrassing pro-French tendencies." The Labor ministers, the paper goes

on, did not really care much for Adenauer; he was too Rhenish, too Catholic, too "Latin" in temperament. They would have preferred to have West Germany headed by Karl Arnold, who represents the left wing of the Christian Democrats. The Labor Party was so deeply shocked by the revival of German nationalist and Nazi tendencies that Ernest Bevin decided against the release of Kesselring and Manstein from prison. But Churchill was among those who joined the British committee for the defense of Manstein, war criminal though he undoubtedly was. Adenauer is probably hoping that Churchill will now have Manstein liberated.

Whether or not Adenauer gets satisfaction on this point, it is thought unlikely that the Churchill government at this stage will block all rapprochement with Moscow by agreeing to large-scale German rearmament, especially in view of the strong *révanchiste* tendencies developing in Germany. Certainly Mr. Churchill must have been disturbed by the speech delivered at the congress of the German Party (Deutsche Partei) by Adenauer's Minister of Commerce, Hans Seehofer, which asked not only for the revision of the agreements under which the eastern provinces of Germany passed into the possession of Poland but for revision of the Versailles treaty as well. Herr Seehofer's speech can hardly be dismissed as of no importance, for the Deutsche Partei is one of the three parties that form the Bonn government.

Moreover, a strong Germany might well start, if not a war, a balance-of-power game which could lead to a new Rapallo policy. Nor is it forgotten in London that if the Russians are really willing, under general pressure from the West, to revise the German eastern border, they have quite a few cards up their sleeve. Thus a tripartite agreement among Germany, Russia, and Poland, with Poland receiving compensation in the east for what it may relinquish in the west, is not out of the question. Germany would naturally much prefer to settle the border question without becoming a battlefield—an atomic battlefield at that—in the process.

There is another aspect of Anglo-German relations which has attracted much attention in Paris. German, as well as Japanese, competition is beginning to worry British export industries. As the result, a seemingly attractive but very dangerous idea, launched nobody quite knows where, is enjoying considerable support in British industrial quarters and is also favored by Sir Ivone Kirkpatrick. Germany, it is suggested, should concentrate not on peace production but on war production, and the Ruhr should become "the arsenal of the free world." This would lessen German commercial competition and enable Britain and France to spend less energy on armaments and more on their export trade. Whether the idea is equally attractive to Adenauer and the German industrialists may be doubted.

Hans Jahn Fights Rearmament

BY KAY BOYLE

Frankfurt, Germany

HANS JAHN, Social Democratic Bundestag member and head of the Railway Workers' Union (the *Bundesbahngewerkschaft*) of West Germany, is a tough, stocky, outspoken man of great warmth and friendliness, as different from the portfolio-carrying German bureaucrats and business men as fresh air is different from the established official air of Germany—a climate which anyone who has spent any time here knows no bombs have managed to dispel. But Jahn is a shrewd man too, and in his acumen he has relinquished nothing to the officials and industrialists to whom he is vigorously opposed, retaining through the years of opposition to them his blunt speech and his workingman's stout energy. He was a locomotive engineer, once, and now that he is over sixty—and looks a robust fifty—his hands are still the strong, square hands of the manual worker. It is a good thing to see such a man behind a desk in Germany. He leans across that desk to reach for a piece of paper, and he draws diagrams on it with quick, sure strokes to illustrate his statements, so that no confusion will remain about what he has to say.

What he has to say is that the Schuman Plan, if put into effect in its present form, would be the first step toward World War III, that Chancellor Adenauer represents only a negligible portion of the German people, and that the German trade-union federation (the *Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund*, or D. G. B.) will continue to stand firm against rearmament.

"The percentage of organized workers in Germany is higher now than before 1933 and is increasing every day," Jahn said during one of my recent talks with him. His own union, which now numbers close to 450,000 members, represents 86.37 per cent of the railway workers of West Germany, a percentage which places it high in the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. "The D. G. B. has the confidence of the German workingman," Jahn said. "He knows that we're fighting not only in the trade unions but in the government and in industry to keep the power out of the hands of any single man or group of men. We've had enough totalitarianism to do us for some time," he said with a wry smile. "In 1930 I talked to an international congress in London, and I gave warning then that the state of latent war in which we lived created the morally sick conditions which could only lead to the outbreak of another kind of war."

KAY BOYLE is well known as novelist and short-story writer. She is now living in Germany.

I told them that in the measure in which we succeeded in healing this moral sickness, which had been brought on by the uncertainty and sufferings of our time, so would the power of Hitler and fascism decline. I came back to Germany soon after that," Jahn said, "and began my preparations for preventive action. Over a thousand meetings of railwaymen were organized throughout Germany. Our slogan was: 'Today we appeal, tomorrow we strike.' But in May, 1933, Germany's Free Trade Union Federation was wiped out by official act, and its leaders can be counted among Hitler's first victims, the trade unions the first territory to be occupied in Hitler's name, the confiscation of trade-union property the first official Nazi swindle. But I tell you, the German trade unions will not let anything like it happen again. When trade-union men from Holland say to me now, 'Why did the German trade unions let democracy down in the nineteen-thirties?' I answer, 'Yes, we are guilty. We failed to make ourselves strong enough,' but I cannot help adding," Jahn said with a bright, shrewd look of humor in his eye, " 'Why did your Queen Wilhelmina sign an order expelling me from Holland in 1935 when I took refuge from the Gestapo on Dutch soil?' "

Expelled from Holland, Jahn spent five years in Belgium and Luxembourg, and when the Germans overran the Continent in the spring of 1940, he fled through France, Spain, and Portugal, and eventually reached England. Jahn's wife and young child were imprisoned in Luxembourg, and his wife was sentenced to four years of hard labor, which was followed by four years in the Ravensbruck concentration camp. In England, Jahn organized sabotage groups of railway and other workers, and in 1943 and 1944, worked in Bari, Italy, where he was active in the reorganization of the Italian trade unions.

"The matter of democracy in the German trade unions has to take the German character into consideration," Jahn said in answer to a question I had put him. "There are many things I know we can change in Germany, but changing the German character is not a job I would like to undertake. The German is not a revolutionary, unfortunately, and he is reluctant to act if his rights have not been established by actual law. We fight for our rights through social reform, bringing pressure to bear not on big business, as you do in America, but on the state. So we must count on political parties sympathetic to our aims to put through protective labor legislation. We resort to the weapon of the strike, for instance, only as a last extremity. Therefore we're accused of being theorists,

doctrinaires, who fight for a vague concept like code-termination instead of for higher wages and better living conditions as your trade unions do in America. Well, let me tell you that in spite of all this, 13,000 of our men walked out in the eastern sector of Berlin, striking against the Soviet administration. That was in 1949," Jahn said, "and they stayed out for over a month, and went back to work only when they got what they wanted, their wages and pensions paid in west-zone marks. Even though the Soviets reneged on their contract two days later, it was the first time the workers, any workers, had brought the Soviets to terms and forced them to a compromise. I was proud it was railwaymen who brought it off," he said.

I ASKED Jahn about the criticism made by American labor experts that "the structure of the trade-union movement in Germany is not based on power from the membership but from the top officials, who appoint the local leaders."

"That has nothing to do with the facts," Jahn said. "All delegates and officials are nominated by the union membership. The only restriction imposed from higher up is that the nominee may not be a Communist or a former or neo-Nazi. We're as much against the nationalist extremists as we are against the extremists on the opposite side," he said. "While the governing body of the D. G. B. has the right to veto the members' choice, it has no authority to name another candidate in his place," Jahn said, and he spoke of Christian Fette, newly elected head of the D. G. B., as "no more than the voice, the arm, the will of the D. G. B. membership." If this were true, I asked him, then why had Fette recently told the foreign press that if it came to a question of the Schuman Plan in its present form or no Schuman Plan at all, he (Fette) was in favor of the Schuman Plan. "Mr. Fette was expressing a personal opinion," Jahn said, and he referred to the statement made by the General Council of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (I. C. F. T. U.) at the September congress in Blackpool. "Early in 1951," this statement reads in part, "the Schuman Plan treaty was initialed by governments, and at a meeting in April the subcommittee agreed that the efforts of the trade-union centers of participating countries, in cooperation with the I. C. F. T. U., to surround the Schuman Plan with adequate social safeguards and to secure satisfactory trade-union representation had been rewarded by substantial improvements on the original proposals." "The fight for trade-union representation on an equal footing with all the other organizations concerned in the Schuman proposals still goes on," Jahn said.

On one of my visits to Jahn, I came away with half a dozen issues of a miniature newspaper, numbers covering the past six months of its two years of publica-

tion. They lie on my desk as I write. It measures four and a quarter inches by six inches, this little paper, and it is composed of sixteen, double-columned pages. It is called *Stimme der Freiheit* (*Voice of Freedom*), and at first glance it might be taken for one of those compact, accomplished, underground publications which came from the clandestine presses of French Resistance groups during the German occupation, and like these it gives neither the name of the editor, or the publisher, nor the location of the printing-press on the masthead.

The *Stimme*, which is distributed in the eastern zone at the rate of 40,000 copies a month, is packed with condensed news reports, with telling statistics, with humorous stories local in flavor, and with excellent cartoons. The value of the information it gives is immeasurably increased by the fact that the *Stimme* is free of the onus of being published by the occupation authorities. On the back page of each issue an identical message is printed in block letters in one corner of the page. "We Count on You! You Can Depend on Us!" is written out clearly and boldly, month after month, like a personal letter written by the workingman of the western zone to the workingman of the eastern zone of Germany. Hans Jahn is the editor of this paper, and he is proud that the *Stimme der Freiheit* owes nothing to any political party or to any government, but is supported entirely by trade-union funds. He has good reason to believe that his name is as respected by east-zone railway workers as it is by the 440,000 odd members of his union here.

"To them, we're a window opening on the west," Jahn said to me last week.

If it is into the hands of these people that the *Stimme der Freiheit* goes, it does not mean that the circulation of the paper ends there. Jahn estimates a minimum of ten readers per copy, and is convinced that half a million people in the eastern zone read these sixteen-page, pocket-size sheets with regularity. It is interesting to have a look at the kind of information these half-million people are given. One issue of the *Stimme* reports the scale of pay in the Soviet army: a private is paid from 30 to 40 rubles a month, and a lieutenant is paid 800 rubles. A chart compares the purchasing power of the working hour in the east zone with that of the west zone. It goes, in part, as follows:

	East Zone	West Zone
1 lb. of bread	2 hrs., 45 min.	25 min.
1 light bulb	8½ hrs.	1 hr., 20 min.
1 cake of soap	2½ hrs.	1 hr.
1 lady's dress	135 hrs.*	35 hrs.

* If bought in the special-privilege H. O. stores, available only to Communist Party members.

One issue devotes a page and a quarter to listing some sixty plants in East Berlin and in the east zone which are at present producing armaments. Firm, location, and product are given. The list runs in part:

Pittler-Werke	Leipzig	Anti-aircraft parts
Maschinenfabrik		
Wolff	Magdeburg	Tank turrets
Mimosa	Dresden	Special airplane photographic film
RFT Kron and Co.	Berlin	Waterproof field telephones

Another issue of *Stimme* breaks down the east-zone People's Police into units, for the benefit of the working-man, and states that in compliance with an order signed by Inspector Zorn all *Volkspolizei* must make use of an APO number instead of street or area addresses so that the location of their training centers will not be generally known. It describes the training of *Volkspolizei* officers who have been sent to Korea, via Russia, as military observers, and of those being groomed for U-boat and naval service. On the front page of this same issue

appears the text of President Truman's message to Congress asking eight and a half billion dollars for the foreign-aid program.

Jahn believes it is too early to speculate about whether the D. G. B. will resort to militant methods of protest against rearmament, or against the ratification of the Schuman Plan in its present form, or against Adenauer's domestic and foreign policy. But he is convinced that further participation by D. G. B. representatives in the economy will become impossible if the present economic and social policies of the Federal Republic (read Adenauer) persist. "As far as militant measures go," Jahn says, "I can speak with certainty and authority of my own organization only. If freedom, democracy, and the dignity of man are attacked from any side, we are prepared to use every means in our power to preserve them. This is 1951, not 1933."

The Public's Image of Big Business

BY REINHARD BENDIX

WHAT do the American people think of the social efficiency of big business? In the more than sixty years that have passed since the adoption of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, they have had ample time to reflect upon the problem. Nation-wide advertising by the mass-production industries has created an image of "big business" as a symbol of American culture, but whether the public has accepted this image is not certain. To find out, General Motors, early in 1950, made a grant of \$50,000 to the Institute of Social Research of the University of Michigan. The institute's Survey Research Center has just published the results of the investigation.

Analyzing the opinions of a national sample of 1,227 persons, the report tells us what Americans think of big business. But this raises another question: How much importance should be attached to what they think? Will today's public opinion about big business affect the future actions of government, of big business, of any organization whose power makes it worth consideration in this context? I think it would be premature to attempt an answer to this question. It is possible that the report will have the effect of making the public-relations campaigns of various giant enterprises somewhat more sophisticated than they have been in the past. It is rather improbable that it will be used by groups favoring more vigorous federal action against monopoly and business concentra-

tion. By and large the public seems to approve of big business, though it has a critical attitude toward the abuse of power by the large corporations. In any case, the way in which this knowledge of public opinion is used by the powers that be will help us to assess the role of the social sciences in the development of democratic institutions.

The public's image of big business has many facets. The report examines a number of them, but it reminds us that various opinions which can be related statistically are not necessarily related in the awareness of the individual. Hence when we speak of the public image of big business, we refer to some extent to a statistical fiction.

The first point to be noted is the remarkable agreement among the respondents. While fine distinctions are drawn by the study, many of them are probably more apparent than real. Approximately 90 per cent of the persons interviewed could identify "big business" in terms indicating an understanding of the question. Some 76 per cent thought that the good features of big business outweighed the bad, though this response probably reflected the basic optimism characteristic of the American people. Almost none of those who in the main took a favorable view were uncritical of the effect of business bigness. And none who were very critical of it denied its important productive functions. Further analysis of opinions concerning the beneficial or adverse effects of business bigness revealed only minor variations between the many (76 per cent) who emphasized the posi-

REINHARD BENDIX is associate professor of sociology and social institutions at the University of California. He is the author of "Social Science and the Distrust of Reason."

tive aspects and the few (10 per cent) who emphasized the negative. The judgments of the persons questioned depended in part on their knowledge; on the whole one can say that knowledge about big business is widespread. Although the issues did not seem to arouse people's emotions, their awareness and concern were evident.

Six hundred people were asked their view of the relative power of big business as compared with state governments, labor unions, businesses that are not big, and the national government. About 37 per cent ranked big business first or second in this list, and 68 per cent ranked it first, second, or third. The judgments involved in such ranking are difficult to evaluate, and to ask those interviewed what power position they desired for big business—and what power position they expected it to occupy in twenty years—merely compounded the difficulty. It should be noted, however, that a majority saw the power-position of the labor unions as higher than that of big business:

	<i>View of present position of the two institutions</i>	<i>Desired position of the two institutions</i>
	<i>Percentages</i>	
Big business above labor unions	41	54
Two institutions equal	4	7
Labor unions above big business	55	39

Although a majority wanted big business to be more powerful than labor unions, they did not want to see it become the first power in the country. About 34 per cent wanted it to retain the power it now has, but 24 per cent of these believed that big business now ranks third or fourth in power compared with the other organizations mentioned. A total of 42 per cent desired a decrease in the power which big business holds in their estimate at the present time; 16 per cent desired an increase.

Fully 44 per cent of the persons interviewed believed that "smart management" was responsible for the spectacular growth of modern large-scale industry. Another 32 per cent thought that the workers' efficiency and the production of satisfactory articles accounted for this development—there was some duplication between these two groups. The optimistic majority (76 per cent) and the pessimistic minority (10 per cent) differed among themselves.

<i>Reasons given for industrial growth</i>	<i>Optimists</i>	<i>Pessimists</i>
Productive qualities and activities	80 per cent	67 per cent
Extrinsic factors (like luck, financial backing, war economy, etc.)	30 per cent	47 per cent

That is to say, the optimists are more likely to credit industrial managers with personal responsibility for their business success than are the pessimists; the latter attribute success more to extrinsic factors, with special em-

phasis on the availability of credit. But it is apparent that this is a matter of emphasis, not a hard and fast distinction.

Big business was not seen as the first "power" in this country, 68 per cent of the respondents believing that the national government controls business, at least in some respects. This belief corresponded to the explicit preference for government control shown by 71 per cent of the respondents, though this preference varied somewhat with the conception of the power position of big business. Among other questions explored were the amount of readily available information concerning business concentration (fairly large), the proportion of people emotionally involved with these questions (about 25 per cent), whether an individual's opinion on them affected his preference for large or small retail stores.

ANOTHER set of questions dealt with the perceived effects of business bigness on wages, job security, managerial attitudes toward employees, rate of profit, quality of production. The answers can only be summarized here. The over-all approval of big business was reflected in the number of respects in which large companies were believed to compare favorably with small ones. To be sure, there was no lack of criticism: job security in big business is not what it should be, management is "impersonal and distant," products could be sold for less than they are, big business exercises too much power over small business. Yet big business has helped to create jobs (so 78 per cent declared), its plants are efficient, it has helped to develop new products by maintaining research facilities (80 per cent). The most significant of these favorable reactions to big business was perhaps the belief that it had been a major stimulus to employment. Of 308 persons who were asked, 236 indicated that there should be some group or agency responsible for providing employment. Though both the question and the answers to it were vague, people seemed to favor big business because it provides jobs, but would look to the government to provide jobs if business failed. It is noteworthy that more than 50 per cent of every occupational and income group favored governmental provision for full employment in a depression; the idea was even more strongly supported by low-income groups.

One is tempted to speculate about the implications of these data, and I believe that the study would have profited by doing so. There is, for example, a close similarity between these popular beliefs and Joseph Schumpeter's theory of monopoly. Schumpeter asserts that business concentration has led to a vast increase in productivity. Monopolistic devices are simply temporary buttresses to secure large capital investments against precipitous market fluctuations. And the large monopolistic enterprises are primarily responsible for the process

of technical innovation, a process of "creative destruction" which hastens the obsolescence of previous capital investments to the advantage of the new product. Though stated in much more sophisticated terms, this theory is not too different from the popular belief that big business is good because it creates employment and fosters technical innovation. Some of the people interviewed seemed to realize that the belief in the innovating function of big business is not compatible with the expectation that it can provide security of employment. At any rate, many seemed to remember enough of the depression to question the ability of big business to provide job security, even though it has created many jobs.

One question of which we get only a glimpse in the report is the relation between the popular quest for security and the despair of the individual who feels oppressed by the impersonality of large organizations. A significant minority held that some agency should guarantee employment; another group found managers "impersonal and distant" in dealing with their employees. This glimpse is not enough. How much do a sense of

insecurity and a feeling that the boss is indifferent really disturb people, and how much do the intellectuals impute these concerns to employees for reasons of their own? Taking a negative approach to business and the mentality of the business man is so much a matter of course in intellectual circles that it came as something of a surprise to find a majority of the people interviewed in favor of big business, not because it is "big," but because it is "business." Their commendation of big business despite considerable apprehension concerning its power is presumably due to an appreciation of the services and goods which big business has created. At any rate, when one sees housewives working sixty hours a week in fruit canneries during the summer at exhausting and disagreeable jobs—all for the sake of buying a television set—one develops a rationale for a positive view of big business, which Veblen perceived more clearly than Marx. It is hard to quarrel with a study for not answering questions which it did not raise, but it is pertinent to suggest such questions for further investigation.

THE BATTLE FOR FREE SCHOOLS

Four-Point Agenda for Education

BY THEODORE BRAMELD

UNLESS the planet blows out its collective brains, our schools will survive. In their way they are just as indispensable to any organized society as food, shelter, and clothing. But will the schools that survive be good schools? It is possible that they will have become the tools of a tyrannical power, their entire effort expended in anaesthetizing mind and emotion—and with what may be astonishing efficiency well before the bleak era portrayed in Orwell's "1984." But it is equally possible that American education will become what it was intended to be by some at least of its great founders—a mighty agency through which ordinary folk in an evolving democratic order actually determine together what they most want and how they can get it.

If we assume that something of this kind is what ultimately is meant by *good* education, there is not a day to lose. The indifference of too many of us to what goes on in our schools and colleges is the strongest weapon of those economic-political rings whose tactics press us closer and closer to the edge of a home-grown totali-

tarian counter-revolution. Parents simply cannot continue to pay mere lip-service to an educational system in which, as in "virtue," they all believe. Elementary and secondary teachers cannot continue to be the yes-men of unrepresentative school boards or dictatorial administrators. Professors in their laboratories or studies cannot remain smugly insulated from the threats to their integrity lurking in the shadows of every college campus.

What, then can they—can we—do? Based on the preceding articles in this series but extending beyond them, here is a minimum four-point agenda.

I

The community must be brought into the life of the school and the school into that of the community at every vital point. In Pasadena more than a thousand citizens on more than a hundred committees have been trying to discover why their schools blew up about a year ago, to learn what the program of ex-Superintendent Willard Goslin was all about, and to salvage what they can. Why did Pasadena wait until after the majority of voters had been hoodwinked? Had these citizens gone to work earlier, had they opened channels of clear communication into the homes on every street, into business, labor, and religious organizations, Goslin's temperate

THEODORE BRAMELD, editor of this series, is professor of educational philosophy at New York University and author of "Patterns of Educational Philosophy." His article is the eighth and last of the series.

program of education, based as much of it was on validated findings in psychology and the social sciences, would probably now be moving forward at a brisk pace.

Not all communities wait until the damage is done. Cross-sectional councils of citizens are at work in several hundred cities from Pleasantville, New York, to Eugene, Oregon. Connecticut and Wisconsin are among the states that have studied their schools in dozens of grassroots discussion groups. At many of these, round-tables of teachers, parents, and university consultants thresh out new methods of learning, the teaching of controversial questions, recreational programs, school budgets—every small or large difficulty confronting the ordinary school. In some places—Holtville, Alabama, is a famous instance—the school has become the nucleus of a community molecule: energy flows continuously in and out as children turn the environment into a living classroom and as farmers, workers, and housewives ask the school for all sorts of help from canning to carpentry to human relations.

There are dangers, of course, to guard against. For one thing, school-community programs and citizens' councils are not always representative. Pupils are often ignored as fellow-planners. It is difficult to enlist the active interest of minority groups: Negro and Mexican American parents, and working-class parents generally, often stay away for fear they won't be welcome. And if some sections of the community are forgotten or reticent, others are too eager: professional patriots or entrenched chambers of commerce sometimes gain control, and in at least one suburban school studied by the writer the Communist Party moved in for a short but devastating time.

For another thing, only great patience and skill in building group cooperation will hold the council together for year-to-year work. Unlike the typical parent-teacher meeting, where one finds much passive listening to "experts," the community council will succeed only when the school people learn *not* to talk down, and when an atmosphere of common respect, concern, and responsibility pervades every gathering.

I suggest to the Ford Foundation that some of its money be used for launching a nation-wide movement for community-school programs and councils, for developing experts in group participation to help set them up, and for conducting controlled experiments to test their effects. Meanwhile nothing except lassitude prevents Four Corners or Megalopolis from going ahead under its own steam.

II

The teaching profession must unite in a strong and independent organization. No other large group of comparable training suffers so miserably from organizational anemia. If the teaching profession is to become strong, it will be by recognizing what other professionals,

as well as skilled workers, learned long ago without benefit of physicists or biologists, who say the same thing about all objects of nature—that the whole is greater and more potent than the sum of its parts.

Of about a million teachers of all kinds in the United States, scarcely half are members of the National Education Association, American Federation of Teachers, (A. F. of L.), American Association of University Professors, or other national organization. Compare this total with the national unions of doctors, lawyers, clothing workers, automobile workers. The members of any one of these four groups have an average higher income, more security, and better protection against exploitative conditions than do the teachers of America.

And even teachers who have joined a national organization remain comparatively weak. For all the commendable achievements of the N. E. A., the plain truth is that on most matters of policy it is dominated by the administrators, who on too many occasions seem more concerned to placate their school boards than to further the interests of the teachers under them. The converse of this situation is that countless teachers, with notable exceptions, seem more concerned to placate their superiors than either to gain their own rights or to serve their students with adventuresome methods or rewarding courses.

The A. F. T. also leaves much to be desired. It has failed thus far to devise a strategy that would break down the predominantly middle-class ideology and anti-labor bias of the great majority of teachers. It is frequently more preoccupied with matters of salary and teaching load than with the formulation of sound educational philosophy or practice. It has even become the fellow-traveler of its traditional rival, the N. E. A., and of groups infinitely worse, by its refusal to admit "totalitarian" teachers to membership—a refusal that has the effect of shooing teachers still farther away from any kind of classroom work that might be construed as critical of the status quo.

Yet with all its weaknesses the A. F. T. offers the best immediate expectation of a nation-wide, autonomous union of teachers backed by millions of other skilled workers. While the policy of A. F. T. headquarters is sometimes opportunistic if not timid, it can already be challenged successfully by its locals. Substantial gains were won by the striking Pawtucket, Rhode Island, local, despite the no-strike policy of the national body. At the convention in Grand Rapids, Michigan, last summer a large and vocal majority of delegates voted to grant no further charters to segregated locals. Other constricting features of official policy can be modified in the same way. The job ahead is to get unorganized teachers to join the A. F. T. and then to strive for a thorough overhauling of policy to make it reflect less the brittle old-line unionism of the A. F. of L. and more the

standards of a profession ready to defend courageous teaching, experimental methods, and the intellectual freedom enshrined in the Bill of Rights.

Meanwhile teachers should join other professional organizations in greater numbers. Excellent ones dealing with almost every phase of educational theory and practice exist but are comparatively feeble. Nor should the N. E. A. be boycotted; rather, its strong controls from above should be supplanted by stronger controls from below. Lastly, inter-organizational policies and programs are needed on such specifics as higher salaries and firmer tenure.

III

Financial support for American schools must be doubled or, more reasonably in terms of needs and capacity to pay, tripled. The most important means to this end is, without doubt, federal aid earmarked exclusively for public schools and colleges. How to get the necessary appropriation bills through a reluctant Congress is the knot that no amount of struggle has so far untied. But any hard-hitting agenda for schools for the people is missing its chance unless it considers several fresh strategies.

One is for all professional organizations which seek federal aid for the schools to get together in a national Political Action Committee for Education (P. A. C. E.). This committee should campaign militantly for the election of Congressmen firmly on record as favoring bills of the kind introduced by Representative Graham Barden. The activities of P. A. C. E. would bring the needs of the schools into the spotlight of political attention, out of the shadows where they have been so easily ignored.

It would be good strategy for P. A. C. E. to establish close connections with as many non-educational groups as possible—with the Farmers' Union, for example—not only for the purpose of obtaining federal aid but also to get more money for the schools in particular areas. In campaigning for increased school taxes or enlightened school-board candidates, the friends of education often fail to state their case persuasively, or to utilize political techniques familiar to organizations toughened by legislative struggles. Organized labor has an excellent record of support for the public schools, but in many cities it exerts no political pressure to make sure its children's interests are well served educationally. The heavy weighting of school and college boards with business and professional persons could be overcome if labor and its friends showed sufficient concern.

But such action would be far from enough. If the A. F. of L., the C. I. O., the Farmers' Union, and the Railroad Brotherhoods really want American schools to be good schools, they must use some of their own funds to further that objective. For example, the falsehoods in just one of Allen Zoll's widely read pamphlets ("Progressive Education Breeds Juvenile Delinquency") should

be exposed through the distribution of a million other pamphlets summarizing the simple findings of research about functional learning. The A. F. of L. spends more money on radio time alone than Zoll's last annual budget (reported at \$45,000), while an organization like the American Education Fellowship, which for over thirty years has been a leading exponent of John Dewey's experimental theories, can barely survive on a budget one-sixth that size.

These proposals do not preclude the cooperation of the National Citizens' Commission for the Public Schools, the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, or other state and national groups. P. A. C. E. should invite their support, however, on terms that would not compromise its stand on non-parochial federal aid, academic freedom, or any other principle essential to the educational well-being of children in a free democracy.

IV

Instead of retreating, the school system of America must take the offensive in advocating and testing new designs for education. The supply of such designs far outruns the demand. The archives of teachers' colleges are stuffed to overflowing with good ideas that never get beyond the paper stage. I will select three.

First, pilot projects in teacher training, supported both by foundations and taxation, are required to prepare leaders for the following ground-breaking tasks: to determine the great common denominators of modern knowledge as minimum equipment for the general education of every normal person (the Foundation for Integrated Education is indispensable in this work); to provide every teacher with on-the-spot experience in the community and school environment, in other countries as well as his own; to provide study and practice in human relations (psychiatry, anthropology, social psychology, and close cooperation with UNESCO are all essential here); and to examine painstakingly the differences and similarities among the chief contemporary philosophies of education, with a view to determining not only why they reflect great cultural cleavages but how a consensus may be sought as to which philosophy should undergird schools of the people in fact as well as word.

Secondly, extensive projects are needed at both ends of the school-life scale. Education is neglectful both of the pre-elementary years, and of the post-high-school and post-college years. Experimental nursery schools and adult learning centers should be established in every state of the union, with allocations of public funds substantial enough to guarantee that they need no longer play the role of educational "poor relations."

Nursery schools are required because if scientists are right in contending that the most crucial years of a per-

son's life are the first six, it is no longer legitimate to leave children under six so exclusively under parent control. Expert guidance in child development is a necessary supplement to home conditioning, even assuming that most public schools train effectively for parenthood, which of course they don't. Post-school education is necessary because adult characters may be so warped by the monstrous influence of radio, television, movies, and the commercial press that they will be unable to distinguish falsehood from truth, right from wrong, unless ways can be found to teach them how to make the distinction. Adult learning centers, geared to community schools and sensitive to individual motivations, are an important but almost untried means of providing this kind of education.

Finally, schools need to experiment intensively with new ways of attacking controversial ideas. Utilizing all the research results available from such centers as the National Laboratory for Group Development, they should completely revamp their social-studies curricula to permit attack by cooperative methods upon the problems closest to the personal and social interests of young men and women on the threshold of maturity. Teacher-centered class work will then be replaced by group-centered interplay among students and teachers. Instead of assuming that answers to social, economic, and moral questions are written down in books, agreements as to their most promising solutions will be developed inductively with the aid of the maximum number of facts, back-and-forth communication among all members of the learning team, and the utmost encouragement of dissent and criticism.

This means that democratic schools dealing with controversial issues ought to open their doors to their own severest critics, whether of the extreme right or of the extreme left. Even real fascists, if they can be found, and real Communists, if they can be found, should be brought into the classroom and invited to show how they think, where they stand, what their facts purport to be. They should not, however, be allowed to propagandize their doctrines. The safeguard lies in the operation of all such experimental classes by panels of teachers representing a variety of convictions and competent to explain them. In the present typical situation the teacher, being lord of all he surveys, can weight his own "objective" teaching with all sorts of subtle or obtuse biases, whereas under the proposed system he would have to meet others of different convictions on equal terms. The pro-capitalist teacher, who now can indoctrinate his pupils with his own ideas wholesale, would no longer be permitted to do so—any more than the Communist, fascist, Socialist, Democratic, or Republican teacher.

The public school, in this conception, becomes also a public forum for the consideration not just of *some* but of *all* proposals warring in our century for the al-

legiance of the people. If the conception can be realized, it will be the best possible answer to the Soviet apologist who reminds us, when we accuse his schools of warping and omitting, that our own do too.

SCIENCE NOTEBOOK

BY LEONARD ENGEL

A MEASURE of the way the world has changed is the remoteness of the cheery pictures of atomic energy doing the world's work that were drawn five or six years ago. Nowadays one hears only of hydrogen bombs, atomic artillery shells, and other new means of bending the greatest achievement of science—the release of the forces within the atom—to the task of killing.

Still, the atom is being put to some constructive use in medicine and other fields, and should soon be put to more, if only because the atomic-arms program is producing a glut of radioactive material for which there is no important military use. This material is a by-product of uranium fission in the piles that generate plutonium for bombs. When an atom of uranium splits, giving up the neutrons needed both to sustain the reaction and to turn other uranium atoms into plutonium, two or more atoms of intermediate weight are formed which have to be disposed of as waste. Since these are usually violently radioactive, the Hanford plant has so far simply buried them in big underground concrete tanks.

The Atomic Energy Commission recently commissioned the Stanford University Research Institute to see what might be done with this vast amount of radioactive material, equivalent to tens of thousands of times the world supply of radium, and also incomparably greater than the supply of special isotopes produced in the Oak Ridge pile. The Stanford report, just issued, suggests some interesting uses for cheap radioactive fission products. Some, such as self-luminescent signs, are in the gadget class, but "cold sterilization" of foods and drugs would be valuable. A number of pharmaceutical manufacturers and university laboratories have been studying the possibility of using X-rays, electron beams, and other forms of radiation for sterilizing the many drug products that are destroyed by heat. Some of these—anti-biotics, for example—are now sterilized by filtering and then packaged under sterile conditions; others—such as protein preparations for intravenous feeding—cannot be dependably sterilized at all and are therefore seldom used. Fission products could be a very cheap source of radiation for cold sterilization.

Another possible use for them is in gamma-ray inspection of steel girders and the like for flaws. X-ray machines are used for this purpose now, but fission products promise portable inspection devices, so that engineers could check up on bridges and other structures on the spot. Their use in fluorescent lamps, to provide a few electricity-conducting ions, would eliminate the need for the high-voltage transformers built into all fluorescent light fixtures. These and other suggestions in the Stanford report do not add up to the atomic age but provide something of a start.

BOOKS and the ARTS

Young Italy Today

A HERO OF OUR TIME. By Vasco Pratolini. Prentice-Hall. \$3.

CERTAIN works of fiction have because of their subject and the specific moment of their appearance a virtue in excess of their artistic achievement. Such a book is Pratolini's latest novel to reach us in English, "A Hero of Our Time."

The author is usually an unhurried craftsman of sure technique and exceptional aptitude of phrase. His distinction among contemporary Italian writers lies, as Pancrazi has said, in the fact that his literary taste is exemplary: those familiar with his long work on the early years of Fascism as they affected the dwellers on a poor street in Florence, "Tale of Poor Lovers," will agree that Pratolini's naturalism is authentic, never forced, never faked in. (As a worker's son, he knows too intimately what he is talking about to make poverty or the sorry day-to-day expedients of survival alluring.)

But in this book he has hurried, he has put it all down pell-mell, because obviously he felt it very urgent to say—and the result is hurried and urgent, the characters are too obvious to be as forceful as the message the novel contains.

"A Hero of Our Time" is a tract, a defiant scream on the part of the author, a demand that something be done. It is a short book which rushes on from the opening pages to its doom after the last page, chronicling the problems of a boy who has become a thorough Fascist—Sandrino, one of the youths who compose Italy's teen-age scourge today. (These are the youths who are members of the M. S. I., the reborn Fascist movement, and who live huddled together in a frenetic state of unhatched plots, uncommitted acts of sabotage and violence, uncompleted crimes of vengeance. Yet the plots, the violence, and the crimes too, are very present in their lives, effectively inhibiting any rational adjustment of the boys themselves to their country's current pace.)

The background of Pratolini's work is the following historico-political situation: the rebirth of Fascism among the young was at first scoffed at in Rome just after the war, then reluctantly admitted, but still not taken seriously. Meanwhile flocks of disaffected youths, jobless and without personal direction or hope, began to "go along" for the excitement, the sense of belonging, and the undeniable nostalgia of the songs and parades and banner-waving. No active measures were taken then to wean these young men from the "neo-Fascists," as Almirante's group in Rome and similar groups in other cities soon came to be known. The moderate Socialists were too poor in imagination to realize that they, more than any other party, could have captured this block with a serious educative campaign. But from Silone to the gifted young Matteotti, they were too busy being pure and discussing internal party schisms. The Communists made greater headway because essentially they offered not too dissimilar attractions to the late members of the Fascist Youth and the *Figli della lupa*: they offered demonstrations, songs, some party patronage, soup kitchens, club life, and the hope of a job. But the great majority preferred to steer clear of the "reds," perhaps in honor of their Fascist father's ghost. It is among these that the M. I. S. has made its recruits and that Pratolini has gone for the hero of this irritating but important little book.

For American readers, "A Hero of Our Time" presents a first-hand account of one of the many lost youngsters who, more or less ill-adjusted in comparison with the monstrous Sandrino, reap the Nazi and Fascist harvest. The fate, the decline and fall, of Pratolini's adolescent is too abysmal to be other than a dramatic expedient to cloak his parable. This gives the characters in the drama a stock quality which, to me at least, rendered them, with the exception of the widow of a Fascist big shot and the mother of the protagonist, all but unbelievable. (The work is further hampered by an inexcusable translation. For example, *fattore*, or farm overseer, is

translated factor (p. 8); *pallone*, or soccer, as national a game as our baseball, is left in the original throughout, as is *polenta*, or corn meal; also someone should tell Mr. Mosbacher that to jib and to jibe (p. 114) do not mean the same thing.) But what Pratolini has to say is so important that one forgives him the two-dimensional quality, the black-and-whiteness of his major puppets. He is shouting, in effect: "Don't you see? This is an exaggerated instance of young Italy today, young Europe today! What are we doing about these boys and girls? If we don't care, then what is to become of them? Are we to abandon them to isolated acts of reprisal and despair, or are we to show them a way, the way, through compassion and care, to an effective and purposeful life?"

FRANCES KEENE

Our Past and Its Uses

LIVING IDEAS IN AMERICA. Edited and with Commentary by Henry Steele Commager. Harper and Brothers. \$6.

OUR most prolific anthologizer is at it again. This time it is "Living Ideas in America," a big book of 725 pages, in which almost two hundred selections from the writing of distinguished Americans are arranged by topics. In fourteen general categories Henry Steele Commager has drawn upon the ideas of our past for the light they may throw upon the continuing issues that confront the United States, in diplomacy, in politics, in economic policy, and in education. The whole is tied together by a suave commentary that helps the faltering reader from lump to lump of wisdom.

What is gained thereby is difficult to say. This reviewer does not agree that the problems of today, "whatever new and strange forms they may take, are really old and familiar, and that Americans need not look abroad for solutions, or fabricate new ones, but that they can turn, with confidence, to their own historical past." Nor does the volume offer a representative cross-section of Ameri-

can thinking, even upon the subjects it touches. And what is included is all too often trite and unimaginative; at least a fifth of the selections are pasted together from Mr. Commager's own earlier anthologies.

In the matter of anthologies, of course, it is every man to his own taste—so long as publishers are patient and readers gullible. But in this case the faults go beyond the limits of tolerance. It is not only that, as editor, Mr. Commager is guilty of poor selections (why turn to Laski for an estimate of federalism?), of meaningless clichés (the West is the "most American part of

America"), and of gross exaggeration ("by the time of Woodrow Wilson the principle of the welfare state had been all but universally accepted"). More seriously, the editing often distorts the meaning of the documents.

Two particular practices are responsible for corrupting the quotations. The editor usually has not troubled to turn directly to the sources; and he has not been careful in snipping out, from the longer documents, the brief fragments he quotes. The result is that error creeps insidiously in and the selections sometimes reflect the bias of the editor rather than the intention of the original authors.

For instance, Commager throughout is anxious to emphasize the independence of the American spirit and its separateness from the Old World. Some readers indeed might judge he takes a substantial liberty in naturalizing John Locke and Thomas Paine and in appropriating for this country ideas worked out with reference to France and England. But surely liberty becomes license when the editor alters the text of the famous passage in which Crèvecoeur accounts for the freedom of American law and government. These, Commager has the "American Farmer" proclaim, were derived from the desire of the people "and confirmed by government." The phrase Crèvecoeur actually used, "confirmed by the crown" (1783 ed., p. 50), would not have jibed with the general theme of this volume.

Omissions serve the same purpose. Thus Mr. Commager makes much of the liberalism of the Northwest Ordinance, which bestowed self government and democracy upon the territories. But is it fair to strengthen the case by leaving out the provisions which imposed property qualifications for voting and for holding office and which had the governor, judges, and council appointed by the national government?

Finally, inaccurate editorial comment obfuscates the meaning of the text. Thus, anxious to show that F. D. R.'s election campaign in 1932 "submitted a program of positive governmental action on many fronts," Commager asserts that the Commonwealth Club address "contains Roosevelt's most elaborate analysis of the historic issue of laissez faire and the welfare state." Ac-

tually F. D. R., in the address referred to, simply asked business to regulate itself, and assured his listeners, "The government should assume the function of economic regulation only as a last resort . . . when private initiative . . . has finally failed. As yet there has been no failure. . . ." OSCAR HANDLIN

Concerning Asia

INDIA SINCE PARTITION. By Andrew Mellor. Frederick A. Praeger. \$2.50.

THE COMMONWEALTH IN ASIA. By Sir Ivor Jennings, K. C. Oxford University Press. \$2.50.

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF AN UNKNOWN INDIAN. By Nirad C. Chaudhuri. The Macmillan Company. \$6.

THE VOICE OF ASIA. By James A. Michener. Random House. \$3.50.

OF THE four books listed above Mr. Mellor's "India Since Partition" is probably the most useful today to persons wishing factual information. It recounts events from shortly before partition on August 15, 1947, until some time in 1950. Though the text consists of only 148 small pages, it contains a surprising amount of narrative and discussion, which in almost all cases is accurate. Mr. Mellor could not deal with everything, but he treats the immediate circumstances of partition, the disastrous violence that accompanied it, the quarrels between India and Pakistan over the Indian states of Junagadh and Kashmir, with some related minor disputes thrown in, the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi and its consequences, the problem of Hyderabad, whose ruler did not want to accede to India but was compelled to by circumstances, the main features and significance of India's new constitution, the deplorable economic state of the country, the party structure and differences, and the nation's problems and hopes. It is a modest but worth-while book.

Sir Ivor Jennings, a distinguished student of political science, in his "Commonwealth in Asia," describes the background for constitution-making in India, Pakistan, and Ceylon, and the new constitutions which India and Ceylon now have. Pakistan has not yet adopted one, or produced a draft. In his

HISTORY ECONOMICS POLITICS SALE

1. **MEANING OF TREASON** by Rebecca West. Original \$3.50 edition. "Superb reporting . . . fascinating tale of the underworld of modern war."—N. Y. Herald Tribune. Important 307-page examination of guilt in contemporary society that no liberal will want to miss. Only \$1.00
2. **PRIVATE MANUFACTURE OF ARMAMENTS** by Noel-Baker. Classic 574-page study of arms covanants, vested interests in war factors, etc. "Nothing to compare in thoroughness and authority with Mr. Noel-Baker's great work."—Manchester Guardian. Thoroughly documented. Pub. in 1937 at \$3.75. Now \$1.25

ROAD TO SURVIVAL—NOW \$1.00

3. **ROAD TO SURVIVAL** by Wm. Vogt. Sensational but authoritative exposé of waste of world's resources and their bearing on future population problems. "Combines literary excellence with sound scholarship."—N. Y. Times. 303 pages. Ill. Orig. \$3. Now copies left at only \$1.00
4. **JOHN DEWEY: Interpreter of Science and Freedom.** Symposium ed. by Book. Contributors include Bois, Einstein, Kallen, et al. 191 p. \$3.60 388 pages. Bargain at \$1.69
5. **HISTORICAL SOCIOLOGY** by Barnes. Nature and origins, world revolution and cultural lag, etc. Orig. \$3. 198 pages. \$1.25
6. **DICTIONARY OF MODERN ECONOMICS** by Horton, Ripley & Schnapper. Accurate up-to-date encyclopedia giving court decisions, laws, theories, thumbnail biographies; defines hundreds of economic terms. Invaluable reference aid. Orig. \$5. Special \$1.25
7. **LORDS OF THE PRESS** by Seldes. Impact of reactionary newspapers and magazines on American culture. Orig. \$3. 418 pages. \$1.25
8. **BALANCE OF POWER: The Negro vote** by Moon. Social and political effects of Negro electorate. Analysis of past elections, showing power of colored voters to influence results. 356 pages. Orig. \$5. \$1.25
9. **ON ACTIVE SERVICE** by Henry L. Stimson. 700-page behind-scenes story of World War II, two Roosevelts, Eisenhower, decision to use atom bomb, Stilwell, China, etc. "One of most important biographical works of our generation."—Foreign Affairs. Harper, \$5. \$1.25
10. **THE BENDING CROSS: Biography of Eugene V. Debs** by Ginger. "One of the distinguished biographies of the year."—Sat. Rev. of Lit. Labor and Socialist movements in U. S. 458 pages plus index. Pub. at \$5. \$1.25
11. **DICTIONARY OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS** by Hyamson. Virtual encyclopedia of world affairs, emphasizing period from World War I to present. About 1500 terms, personalities, policies, events, laws, etc., classified and explained. Pub. at \$3.75. 374 pages. \$1.25
12. **JUAREZ AND HIS MEXICO** by Roeder. Definitive 2-volume 748-page bio. Ill. Viking, \$10. 11 sets left at only \$3.98

13. **ART AND LIFE IN AMERICA** by Larkin. Social and cultural history of U. S. told in terms of its painting, sculpture, architecture and minor arts and crafts. 417 superb photographs and drawings. 576 large (8 1/2 x 11) pages. Heavy coated paper. Rinehart, \$7.95. \$3.98
14. **BASIC WRITINGS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON**. About 150 letters, documents (inaugural addresses, Declaration of Independence, etc.) on everything from slavery to monetary policy. Ed. by Foner. 834 pages. Orig. \$5. Rep. ed. \$1.49

ORIGINAL \$6.00 ED.—ONLY \$1.49

15. **POLITICS, ECONOMICS AND MEN OF MODERN SPAIN, 1808-1946** by Oliveira. Learn why's of recent U. S. overtures to Spain by reading this brilliant study of the republic, monarchy, the church, etc. 720 pages plus map insert. Pub. in England at \$6.00 and difficult to obtain over here. Only \$1.49
16. **WORDS OF GOETHE** Conversations of Goethe with Eckerman on social problems, literature, etc. 296 pp. \$1.00

COPIES LIMITED—MAIL COUPON TODAY

DOVER PUBLS. Dept. 83, 1780 B'way, N. Y. 19 N. Y.
Send books circled: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16. Ten-day money-back guarantee.
Name _____
Address _____
I am enclosing \$_____ in full payment.
(Add 10¢ per title to cover transportation)

final chapter he considers the relations of these three nations to the Commonwealth as a whole. The most valuable parts of the book are those which analyze the Indian and Ceylonese constitutions. He finds the former, in spite of its many admirable features, too fulsome and precise to be flexible—too many lawyers were engaged in drawing it up. He treats the compromises effected in Ceylon's constitution more intimately and authoritatively than those of the Indian constitution, probably because of his more intensive experience with Ceylon. Unfortunately, the book's title notwithstanding, he does not treat Malaya and Hongkong, which are also parts of the Commonwealth in Asia. The book should certainly be read by all students of South Asian Affairs.

Mr. Chaudhuri's "Autobiography" is an account of a Bengali's intellectual growth amid the storms of a nationalizing India. He stood partly aside from the process, finding much of the commotion, lack of sophistication, and intolerance distasteful, and his views are by no means those of the average Indian of his background, but are more objective and critical of his country. By profession Mr. Chaudhuri is a journalist and radio commentator; by avocation, a student of history and library-desk military strategist. He has a view that India, after experiencing two periods of outside domination—namely, the Hindu or Indo-Aryan and the Moslem—at the middle of the eighteenth century entered a period of British control. This has now been diverted to general Western control, in which the United States is taking the leading part. To him India's destiny has always been domination and development under great outside forces. His book is well written and presents a cultivated, sensitive modern Indian personality rarely available for Occidentals to meet.

The most extensively advertised and probably most widely read book of the list will of course be Mr. Michener's "Voice of Asia." This is a far cry from "South Pacific." The author went to Japan, Korea, Formosa, Hongkong, Singapore, Indonesia, Thailand, Indo-China, Burma, India, and Pakistan to see for himself. He started out with the thought that Asia has to be saved from communism, and this idea dominates large parts of his account, though at times he

manages to forget it. Perhaps a better way to view Asia would be to put that idea in perspective against the needs of the area, and that would frequently mean in subordination. Mr. Michener's method is strictly the journalist's—that is, reporting based on interviews with living speakers without the encumbrance of any supplementary or preliminary background drawn from reading. This technique he uses admirably, even though it sometimes proves inadequate to cover a situation. He writes in the simplest journalistic style, vivid and rapid, with wide sweep, and no one could fail to grasp what he says. To be sure, he occasionally seems a little ambivalent, as, for example, concerning MacArthur, and his good-humoredly patronizing attitude toward Thailand hardly seems in order. Perhaps his selective, oversimplified approach is likely to reach the American public better than would any other; for students there are other books to be had. Certainly his basic position that world adjustment requires Americans to learn about Asia, treat Asians as equals, consult with them, cooperate with them, and not try to dominate or direct them, is right, and if he gets that idea across, he will do a service to both sides of the globe.

W. NORMAN BROWN

Books in Brief

LORD CHESTERFIELD AND HIS WORLD. By Samuel Shellabarger. Little, Brown. \$5. There have been biographies of Chesterfield before now, either dull or inaccurate. Bonamy Dobrée's scholarly one is an exception, but it is the introduction to the six-volume edition of letters. For a winning combination of readability, accuracy, and availability we have Mr. Shellabarger's book. Now that he is a historical novelist who makes the cash register ring, Mr. Shellabarger can enjoy an American imprint on his biography, which was published in England fifteen years ago. Chesterfield cut a wide swathe in his time—as diplomat, statesman, politician, and elegant arbiter of Augustan culture. To describe his life and bustling world Mr. Shellabarger skilfully exploits a great mass of documentary sources. He is as thorough and impeccable as the most assiduous

The HUMANIST Bookshelf

Philosophical Library suggests 3 magnificent gifts for thoughtful readers by
CORLISS LAMONT
Exponent of Humanism

HUMANISM AS A PHILOSOPHY

3rd Edition, 3.75

An inclusive, affirmative and spiritually satisfying way of life for the individual. . . . Brings integration and meaning into the complex structure of modern existence.

"He knows how to make philosophy both readable and persuasive."

—New York Times.

THE ILLUSION OF IMMORTALITY

Introduction by JOHN DEWEY

3rd Printing, Illustrated, 3.95

"Is there a life after death?" This authoritative statement tells why it is neither scientific, nor necessary for the good life, to believe in immortality.

"An extraordinarily complete and well-informed discussion."

—Professor John Dewey.

MAN ANSWERS DEATH

An Anthology of Poetry

Introduction by LOUIS UNTERMEYER

4.50

(Pre-publication price 3.95)

2nd Edition, Revised & Enlarged
(Ready February, 1952)

Representative poets, in more than 350 literary gems, provide a manifold variety of answers to the event called death . . . reflects the Humanist philosophy.

"The unfortunate who hides a corroding fear of death . . . will be stimulated to adopt a more . . . serene attitude."

—New York Times.

ORDER FROM YOUR BOOKSELLER, OR

—USE THIS HANDY COUPON—

Philosophical Library, Inc., Desk N,
15 E 40 St., New York 16, N. Y.

Please send me the books checked:

- ☐ Humanism As A Philosophy.....\$3.75
☐ The Illusion of Immortality..... 3.95
☐ Man Answers Death (\$4.50) (Ready Feb.)
Pre-publication Price 3.95

Name _____

Address _____

Expedite shipment and save postal charges
by pre-payment

scholarly drone; but he also vivifies his characters and colors their settings to such an extent that one is reassured by the footnotes and bibliographies (in the back of the book). He also wields a thesis—that Chesterfield's worldly wisdom was a stringent limitation—but he does not use his thesis as an ax to grind. The faults of the book are minor: occasionally the background is so lurid that it looks technicolored; a sprinkling of clichés; a patronizing tone toward rationalism. These hardly matter in a book that is so shapely, thorough, and readable.

THIS FASCINATING ANIMAL WORLD. By Alan Devoe. McGraw-Hill. \$3.75. The author of this somewhat unusual sort of nature book calls himself an "animalizer" rather than a naturalist because he wants to stress the fact that he is an out-of-door observer rather than a scientist of the more usual sort. For some years he has conducted a department in the *American Mercury* devoted to the kind of thing which interests him, and this volume—for which he might have found a more descriptive title—undertakes to answer the kinds of questions which the average reader seems most likely to ask. For the most part they are specific and tend to fall

into the "Is it really true that crocodiles shed tears?" class. As he remarks, this is precisely the sort of thing often difficult to dig out of textbooks, and he manages to answer what must amount to a good many hundred such questions. It should be very useful not only to those who will use it for themselves but also to individuals and institutions to whom the more enterprising members of the general public sometimes apply. Crocodiles, by the way, do weep crocodile tears, though it is not a hypocritical demonstration of sympathy for their victims. When they open their mouths very wide they shed tears for the same reason we shed them after a yawn.

Drama

JOSEPH
WOOD
KRUTCH

IT IS one of the defects of my education that I have never read a word by Mme Colette. All I know about her is that she spent a normal lifetime writing spicy novels toward which everyone condescended until it was discovered, a decade or so ago, that she was really a classic. Under the circumstances I am in no position to say how faithful is the dramatization which Anita Loos has made from one of her most popular works, "Gigi" (Fulton Theater). As I guess I should hazard that Miss Loos has simplified and broadened it considerably. No literary education is, however, required to make the safe prediction that "Gigi" is the first indisputable non-musical hit of the season and that it will be with us for a good long time. Moreover, it is genuinely amusing.

The time is 1900, and Gilberte—Gigi for short—is the gawky adolescent daughter of a minor singer at the Opéra Comique. Her aunt and her grandmother were *grandes cocottes* in their time, and everybody assumes that this is the normal calling of an ambitious young woman in their circles. The failures may have to abandon the career and go to work; the weak, like Gigi's mother, may ruin their future by self-indulgently falling in love with some unsuitable person. But no one has any doubt about what success consists in. Under the circumstances it is natural that the family should take advantage of

the good fortune which has thrown into their hands a fabulously rich young man-about-town to whom the grandmother has long been a sort of consultant bawd. He is amiable, he is simple-minded, the life he has been leading is merely what is expected of him, and for years he has been bringing licorice sticks to Gigi. When it becomes known that he has just discovered his most recent mistress in bed with a skating teacher, the moment seems to have arrived when he should be introduced to the idea that Gigi is ready to be launched on her career. The successful aunt instructs her in the things which a young professional should know and discusses the business arrangements with the young man. Then, to everybody's amazement, Gigi balks. She tells the young man to his face that the career chosen for her does not appeal to her own tastes. Before he knows exactly what has happened he proposes a respectable marriage, and of course they live happily ever after.

Now there are obviously several wrong ways of treating such a story. It could easily be leered at and just as easily made sentimental. Mme Colette or Miss Loos, or perhaps both together, have wisely chosen instead to make it farce—discreet farce if you like but unmistakable farce none the less. The play is very definitely a period piece with lots of stress on the quaint elegance of the young man and the quaint bourgeois milieu of Gigi's household. All the personages are deftly but definitely caricatured, and the Gallic atmosphere—or at least what Americans believe to be Gallic atmosphere—is laid on thick. The red-fringed tablecloth and the yard-long loaf of bread are just as important as the unusual but perfectly consistent code of all but the youngest member of the family. And of course the moral is unimpeachable. Samuel Richardson would not have liked the piece, but his heroine Pamela would at least have understood it, and "Or Virtue Rewarded" would be a perfectly suitable subtitle. It often pays to say no and often pays best when the sayer, unlike Pamela but like Gigi, does not calculate too consciously on the basis of that fact.

A good deal of the success of the play will be due to the characteristically suave and characteristically chic pro-

BOOKS OF ALL KINDS FROM THE USSR

1952 Subscriptions Open for All Soviet Newspapers and Magazines

PRAVDA, IZVESTIA, in Russian
NEW TIMES, NEWS, in English
Delivered to Subscribers by Airmail
Request Complete Catalogue "Periodica-52"
Latest Soviet Records, Handicrafts
Ask for Complete Catalogue "SP-51"

FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.
55 W. 56 Street, N. Y. 19 Murray Hill 8-2600

Buy Your Books through THE Nation

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C.O.D. No C.O.D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to
Miss Le Pach

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
21 Vesey Street New York 7, N. Y.

duction which Gilbert Miller has given it. An obviously delighted audience applauded even the special, last-time-I-saw-Paris scene drops, and an obviously happy cast was enjoying itself as much as the spectators. As so often happens under these circumstances, the spectators soon got to the point where they laughed heartily at even the standard farcical bits, blissfully unaware that they had laughed, or refused to laugh, at them hundreds of times before—as, for example, when, not once but twice, an agitated female character sits down on a pair of knitting needles left in a chair.

There is only one thing which puzzles me just a little. Gigi is played, pleasantly if a little over boisterously, by a young actress of Irish-Dutch parentage named Audrey Hepburn. But why is she permitted to stress exclusively the gawky, awkward-age aspect of Gigi's character and behavior? Of course one knows from the beginning what is going to happen, but it would surely seem more convincing if Gigi were made to appear, even for brief moments, a little better prepared for an amorous episode, either legitimate or illegitimate. Perhaps, however, Mr. Miller tried that and found out that he was right to reject it. Perhaps to make the situation seem more probable would have been also to introduce an actuality which might have given the whole a slightly rancid flavor. If so, it is well that he avoided it, for "Gigi" is really quite an innocent play despite its air of naughtiness.

Records

B. H.
HAGGIN

THE following are outstanding among the LP recordings of the past year (RCA Victor: V; Columbia: C; London: L; Decca: D; Allegro: A; Haydn Society: H; Cetra: CE; Westminster: W; Urania: U; Period: P; Vanguard: VA; Bach Guild: B; Capitol: CA; Festival: F; Lyric: LY; Oceanic: O).

Bach: Prades Festival recordings of Suites Nos. 1 and 2 for viola da gamba (Casals), Brandenburg Concertos, Concerto in D minor for two violins (Stern and Schneider), Suite No. 2 for flute and strings (C). Mass in B minor; Der-

mota, Poell, Vienna Symphony and Akademie Kammerchor under Scherchen (W). Toccatas in C minor and D, Chromatic Fantasy and Fugue; Valenti, harpsichordist (A).

Bach, K. P. E.: Symphonies No. 1 and 3; Vienna Symphony under Guenther (B).

Beethoven: Serenade Opus 8; Joseph and Lillian Fuchs and Leonard Rose (D). Songs; Ralph Herbert, baritone (A). Piano Sonata Opus 111; Applebaum (imperfect performance) (W).

Berlioz: "La Damnation de Faust"; French musicians conducted by Fournet (C). "Beatrice and Benedict" Overture; Boston Symphony under Münch (V; 78 rpm).

Byrd: Mass for 4 voices; Fleet Street Choir under Lawrence (L).

Couperin: First Tenebrae Service; Cuenod and chamber group under Pinkham (A).

Griffes: "The White Peacock"; Amparito Iturbi, pianist (V; 78 rpm).

Handel: Concerti Opus 3; Vienna Philharmonic under Prohaska (B). Ode for St. Cecilia's Day; German musicians conducted by Artur Rother (U).

Haydn: Symphony No. 92 ("Oxford"); Boston Symphony under Koussevitzky (V). Trios; Goldberg, Pini, Kraus (D). Quartets Opus 64 No. 6 and Opus 76 No. 5; Vienna Konzerthaus Quartet (W). Trumpet Concerto; Wobitsch and Vienna Philharmonic under Heiller (H). St. Cecilia Mass; Viennese musicians conducted by Gillesberger (undistinguished performance) (H).

Mahler: "Kindertotenlieder"; Ferrier, Vienna Philharmonic under Walter (C). Songs from "Des Knaben Wunderhorn"; Poell, baritone (superb), Sydney, mezzo-soprano (poor), Vienna Philharmonic under Prohaska (VA).

Mozart: "The Marriage of Figaro" and "The Magic Flute"; members of the Vienna State Opera conducted by Von Karajan (C). "The Impresario" and "Bastien et Bastienne"; German musicians conducted by Reinhardt (P). Excerpts from "Così fan tutte"; Glyndebourne Festival 1950 (V). Piano Concerto K.456; Kraus (D). Piano Concerto K.482; Badura-Skoda (poor), Vienna Symphony under Sternberg (good) (O; worth having for clear reproduction of orchestral detail). Piano Concerto K.453; Kirkpatrick (bad),

A vital tool for libraries
scholars • editors • analysts
writers • educators

The Current Digest of the Soviet Press

published weekly by

The Joint Committee on Slavic Studies
appointed by the
American Council of Learned Societies
and the
Social Science Research Council

IN 70,000 words a week, the Current Digest brings you an English translation of Soviet newspapers and periodicals. It covers the entire contents of Pravda and Izvestia—major articles in full translation, lesser ones condensed, the remainder summarized or noted by headline and bibliographical reference.

In addition it prints material from 40 other publications, ranging from Voprosy filosofii to the children's papers. Its value as a reference work is enhanced by comprehensive quarterly indexes, listing not only Current Digest translations but also those of other periodicals containing Soviet materials in English.

HOW YOU SUBSCRIBE

Institutions such as libraries, publications, government agencies and universities pay \$50 for their subscriptions and contribute \$100 to the operating fund, i. e., a total of \$150 a year. Once an initial subscription has been entered, additional concurrent subscriptions may be entered by the same institution, or by anyone directly associated with this institution, at \$25 a year.

THE CURRENT DIGEST OF THE SOVIET PRESS
413 West 117th Street, New York 27, N. Y.

Gentlemen:

Please send me sample copy of the Current Digest, for which I enclose 50¢ to cover costs.

Name _____

Address _____

Dumbarton Oaks Orchestra under Schneider (tempos too slow) (H; worth having only for clear reproduction of orchestral detail). Clarinet Concerto K. 622; Kell and Zimpler Sinfonietta (D). Horn Concerto K. 447; Jones and National Gallery Orchestra under Bales (WCFM). Quartets K.387 and 464; Calvet Quartet (CA); Quintet K. 516; Griller Quartet (L). Quintet K. 614; Vienna Konzerthaus Quintet (W). Clarinet Quintet K.581; Forrest and Galimir Quartet (LY; violins extremely sharp). Oboe Quartet K.370; Viennese group (W). Violin Sonatas K.526 and 454; Shumsky and Mittman (tempos too fast) (A). Piano Trios K.496 and 254, 502 and 548; Jambor, Aitay, Starker (P). Serenades K.375 and 388 for winds; Vienna Philharmonic group (W) or American group (D). Divertimento K.334 for strings and horns; Viennese group (L). Rondo K.511, Sonata K.533 and 494, Suite K.399, Gigue K.574; Rosen (R. E. B.; defective recording). Symphony K.504 ("Prague"); Hamburg NWDR Sym-

phony under Schmidt-Isserstadt (D). Symphony K.201; Orchestre de la suisse romande under Maag (L; veiled sound).

Palestrina: Missa Papae Marcelli; Roger Wagner Chorale (CA). Magnificat, and works by Lassus, Byrd, Josquin; Harvard University Choir under Russell (F).

Purcell: "The Fairy Queen"; Cambridge Festival performance conducted by Pinkham (A).

Rossini: Excerpts from "Cenerentola"; Simionato, orchestra and chorus of Radio Italiana under Rossi (C; some distortion).

Scarlatti: Sonatas; Haskil (W).

Schubert: "Unfinished" Symphony; Toscanini and N. B. C. Symphony (V). Posthumous Piano Sonata in A; Aitken (E. M. S.). Grand Duo, orchestrated by Joachim; Vienna Philharmonic under Prohaska (VA). Quartet Opus 161; Vienna Konzerthaus Quartet (tempos too slow) (W). Quartet "Death and the Maiden"; Konzerthaus Quartet (first movement too slow) (W). Quintet Opus 163; Konzerthaus Quartet (tempos too slow) (W). "Trout" Quintet; Viennese group (W). Fantasy Opus 103, etc., for piano 4 hands; Badura-Skoda and Demus (W). Songs; Anderson and Rupp (V). "Der Jüngling an der Quelle," "Nachtigall"; Lehmann (V; 78 rpm).

Schumann: Piano Concerto; Lipatti, Philharmonia Orchestra under Von Karajan (C). Etudes Symphoniques; Casadesu (C).

Strauss: "Don Juan"; Toscanini and N. B. C. Symphony (V).

Stravinsky: "Le Sacre de printemps" and 1919 Suite from "The Firebird"; Orchestre de la suisse romande under Ansermet (L). Capriccio; Haas and RIAS Symphony under Fricsay (D).

Tchaikovsky: Piano Trio; Rubinstein, Heifetz, Piatigorsky (V). Symphony No. 5; Berlin Philharmonic under Fricsay (D).

Verdi: "La Traviata"; Albanese, Pearce, N. B. C. Symphony under Toscanini (V). Excerpts from Act 3 of "Don Carlo"; members of the Vienna State Opera conducted by Baltzer (in German) (CA).

Wagner: Act 2 of "Die Meistersinger"; members of the Vienna State Opera conducted by Knappertsbusch (L). Duet from Act 2 of "Tristan und Isolde"; Flagstad, Svanholm, Shacklock, Philharmonia Orchestra under Böhm (V).

Wolf: Songs; Poell (W).

Miscellaneous: Spanish and Italian songs of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; Cuenod (W). Mozart arias and German lieder sung by Dermota (L). Arias from Tchaikovsky's "The Queen of Spades" and Verdi's "Un Ballo in Maschera" sung by Welitch (L). Arias by Gluck, Handel, and Monteverdi sung by Margarete Klose (U). Verdi arias sung by Steber (C).

NOTE: E. M. S. has reprocessed its recordings of Aitken's performances of Schubert sonatas; and the piano sound and surfaces are now good.

—30% Less than List on LP Records—

Send 15c for LP catalog to:

DISCOUNT RECORD CLUB

DEPT. N-37

Box 175, Radio City Station, New York 19, N. Y.

Add 15¢ per record postage and handling charges (50¢ minimum) SAME-DAY SHIPMENT

WHAT'S THE SCORE?

Pocket-Sized "Urtext" Editions

BACH Goldberg Variations, Italian Concerto, Two- and Three-Part Inventions. . . .98
Cello Sonatas, 7 Flute Sonatas. . . .98
BEETHOVEN The 32 Piano Sonatas. . . .3.98
The Violin Sonatas, 2 vols., ea. . . .98
SCHUMANN Etudes, Carnaval, Fantasies, Toccata. . . .98

• MANY OTHERS—WRITE FOR FREE CATALOG

Order from Your Dealer, or direct from

LEA POKET SCORES Dept. W, Box 138
New York 32, N. Y.

PULITZER PRIZE and CRITICS' AWARD

RICHARD RODGERS & OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd

present in association with

LELAND HAYWARD & JOSHUA LOGAN

ROGER RICO
MARTHA WRIGHT

IN
South Pacific

Music by RICHARD RODGERS

Lyrics by OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd

Book by

OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd & JOSHUA LOGAN

Adapted from JAMES A. MICHENER'S Pulitzer

Prize Winning "TALES OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC"

Directed by JOSHUA LOGAN

Scenery & Lighting by Jo Mielziner

with MYRON McCORMICK

MAJESTIC THEATRE, 44th St., West of B'way

Evenings 8:30. Matinees Wed. & Sat., 2:30

BELLES-LETTRES

Nones. By W. H. Auden. Random House. \$2.50.

Winged Chariot and Other Poems. By Walter de la Mare. Viking. \$3.50.

Selected Poems. By Richard Eberhart. Oxford. \$2.50.

The North Sea. By Heinrich Heine. Translated by Vernon Watkins. New Directions. \$3.

The Seven-League Crutches. By Randall Jarrell. Harcourt, Brace. \$2.75.

Poems. By Stephane Mallarme. Translated by Roger Fry with Commentaries by Charles Mauron. New Directions. \$2.

Collected Poems. By Marianne Moore. Macmillan. \$3.

A Change of World. By Adrienne Cecile Rich. Yale. \$2.50.

Praise to the End. By Theodore Roethke. Doubleday. \$3.

Poems of St. John of the Cross. Translated by Roy Campbell. Pantheon. \$2.75.

Celebration at Dark. By William Jay Smith. Farrar, Straus and Young. \$2.

Immediate Sun. By Rosemary Thomas. Twayne. \$2.50.

Paterson. (Book Four). By William Carlos Williams. New Directions. \$3.

The Morning Watch. By James Agee. Houghton Mifflin. \$2.25.

The Miraculous Barber. By Marcel Ayme. Harper. Translated by Eric Sutton. \$3.

Novelette with Other Stories. By A. L. Barker. Scribner's. \$2.75.

Early Stories. By Elizabeth Bowen. Knopf. \$3.

- The Smoking Mountain.* By Kay Boyle. McGraw-Hill. \$3.50.
- Mister Johnson.* By Joyce Cary. Harper. \$3.
- Fancies and Goodnights.* By John Collier. Doubleday. \$4.
- Darkness and Day.* By I. Compton-Burnett. Knopf. \$3.50.
- Chosen Country.* By John Dos Passos. Houghton Mifflin. \$4.
- Requiem for a Nun.* By William Faulkner. Random House. \$3.
- Three Novels.* By Ronald Firbank. With an Introduction by Ernest Jones. New Directions. \$5.
- Birth of a Hero.* By Herbert Gold. Viking. \$3.50.
- Party Going.* By Henry Green. Viking. \$3.
- The End of the Affair.* By Graham Greene. Viking. \$3.
- Siddhartha.* By Hermann Hesse. Translated by Hilda Rosner. New Directions. \$1.50.
- The Second Scroll.* By A. M. Klein. Knopf. \$2.75.
- Barabbas.* By Par Lagerkvist. Translated by Alan Blair. Random House. \$2.75.
- Best Stories from New Writing.* Edited by John Lehmann. Harcourt, Brace. \$3.50.
- The Watch.* By Carlo Levi. Farrar, Straus and Young. \$3.75.
- The Ballad of the Sad Café.* By Carson McCullers. Houghton Mifflin. \$5.
- The Holy Sinner.* By Thomas Mann. Translated by H. T. Lowe-Porter. Knopf. \$3.50.
- The Betrothed.* By Alessandro Manzoni. Translated by Archibald Colquhoun. Dutton. \$5.
- Pencil of God.* By Philippe Thoby-Marcelin and Pierre Marcelin. Translated by Leonard Thomas. Houghton Mifflin. \$2.50.
- House of Liars.* By Elsa Morante. Translated by Adrienne Foulke with the Editorial Assistance of Andrew Chiappe. Harcourt, Brace. \$4.
- The Conformist.* By Alberto Moravia. Translated by Angus Davidson. Farrar, Straus and Young. \$3.50.
- The Face of Innocence.* By William Sansom. Harcourt, Brace. \$3.
- Troubled Sleep.* By Jean-Paul Sartre. Translated by Gerard Hopkins. Knopf. \$3.50.
- The Man Who Was Loved.* By James Stern. Harcourt, Brace. \$3.
- My Father's House.* By Henri Troyat. Translated by David Hapgood. Duell, Sloan and Pearce. \$4.50.
- The Caine Mutiny.* By Herman Wouk. Doubleday. \$3.95.
- Aeolia.* By Ilias Venezis. Translated by E. D. Scott-Kilbert. Denver. \$2.75.
- The Golden Ass.* A New Translation by Robert Graves from Apuleius. Farrar, Straus and Young. \$3.50.
- A Treasury of Western Folklore.* Edited by B. A. Botkin. Crown. \$4.
- Samuel Butler's Notebooks.* Edited by Geoffrey Keynes and Brian Hill. Dutton. \$3.75.
- The Portable Cervantes.* Translated and Edited by Samuel Putnam. Viking. \$2.50.
- The Portable Roman Reader.* Edited by Basil Davenport. Viking. \$2.50.
- The Portable Henry James.* Edited, with an Introduction, by Morton Dauwen Zabel. Viking. \$2.50.
- Two Cheers for Democracy.* By E. M. Forster. Harcourt, Brace. \$4.
- James Joyce's Exiles.* Introduction by Padraic Colum. Viking. \$5.
- Selected Writings. The Space Within.* By Henri Michaux. Translated by Richard Ellmann. New Directions. \$3.50.
- Great Russian Short Novels.* Edited by Philip Rahv. Dial. \$5.
- Buoyant Billions.* By Bernard Shaw. Dodd, Mead. \$3.
- A Book of the Winter.* Compiled by Edith Sitwell. Vanguard. \$3.
- North America.* By Anthony Trollope. Edited by Donald Smalley and Bradford Allen Booth. Knopf. \$6.
- LITERARY BIOGRAPHY, JOURNALS, LETTERS, CRITICISM
- H. G. Wells. A Biography.* By Vincent Brome. Longmans, Green. \$3.75.
- Emily Dickinson.* By Richard Chase. Sloan. \$4.
- Henry James.* By F. W. Dupee. Sloane. \$4.
- Voyage to Windward. The Life of Robert Louis Stevenson.* By J. C. Furnas. Sloane. \$5.
- André Gide.* By Albert J. Guerard. Harvard. \$4.
- Sherwood Anderson.* By Irving Howe. Sloane. \$3.50.
- The Melville Log. A Documentary Biography of Herman Melville.* By Jay Leyda. Harcourt, Brace. 2 volumes. \$12.50.
- Disturber of the Peace. The Life of H. L. Mencken.* By William Manchester. Harper. \$3.75.
- Theodore Dreiser.* By F. O. Matthiessen. Sloane. \$3.50.
- The Far Side of Paradise. A Biography of F. Scott Fitzgerald.* By Arthur Mizener. Houghton Mifflin. \$4.
- Mr. Oddity. Samuel Johnson, LL.D.* By Charles Norman. Bell. \$4.
- Lord Chesterfield and His World.* By Samuel Shellabarger. Little, Brown. \$5.
- Memories and Portraits.* By Ivan Bunin. Translated by Vera Traill and Robin Chancellor. Doubleday. \$3.
- Journey with Genius. Recollections and Reflections Concerning the D. H. Lawrence.* By Witter Bynner. John Day. \$4.
- The Journals of André Gide. Volume IV: 1939-1949.* Translated and Edited by Justin O'Brien. Knopf. \$6.
- The Indigo Bunting. A Memoir of Edna St. Vincent Millay.* By Vincent Sheean. Harper. \$2.50.
- World Within World.* By Stephen Spender. Harcourt, Brace. \$3.50.
- The Tolstoy Home. Diaries of Tatiana Sukhotin-Tolstoy.* Translated by Alec Brown. Columbia. \$4.
- The Face of the Earth.* By H. M. Tomlinson. Bobbs-Merrill. \$3.
- The Autobiography of William Carlos Williams.* Random House. \$3.75.
- Letters of Anthony Trollope.* Edited by Bradford Allen Booth. Oxford. \$8.
- Cicero: The Secrets of His Correspondence.* By Jérôme Carcopino. Yale. 2 volumes. \$7.50.
- John Stuart Mill and Harriet Taylor: Their Friendship and Subsequent Marriage.* By F. A. Hayek. Chicago. \$4.50.
- The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence.* Volumes 15 and 16. Edited by W. S. Lewis. Yale. \$10 each.
- Katherine Mansfield's Letters to John Middleton Murry, 1913-1922.* Edited by John Middleton Murry. Knopf. \$6.50.
- Letters to Benvenuto.* By Rainer Maria Rilke. Philosophical Library. \$2.75.
- From Main Street to Stockholm. Letters of Sinclair Lewis, 1919-1930.* Edited by Harrison Smith. Harcourt, Brace. \$4.
- Letters of Emily Dickinson.* Edited by Mabel Loomis Todd. World. \$3.75.
- The Selected Letters of John Keats.* Edited by Lionel Trilling. Farrar, Straus and Young. \$3.50.
- The Selected Letters of William Cowper.* Edited by Mark Van Doren. Farrar, Straus and Young. \$3.50.
- Poems in Process.* By Phyllis Bartlett. Oxford. \$4.
- Achievement in American Poetry, 1900-1950.* By Louise Bogan. Regnery. \$2.50.
- Turn West, Turn East: Mark Twain and Henry James.* By Henry Seidel Canby. Houghton Mifflin. \$3.50.
- An Introduction to Shakespeare.* By Marchette Chute. Dutton. \$2.25.
- Inquiring Spirit. A New Presentation of Coleridge from His Published and Unpublished Prose Writings.* Edited by Kathleen Coburn. Pantheon Books. \$5.
- Willa Cather: A Critical Introduction.* By David Daiches. Cornell. \$2.75.

Anden: An Introductory Essay. By Richard Hoggart. Yale. \$3.75.
The Continuity of Poetic Language. By Josephine Miles. California. \$5.
Studies in Modern Literature from the Kenyon Review. Edited by John Crowe Ransom. World. \$4.
Walt Whitman. By Frederick Schyberg. Translated by Evie Allison Allen. Columbia. \$5.
The Novel in France. By Martin Turnell. New Directions. \$4.25.
Introduction to Poetry. By Mark Van Doren. Sloane. \$4.

REPRINTS

The Diary of John Quincy Adams, 1794-1845. Edited by Allan Nevins. Scribner's. \$6.
Nostromo. By Joseph Conrad. Modern Library. Random House. \$1.25.
Exile's Return. By Malcolm Cowley. Viking. \$3.50.
Sartoris. By William Faulkner. Harcourt, Brace. \$4.
The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution. By Harold R. Isaacs. Stanford. \$5.
Essays in Biography. By John Maynard Keynes. Horizon. \$3.50.
Literary Opinion in America. Edited by Morton Dauwen Zabel. Harper. \$7.50.
The Good Soldier. By Ford Madox Ford. Knopf. \$3.
The Plumed Serpent. By D. H. Lawrence. Knopf. \$4.
The Princess of Cleves. By Madame de Lafayette. Translated by Nancy Mitford. New Directions. \$1.50.

ART, MUSIC, DRAMA

Audubon's Animals: The Quadrupeds of North America. By John James Audubon. Edited by Alice Ford. Crowell. \$12.50.
Matisse: His Art and His Public. By Alfred H. Barr, Jr. Museum of Modern Art. \$12.50.
The Great Centuries of Painting. The Seventeenth Century. The New Developments in Art from Caravaggio to Vermeer. Text by Jacques Dupont and François Mathey. Translated by S. J. C. Harrison. Skira. \$12.50.
French, Flemish and British Art. By Roger Fry. Coward-McCann. \$5.
Giotto Frescoes. Oxford. \$4.50.
Abstract Painting. By Thomas B. Hess. Viking. \$7.50.
Baroque and Rococo in Latin America. By Pál Kelemen. Macmillan. \$16.50.
Rouault. Introduction by Jacques Lassaigne. Skira. \$3.50.
Japanese Prints. Volume IV. Sharaku to Toyokuni. Volume V. Hokusai and Hiroshige. In the Collection of Louis V. Ledoux. Princeton. \$25 each.
Gustave Courbet. By Gerstle Mack. Knopf. \$6.
The Psychology of Art. Volume III. The Twilight of the Absolute. By André Malraux. Translated by Stuart Gilbert. Pantheon. \$12.50.
A. H. Maurer. By Elizabeth McCausland. Published for the Walker Art Center by Wyn. \$5.
Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death. By Willard Meiss. Princeton. \$12.50.

Portfolio Editions of the Library of Great Painters. Van Gogh. Text by Meyer Schapiro; *Renoir.* Text by Milton S. Fox; *El Greco.* Text by John F. Matthews; *Masterpieces of Italian Painting.* Text by James W. Thompson; *Great Masterpieces.* Text by Milton S. Fox. Abrams. \$1.25 each.

Modigliani. Introduced by Maurice Raynal. Skira. \$3.50.
The Nineteenth Century. New Sources of Emotion from Goya to Gauguin. Text by Maurice Raynal. Translated by James Emmons. Skira. \$12.50.
Degas. By Daniel Catton Rich. Abrams. \$10.
Portrait of the Artist as an American. Ben Shahn: A Biography with Pictures. By Selden Rodman. Harper. \$6.50.
Skira Color Prints. Album I, Impressionist. Skira. \$7.50.
Italian Painting. The Renaissance. Critical Studies by Lionello Venturi; *Historical Surveys* by Rosabianca Skira-Venturi; Translated by Stuart Gilbert. Skira. \$17.50.

French Music. From the Death of Berlioz to the Death of Fauré. By Martin Cooper. Oxford. \$4.75.

Schirmer's Guide to Books on Music and Musicians. By R. D. Darrell. Schirmer. \$6.

Vienna's Golden Years of Music, 1850-1900. By Eduard Hanslick. Translated and Edited by Henry Pleasants III. Simon and Schuster. \$3.75.

Baron at the Ballet. Introduction and Commentary by Arnold L. Haskell. Morrow. \$10.

Masterpieces of Music Before 1750. Compiled and Edited by Carl Parrish and John F. Ohl. Norton. \$5.

Rodgers and Hart Songbook. Simon and Schuster. \$7.50.

Music Right and Left. By Virgil Thomson. Holt. \$3.50.

Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art. With a Critical Text and Translation of the Poetics by S. H. Butcher. Dover. \$4.50.

Fifty Years of American Drama, 1900-1950. By Alan S. Downer. Regnery. \$2.50.

The Oxford Companion to the Theatre. Edited by Phyllis Hartnoll. Oxford. \$8.

Show Business Is No Business. By Al Hirschfeld. Simon and Schuster. \$2.95.

The Magic Curtain. By Lawrence Langner. Dutton. \$6.60.

Shaw's Plays in Review. By Desmond MacCarthy. Thames and Hudson. \$3.

The Last Actor-Managers. By Hesketh Pearson. Harper. \$3.

FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE

The NATION

☐ with Harper's Magazine . . . \$9.50 You Save \$2.50

The NATION

☐ with Consumer Reports . . . \$10.75 You Save \$1.25

These club combinations are for one year, and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses. Remittance must accompany all combination orders.

THE NATION by itself

☐ 1 Year \$7 ☐ 2 Years \$12 ☐ 3 Years \$17

SERVICEMEN'S RATE \$5 A YEAR

Canadian and Foreign Postage \$1 a year extra.

THE NATION, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

- ☐ I want to subscribe to *The Nation* for _____ years.
☐ Remittance enclosed. ☐ Bill me.
- ☐ I enclose my remittance for the following *Nation* combinations listed below.

NAME _____

STREET _____

CITY _____ ZONE _____ STATE _____

12/15/61

- Once Around the Sun.* By Brooks Atkinson. Harcourt, Brace. \$4.
- The Shelbourne Hotel.* By Elizabeth Bowen. Knopf. \$4.
- More About Words.* By Margaret S. Ernst. Knopf. \$3.
- Show Biz.* By Abel Green and Joe Laurie, Jr. Holt. \$5.
- The Anatomy of Happiness.* By Martin Gumpert. McGraw-Hill. \$3.50.
- The Gods of the Greeks.* By C. Kerényi. Thames and Hudson. \$4.75.
- Life's Picture History of Western Man.* By the Editors of *Life*. Simon and Schuster. \$10.
- Fabled Shore.* By Rose Macaulay. Farrar, Straus and Young. \$4.
- A Dictionary of Americanisms.* Edited by Mitford M. Mathews. Chicago. 2 volumes. \$50.
- Bill Mauldin's Army.* 439 Cartoons. Sloane. \$5.
- The Lost Library.* By Walter Mehring. Translated by Richard and Clara Winston. Bobbs-Merrill. \$3.50.
- The Villa Diana.* By Alan Moorehead. Scribner's. \$2.50.
- Liberties of the Mind.* By Charles Morgan. Macmillan. \$2.75.
- Oxford Dictionary of Nursery Rhymes.* Edited by Iona and Peter Opie. Oxford. \$8.
- The Log from the Sea of Cortez.* By John Steinbeck. Viking. \$4.
- The Magic People.* By Arland Ussher. Devin-Adair. \$2.75.
- Webster's New World Dictionary of the American Language.* World. 2 volumes. \$22.50.
- Josiah Willard Gibbs. The History of a Great Mind.* By Lyndé Phelps Wheeler. Yale. \$4.
- The American Oxford Atlas.* Edited by Brigadier Sir Clinton Lewis and Colonel J. D. Campbell. With the Assistance of D. P. Bickmore and K. F. Cook. Oxford. \$10.
- Rand McNally-Standard World Atlas.* \$5.95.
- Rand McNally-Cosmopolitan World Atlas.* \$12.50.
- Mr. Lincoln's Contemporaries. An Album of Portraits* by Matthew B. Brady. By Roy Meredith. Scribner's. \$6.
- This Fascinating Animal World.* By Alan Devoe. McGraw-Hill. \$3.75.
- The Sea Around Us.* By Rachel L. Carson. Oxford. \$3.50.
- The White Continent.* By Thomas R. Henry. Sloane. \$3.75.
- Gods, Graves, and Scholars. The Story of Archaeology.* By C. W. Ceram. Translated by E. B. Garside. Knopf. \$6.
- North with the Spring.* By Edwin Way Teale. Dodd, Mead. \$5.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

History Repeats Itself?

Dear Sirs: When I first saw the *Collier's* cover for October 27, 1951, with the United Nations flag stuck on a pin at Moscow "Occupation Headquarters" I immediately thought of the summer of 1941 when I was in Tokyo. My attention was often attracted by a poster then displayed on station platforms and elsewhere. It showed a Japanese schoolboy holding a pin flag of Japan which he was in the act of sticking into a large map of the Philippines.

Daily the wisdom of the ancient saying becomes more evident: "Whom the gods would destroy, they first make mad."

This comment, of course, is inspired by D. F. Fleming's courageous article in the November 10 *Nation*.

Washington

DAVID T. RAY

Puerto Rican Smith Act

Dear Sirs: Your readers might be interested to learn that Ruth M. Reynolds, an American citizen, native of South Dakota, was recently convicted in Puerto Rico under Insular Law No. 53, the counterpart of the Smith act, and sentenced to two to six years at hard labor. She had spent several years in Puerto Rico to gather material for a book, and as a passionate believer in Puerto Rican independence at times associated with members of the Nationalist Party. However, she denies membership in the party and declares that she cannot condone or indorse violence on the part of any movement or cause.

The basis for her conviction on the charge of advocating the overthrow of the Puerto Rican government was the flimsy allegation that in December, 1949, she was one of several hundred persons at a meeting to whom an oath to support the Nationalist Party was read and who rose in token of agreement. Miss Reynolds denies that she took the oath, pointing out that she is not a Puerto Rican. No one else at the meeting, not even the person who read the oath, has even been indicted on this ground, and no evidence whatever was introduced by the prosecution to establish any connection between Miss Reynolds's attendance at this meeting in Arecibo and the revolt in San Juan in November, 1950, in connection with which Miss Reynolds was arrested.

Nor was there any evidence that she had any part in the revolt except as a spectator.

More detailed information on the case can be obtained from Julius Eichel, of the Ruth Reynolds Defense Committee, 769 St. Marks Avenue, Brooklyn 13, N. Y. The committee, largely composed of persons who knew Ruth Reynolds when she was engaged in anti-imperialist and pacifist activities in the United States, is desperately in need of several thousand dollars to pay the cost of her recent defense and of an appeal. Hastening the appeal is the more urgent because bail is set at the outrageous figure of \$25,000 and very likely cannot be raised. The committee is solely concerned with the defense of this one case, and contributing to it does not involve taking any position with respect to controversial political issues affecting Puerto Rico.

A. J. MUSTE, Secretary,
Fellowship of Reconciliation

New York

Continue the Battle!

Dear Sirs: I wish to compliment you, Morris Mitchell, and Dr. Theodore Brameld for the outstanding article entitled *Fever Spots in American Education* in your October 27 issue. This type of courageous, factual treatment of an important subject is much needed today.

As an educator in one of the difficult areas mentioned in the article, I am fully aware of the dangers of the type of criticism which your fine article exposes. We are tremendously concerned in San Diego about such attacks on American freedoms.

I sincerely hope that more of our leading magazines will continue the battle for free schools.

WAYNE C. FRY

San Diego, Cal.

Tribal Attorney Controversy

Dear Sirs: Contrary to the impression created by your editorial paragraph published in your October 13 issue, these are the facts regarding the proposed regulations covering contracts between private attorneys and Indian tribes:

1. No denial of due process is involved.

2. The proposed regulations do *not* place tribal attorneys under the super-

vision of the Commissioner. This was required under bureau policy in effect from 1946 to 1950, but the proposed regulations call merely for a periodic report.

3. We know of no actions involving need for a tribal attorney which have been brought against the Commissioner.

4. Far from being "directly contrary to the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934," the proposed regulations are explicitly based on authority set forth in that statute.

M. M. TROZIER,

Information Officer,

Bureau of Indian Affairs

Washington, D. C.

[Criticism of the proposed regulations similar to ours have been voiced by the Association of American Indian Affairs, the American Civil Liberties Union, the American Jewish Congress, the Federal Council of Churches of Christ, the American Bar Association, and other organizations. So much opposition has been aroused by the new regulations that public hearings are to be held by the Department of Interior and the Senate in the near future.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

PERSONALS

The Next Issue of

THE JEWISH NEWSLETTER

contains the following brief articles:

1. The End of 'Ingathering' to Israel.
2. Militant Orthodoxy.
3. State and Church separation in USA and Israel.
4. The Cold War Between the Zionists and non-Zionists in the USA.
5. Book Review: What Others Say, etc.

THE JEWISH NEWSLETTER

a privately circulated independent bi-weekly review of news and views of Jewish interest presented from a liberal point of view. Edited by William Zukerman, in the fifth year of its publication. Unique, unconventional, honest and outspoken.

Write for Introductory FREE copies to

POST OFFICE BOX 117

Washington Bridge Sta., New York 33, N. Y.

exit loneliness

Somewhere there is someone
You would like to know.
Somewhere there is someone
who would like to know you.
We can help you find a richer,
happier life through discreet,
dignified 'social introductions.'
Write for booklet, or phone
MAY RICHARDSON
Dept. TN, 111 West 72 Street
New York City EN 2-2633



IF UNMARRIED AND MATRIMONIAL-
ALLY MINDED, WOULD LIKE TO
MEET SOMEONE WHO MIGHT LIKE
TO MEET YOU? Write for free copy-
righted pamphlet. Address Personal Intro-
duction Service, 2112 Broadway, New York
City 23.

BOOKS

15 BOOKS FOR \$1.00
(POCKET SIZE)

ADULT BOOKS—These books are Re-
vealing and Informative. Written by au-
thorities on subjects adults should know.

Complete list FREE

BOOKS Dept. BN. Girard, Kansas

The A. F. T. and Academic Freedom

Dear Sirs: In his article Teachers and the Thing, which appeared in your November 3 issue, Goodwin Watson stated that the National Education Association, the American Federation of Teachers, and Americans for Democratic Action "... have concurred in the ban on Communists."

I am sure Dr. Watson will be pleased to have the misleading information given concerning the A. F. T. corrected. The A. F. T. passed a resolution on academic freedom at their National convention in 1948 which in part read "[the A. F. T.] deplores the current hysteria which threatens ... to destroy hard-won principles of academic freedom ... We hold, therefore, that membership in an organization or in a legal political party is not in and of itself sufficient grounds for the dismissal of a teacher." This resolution was adopted by a majority vote; a similar one which reaffirmed the principles laid down in the 1949 resolution was adopted by the 1950 convention with only two dissenting votes.

It is evident that the A. F. T. is not among those who in their anti-Communist fanaticism, have lost their powers of discriminating.

Yonkers, N. Y. BENJAMIN MAZEN

[While holding that membership in an organization or legal political party is not of itself ground for the dismissal of a teacher, the A. F. T. does insist on a test of non-totalitarianism for membership, as Theodore Brameld writes on page 524.—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Something Missing . . .

Dear Sirs: As a political scientist on the faculty of a Philadelphia university and a person who has studied and lectured on the social and political problems in this area, I must take strong issue with Charles Allen's facile generalizations and his ingenuousness with regard to the multiple facets of social and political ferment in Philadelphia in his article, The Philadelphia Story, which appeared in your October 27 issue. His easy dismissal of the "Home Rule" Charter campaign—a real grass roots movement which swept the city—and his inept attempt to dismiss the campaign on the Charter as the turning point in the local controlling party's history, is to fail to see the major shift in the social and political forces in this city. . . .

The campaign was important in ways

not ascertainable from Mr. Allen's hasty deduction of a change of heart in the city organization. Basic issues were at stake. . . . There was more to the political situation than the suicide of a few political office holders. . . . The first home rule code for Philadelphia goes into effect in January. One issue which had to be settled was whether or not the new code was to be placed in the hands of those who had fought it so bitterly last April. Another was whether or not the city-county consolidation plan—which would eliminate hundreds of county jobs now held by the followers of the city political machine—would be approved. . . .

One cannot write with any degree of accuracy about political ills in Philadelphia without at least alluding to the long-standing and exacerbated social ills resulting from governmental neglect. There are, for example, more than 300,000 Negroes in this city, most of whom can find housing only in what has become a ghetto-like inner city whose problems of crime and delinquency defy description. Segregation, by custom and connivance, condemns Negroes—even in improved public housing—to live in the less desirable areas of the city. There is the century-old problem of separatism, neighborhoods . . . which are run like private principalities by ward leaders. . . .

HARRY M. SHAPIRO

Philadelphia

Something Missed

Dear Sirs: Everything which Mr. Shapiro points out is undoubtedly accurate—and obvious. Mr. Shapiro missed the point of The Philadelphia Story: how a corrupt machine attempts to survive in the face of imminent political death. I also received correspondence from other "political scientists" in the Philadelphia area. One grasped the point of my piece immediately when he wrote, "It's inadvisable to labor such a transparent piece of strategy as that devised by the Republican machine here. The technique of damning by faint praise is both time-honored and effective."

CHARLES ALLEN, JR.

New York

The Slick Mentality

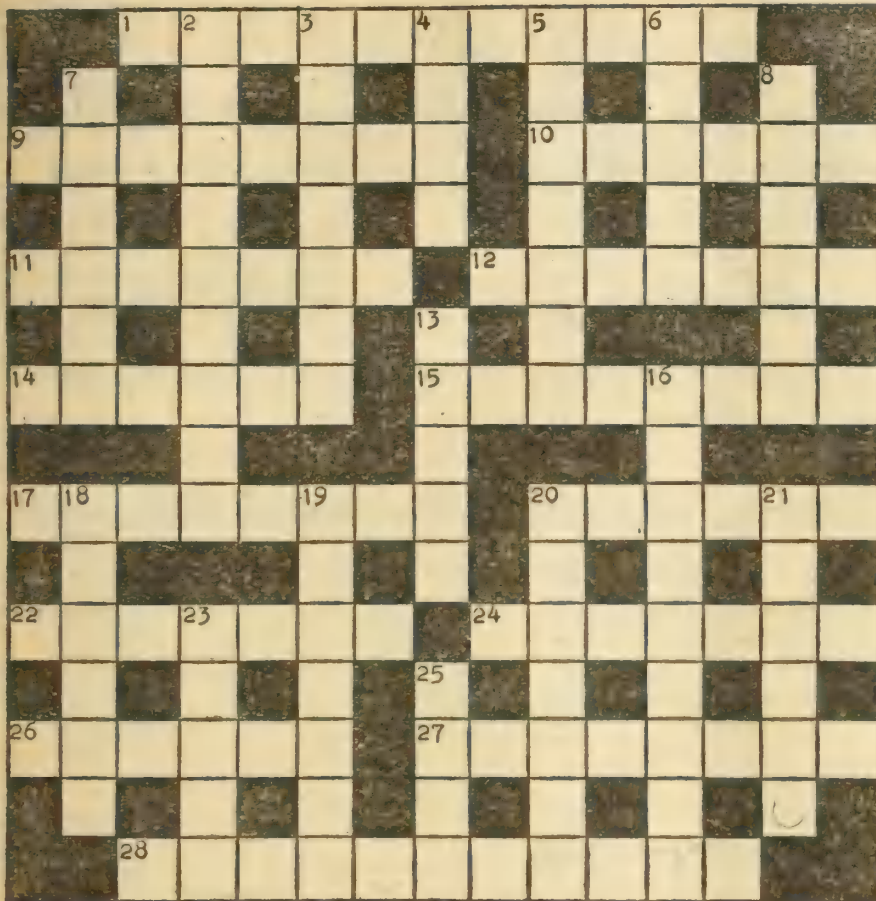
Dear Sirs: Thank you sincerely for your presentation of Collier's Wins World War III, by D. F. Fleming. Truly we have more than Russia to fear these days if this issue of one of our "slicks" is indicative of the "thinking" of America.

ALBERT H. BALLER

Greenfield, Mass.

Crossword Puzzle No. 443

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 A break in the levee? (4, 7)
- 9 Tell little Edward to succeed at this time or get thrashed! (8)
- 10 A felid usually gets more mixed up around us! (6)
- 11 Slander. (7)
- 12 Individual time of the order? (7)
- 14 and 16 down Hides the evidence, but goes over everything thoroughly! (6, 3, 6)
- 15 and 25 down Annie Oakley? (8, 4)
- 17 Fruit sack and nothing else to write with. (8)
- 20 Improves compensation. (6)
- 22 What one does with strabismus. (7)
- 24 Traditionally wears a 25 and 15 irons. (7)
- 26 I'm dead around the head! (6)
- 27 See 8 down.
- 28 Quick Quakers? (4, 7)

DOWN

- 2 How some landlubbers dislike ocean travel! (2, 7)
- 3 Where you might find apteryx birds around an American club. (7)
- 4 Puts two and two together like a dentist. (4)

- 5 The myalgia of a decapitated 17. (7)
- 6 Match portion of 16's bottom. (5)
- 7 Gilbert island emperor. (6)
- 8 and 27 Liberal in the roll of the abandoned. (4, 2, 3, 5)
- 13 The way to legally hinder poets? (5)
- 16 See 14 across
- 18 The British might say this kind of measure was worth 51 pounds? (6)
- 19 Where one might eat on the floorboards? (7)
- 20 To bring to a head. (7)
- 21 It might be a blemish to become an apostate. (6)
- 23 This country goes in half of 26. (6)
- 25 See 15 across.

• • • • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 441

ACROSS:—1 GOLDEN WEDDING; 9 TIGER; 10 CAMPANULA; 11 ITALICS; 12 STUFFED; 13 GILLS; 14 SIEGFRIED; 16 PASTORATE; 18 ASPIC; 19 TIMBER; 21 PICCOLO; 22 APPLE CART; 23 RIPEN; 24 ENTREPRENEURS.

DOWN:—1 GETTING UP STEAM; 2 LOG TABLES; 3 EARWIGS; 4 WICKS; 5 DAMASCENE; 6 IN A HUFF; 7 GRUFF; 8 PADDED ACCOUNTS; 14 STAIRCASE; 15 IMPROMPTU; 17 ODDMENT; 18 ALCORAN; 20 MAPLE; 21 PETER.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation 20 Vasey Street, New York 7, New York.

RESORTS

40 MILES TO FOREST HOUSE

Near enough for easy travel, far enough for an unforgettable vacation. Forest House achieves new levels of gay relaxation in inspiring surroundings. Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality. Two grand lakes. All sports.

FOREST HOUSE

Lake Mahopac, N. Y. • Tel. Mahopac 8-3449

RESERVE NOW FOR CHRISTMAS AND NEW YEAR'S

Glenmere
wood burning fireplaces
in most rooms

the GLENMERE, Chester, N. Y.

Phones: Chester 2151; N. Y. Rector 2-1117

50 MI.
FROM
NEW YORK



MAMANASCO
Lake Lodge

RIDGEFIELD, CONN.

Phone 8-7000

A resort of distinction offering relaxation and recreation in the modern manner. Winter activities include skating and skating on mile long lake. Excellent cuisine and accommodations. Dancing, TV, recordings, roaring fireplaces. Reserve for holidays now. Rates moderate.

FARMS & ACREAGE

FOR SALE: Vermont farm, 60 acres, near Barre-Montpelier, on year-round road, brick house, 9 rooms, bath, fireplace, modern kitchen, furnace, electricity; guest cabin with fireplace, knotty pine panelling. Fertile acreage rents for taxes. Magnificent view. Asking \$15,000. Write Mrs. Charles P. Hull, 10 Pleasant Street, Northboro, Mass.

PUBLISHING SERVICE

AUTHORS! Sales Department available for your short stories, articles, books and plays. Free booklet, write today! Mead Agency, 419 Fourth Avenue, N. Y. 16 (OR 9-1150).

Will print, publish and distribute your non-fiction or fiction manuscript in pamphlet or book form. Send for free folder. WILLIAM-FREDERICK PRESS, 313 West 35th St., New York 1, N. Y.

TALENT AND GENIUS!

Especially on short-short stories, in the 1,000-word class. Unlimited field, go after the dormant riches brought out in writing.

TOM EEBER

11610 College View Dr., Silver Spring, Md.

HOME STUDY

SHORTHAND IN ONE WEEK. EZ longhand system. \$1.00. Returnable. Zimmerman, 215-N West 91 Street, New York 24, New York.

Advertising Rates

CLASSIFIED

74¢ a line (6 words)

Three-line minimum

CLASSIFIED DISPLAY

\$7.42 per inch (minimum)

Remittance must accompany all orders

The NATION

TWENTY VESEY STREET

New York 7, New York

Barclay 7-1006

A Seasonal Reminder

★ With Christmas approaching, we want to remind you that *The*
★ *Nation* offers a rewarding and effortless way to get some of your
★ shopping done.

★ A year's subscription to *The Nation* makes a substantial gift, and,
★ considering *The Nation's* dedication to peace and good-will, an appro-
★ priate one for the season.

★ There has been no advance in our gift rate. Five dollars still sends
★ 52 weeks of good reading to each friend on your list, a new remem-
★ brance every week from one year's end to the other.

★ Simply fill out and send the coupon, and we will do the rest—gift card
★ and all.

GIFT ORDER FORM

The NATION

Twenty Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

Dear Nation: Please send gift subscriptions of one year of *The Nation* to my friends as indicated below, at the special gift rate of \$5 each.

- ☐ Also renew my own subscription to *The Nation* at the regular rate for _____ years.
☐ Don't renew my subscription now. ☐ Remittance enclosed. ☐ Please bill me.

My name is _____

Street _____

City _____ Zone & State _____

Regular Renewal Subscription Rates:

One Year \$7 • Two Years \$12 • Three Years \$17
For Foreign and Canadian subscriptions add \$1 a year.

LIST GIFT SUBSCRIPTIONS HERE

Name _____

Street _____

City _____ Zone & State _____

Gift Card should read from _____

☐ Send Gift Card to me for mailing.

Name _____

Street _____

City _____ Zone & State _____

Gift Card should read from _____

☐ Send Gift Card to me for mailing.

Name _____

Street _____

City _____ Zone & State _____

Gift Card should read from _____

☐ Send Gift Card to me for mailing.

Name _____

Street _____

City _____ Zone & State _____

Gift Card should read from _____

☐ Send Gift Card to me for mailing.

12/15/51

Arabian Night's Tale—*Keith Hutchison*

THE *Nation*

December 22, 1951

Are the Alps Neutral?

The Swiss Try a Communist

BY ERIC JOSEPHSON

✱

Miami: Anteroom to Fascism

BY STETSON KENNEDY

✱

Mr. Churchill Packs His Bag - - - - - *Andrew Roth*
The "Happy" Homosexual - - - - - *M. R. Sapirstein*
If Your Agent Doesn't Call" - - - - - *Charles R. Allen, Jr.*
After the Deadlock - - - - - *J. Alvarez del Vayo*

AROUND THE U. S. A.

The Shattered Illusion of Reform

Chicago

FOR about three and a half years Chicago liberals have had a growing suspicion that Martin H. Kennelly is less a reform mayor than a buffer between the people and the machine politicians, a figurehead who piously talks reform while his Democratic colleagues in the City Council make a mockery of his every high-sounding phrase.

Since December 6 they have been practically certain that they were right—that Kennelly's role is to be a smoke screen behind whom the machine goes its grafting way. On that day Kennelly broke his habit of uttering glittering generalities and made one of his infrequent comments on a controversial issue before the Council. Referring to Alderman Clarence P. Wagner, leader of the machine forces and often called the "assistant mayor" because he is chairman of the powerful finance committee, the Mayor angrily declared, "I want to say that as mayor I've had the fullest support from Alderman Wagner. He's done a huge job for the city government and this administration. And I want everybody to know I'm 100 per cent behind him."

To understand the climactic nature of this statement, it is necessary to go back to December, 1946. The Democratic Party in Chicago was at a low ebb. Licking its wounds after the previous month's unsuccessful contests, the organization found itself facing almost certain defeat in the impending mayoralty election unless some major changes were made in its slate.

The late Edward J. Kelly, the man who had done so much at the 1944 convention to make Harry S. Truman President, was completing his fourteenth year as mayor, and his chances of continuing were not good. The people were fed up with a school system shot through with corruption, and there was a long list of other civic sores that needed medication. The party leaders, therefore, persuaded Kelly to step down and nominated Kennelly, a white-

thatched bachelor business man of unchallenged personal integrity whose only previous political ventures had consisted in sponsoring anti-Kelly candidates for various offices in Democratic primaries. Running on a platform that called for reforms in practically every phase of the city's operations, Kennelly was swept into office by a large margin. Espousing similar ideas, a number of young war veterans were elected to the City Council, replacing "Kelly men" who had been around for a long time. Most of these new faces were Republican, some were Democratic, but they were all committed to the Mayor's basic platform.

In the four and a half years that followed, rehabilitation of the school system was Kennelly's one major reform—in fact, his one significant accomplishment of any kind. The rest of his program, with a few minor exceptions, has languished, despite the efforts of the outnumbered insurgent group in the Council.

The majority Democratic bloc in the Council has consisted of three or four men like Wagner and about twenty-five rubber-stamp colleagues who have done as Wagner and his associates dictated. (One of the twenty-five, Alderman Frank Micek, recently told a reporter that he was "not much on city government or politics.") The militant minority has been made up of from fifteen to twenty members of the fifty-man Council, three or four of them independent Democrats and the others Republicans. Time after time Kennelly has kept silent on major issues, failing to back the minority group that stands for what he says he stands for but taking care not to align himself openly with the Wagner bloc.

When he ran for reelection this spring against a relatively unknown Republican, Robert L. Hunter, Kennelly clung to the platform that he had advocated four years earlier. He magnified little instances of reform and promised that bigger ones would be forthcoming. But when deals between the Democratic and Republican machines insured the reelection, without contest, of sixteen

anti-reform aldermen, the Mayor made no protest. He was reelected by a smaller, but still comfortable, margin. His mandate to go ahead with the reform program has been no more of a spur than the platform on which he was originally elected. Adequate housing, real civil-service reform, and trimming of unnecessary city expenditures are no closer today than they were at the end of the Kelly administration.

Revelations of large-scale graft and waste in certain city departments this fall led to demands for a "Little Hoover Commission" to streamline the executive branch. This angered the Mayor and impelled him to make his long-delayed choice of sides. Wagner saw to it that the commission proposal was emasculated in committee. It was during subsequent floor debate on the issue that Kennelly made his momentous pledge of support for Wagner and for whatever Wagner stands for.

Now even diehard Kennelly men among the city's sincere reformers are beginning to cast about for a leader to begin the fight anew. Currently considered most likely to take up the cudgels is Alderman Robert E. Merriam of the Fifth Ward, a leader of the Democratic "militant minority." The thirty-three-year son of Charles emeritus of piversity of Cl tled for reform years ag

[W. A. J. man.]

SPAN

Two articles standing

These articles vivid picture of conditions in all parts of the country—on the exhausted land and in the luxurious capital. *The Nation* considers them one of the most distinguished pieces of reporting it has seen this year.

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 173

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • DECEMBER 22, 1951

NUMBER 25

The Shape of Things

HAROLD E. STASSEN, WHO ONCE PLAYED THE leading role in Minnesota Republican politics, has been reduced to the ignominy of bit parts. Senator Robert Taft's announcement that he intends to campaign for Republican delegates in Minnesota probably means the end of Stassen's influence in the state. The fact that Taft's name will not necessarily appear on the primary ballot does not have any real bearing on the amount of support he may receive. The present Minnesota primary, which was enacted in 1949 as a means of aiding Stassen, selects only seven of the state's twenty-eight delegates. That Roy Dunn, Minnesota's "Mr. Republican," has decided to take charge of the Taft campaign indicates how feebly the Stassen candle burns in Minnesota at the moment. Actually, President Truman cleverly tipped the scales in Minnesota for Taft last summer when he named Republican Governor Luther Youngdahl to a federal judgeship. With Governor Youngdahl's departure from the partisan arena, the way was cleared for Roy Dunn to control the state's delegation to the next Republican convention. It will be interesting to see how Stassen fares with Minnesota voters if he decides to enter the March primary after his return from a visit to General Eisenhower's headquarters in Europe.

★

THE OPERATION OF MR. TRUMAN'S EMPLOYEE "loyalty" procedures never appeared more tyrannical than in the dismissal of John Stewart Service, veteran State Department career official. The Loyalty Review Board, headed by former Senator Hiram Bingham of Connecticut, admitted there was no affirmative reason for considering Service disloyal. It held, however, that there was "reasonable ground" to doubt his loyalty because in 1945 Service had given copies of some of his reports from China to Philip Jaffe, coeditor of the magazine *Amerasia*. In 1945 there was no reason for Service to suspect—nor has it ever been shown—that Jaffe transmitted information to the Soviet Union. Service, like any other State Department official, had a clear right to declassify information on which he himself had placed a classification rating. Like other State Department officials, he had a duty as well as a right to provide the facts to accredited editors and

reporters. In public speeches and in conversations he had given other newspapermen substantially the same information he gave Jaffe—and the loyalty review board had no criticism of this. Unfortunately Mr. Truman last July 21 changed the standards of the loyalty program to allow discharge of an employee not because of "reasonable grounds" for believing him "disloyal" but merely because of "reasonable doubt" of his "loyalty." The burden of proof was thus shifted entirely to the accused. And in the Service case the board applied the standard rigidly. Under such circumstances the Loyalty Review Board becomes little more than a kangaroo court in which no person under heavy political fire has a chance to win vindication. We hope that Mr. Service carries out his announced plan to appeal the decision to the courts and that the ultimate result will be a judgment denouncing and outlawing the employee-loyalty program as lacking all the elements of fairness and due process.

★

FOR ONCE *THE NATION* FINDS ITSELF IN agreement with Senator Joseph R. McCarthy. In a letter to Senator Guy Gillette, McCarthy has demanded certain information of the Senate Elections Committee now investigating the charges on the basis of which Senator Benton has demanded his ouster from the Senate. For example, he wants to know the number of persons employed by the committee, their backgrounds and salaries, how many are working on his case, and whether they have been instructed to limit their inquiries to matters involving elections. Senator McCarthy, we believe, is entitled to this information. Of recent years Congressional committees have been known to employ consultants and investigators of dubious antecedents. Any person or organization being investigated should have the right to know the names of those conducting the inquiry, if only to guard against personal or political malice. The public, acting as jury, should be given the background of witnesses, experts, and investigators and the amounts such persons are paid. Senator McCarthy is on solid ground, too, when he insists that the investigators should confine themselves to the precise matters under inquiry. McCarthy's own methods of investigation and the questionable persons he has employed should not be permitted to obscure the importance of the issue he has raised. We have confidence that Senator Gillette and his colleagues will conduct a fair inquiry into the

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

- The Shape of Things 537
 "Open Corruption Openly Arrived At" 539

ARTICLES

- After the Deadlock *by J. Alvarez del Vayo* 540
 Mr. Churchill Packs His Bag *by Andrew Roth* 542
 The Swiss Try a Communist *by Eric Josephson* 544
 Miami: Anteroom to Fascism
by Stetson Kennedy 546
 "If Your Agent Doesn't Call"
by Charles R. Allen, Jr. 548
 Arabian Night's Tale *by Keith Hutchison* 549

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

- Images of History *by Keith Hutchison* 550
 Understanding Auden *by Hayden Carruth* 550
 The "Happy" Homosexual
by Milton R. Sapirstein 551
 A Legend Analyzed *by Richard D. Heffner* 552
 Books in Brief 553
 Drama *by Joseph Wood Krutch* 553
 Music *by B. H. Haggin* 554
 Art *by Manny Farber* 555

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 444

by Frank W. Lewis

opposite 556

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Associate Editor: Carey McWilliams

Foreign Editor
 J. Alvarez del Vayo

Literary Editor
 Margaret Marshall

Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin

Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting

Assistant Editor: Charles R. Allen, Jr.

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside

Staff Contributors

Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: Mary Simon

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1951, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas. *Subscription Prices:* Domestic—One year \$7; Two years \$12; Three years \$17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1. *Change of Address:* Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: *The Nation* is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

charges made by Senator Benton; but there is every reason why the Senator from Wisconsin should be given the information he has demanded.

★

"THE TRIUMPH OF AMERICAN CAPITALISM" would have been a fitting title for two speeches delivered at the opening session of the first International Conference of Manufacturers, which convened in New York on December 3. Paul G. Hoffman, former Economic Cooperation Administrator, and Charles E. Wilson, president of General Motors, both advised the visiting European industrialists to modify Old World capitalism in favor of the American brand. In the last forty years, Mr. Wilson pointed out, the real income of workers in American manufacturing plants has increased an average of 2½ per cent a year. But he failed to mention that part of this truly significant improvement was attained through the organization and militant effort of American workers and despite the resistance of American capitalists. "It is important," Mr. Wilson added, "that the workmen in all our countries recognize that they will share in increased productivity when it is achieved." The workers of all countries, however, may not be easily convinced of this, for the Marshall Plan, whatever the intentions of its sponsors, has been carried out in such a way that industry's increased profits have not been accompanied by improvement in the workers' comparable position. According to Mr. Wilson himself, more than 75 per cent of all peoples have little choice between "working themselves to death or starving to death."

★

HOFFMAN TOLD THE VISITING EUROPEAN industrialists that "while you were going one way, toward the limitation of competition, we were going the other way, keeping it free, sharp, and painful." He conceded, of course, that there were a few backsliders among American capitalists, but "any attempt on our part to avoid competition by entering into arrangements with our competitors puts us in danger of going to jail. . . . The American anti-trust laws have been made sharper and tougher, and our government maintains a large staff of vigilant experts to see that they are lived up to and to plug up any leaks that might develop." If unrestricted free competition has brought the grand results Messrs. Hoffman and Wilson describe, why are so many "vigilant experts" needed to police American industry?

★

GEORGE N. SHUSTER, RETURNING TO HIS Hunter College presidency after serving as United States Commissioner for Bavaria, is the latest of our officials to declare that the signs of a revival of Nazism in Germany are exaggerated by alarmists here and abroad. He adds, however, "I am afraid that if such a movement got

started it would not provoke the energetic resistance to it that would be necessary." On whether Germany is a threat to world peace he says, "It would take a long time for Germany ever to develop into a position where she could be a threat to anyone." Despite these reassurances, a recent press item is disturbing. An A. P. dispatch from Frankfurt dated November 21 described the new "snappy dress uniform" worn by more than 30,000 Germans serving in Labor Service units attached to United States forces. "Blue-gray in color, the uniform is similar in pattern to that of the United States soldiers, including an Eisenhower-type jacket, but the Germans will wear a ski-trooper cap instead of the garrison cap of United States servicemen." One wonders whether this distinction is sufficient to allay uneasiness over the last sentence of the dispatch: "Although they are officially described as civilian employees of the United States army, the Labor Service units are organized along military lines under former German army officers."

✱

THIS ITEM FOLLOWS ON THE HEELS OF ONE from Tokyo which reports that the 75,000-man Japanese National Police Force—which is equipped with small arms, machine guns, mortars, and bazookas—will receive anti-aircraft guns, artillery, and tanks. This "hidden" army may be doubled in the near future. At present expansion is carried on by the use of the "reserve" rotary system which during the Weimar Republic built the cadres for Hitler's army. Four hundred ex-army and navy officers recently completed training under the program, and another four hundred are now in training. The only difference between the situation in West Germany and Japan today and Germany during the 1920's is that remilitarization is being encouraged by the Allies.

✱

PARTS OF THE BELGIAN CONGO SUPPLEMENT to the Paris edition of the New York *Herald Tribune* of November 23 are certainly well suited to Soviet propaganda. There is, for example, the frank admission in the lead article that there are only 464 white doctors in the Congo, one for each 40,000 inhabitants. Education is clearly designed to make the Congo natives good laborers and artisans. The government "feels that a great mass taught the three R's and the fundamentals of hygiene is better than a handful of black graduates of Liège University." Yet there are 2,000 black African students in English, Canadian, and American universities and a comparable number from the French overseas territories in French universities. The reason for the Belgian policy of not training a single black Congolese in any Belgian university has been made clear by Ivan de Thibault, acting governor-general of the Belgian Congo. The Belgian government, he writes, believes that

"the practice leads to discontent due to the inability of even the best-educated native to comprehend the European system. . . . We think it is very dangerous to send the Congo native to Europe."

✱

BUT THE MOST AMAZING ARTICLE IN THE supplement appears under the heading: "Race Segregation is Strict; Blacks Seem Not to Resent It." The opening paragraph declares that strict and complete segregation is "not a problem" in the Congo, for no one, least of all the blacks, has any "idea that there could possibly be any other arrangement." Native trade unions, the article continues, "are strictly regulated and are led by whites." There are no "native leaders" apart from the few who have been taken into the government in advisory or minor administrative posts. There are no native-language daily newspapers. The movies that the natives are allowed to see are "carefully selected." Colored American missionaries are no longer tolerated. A few natives have been appointed to the governor's administrative council and in perhaps twenty or thirty years, the vote may be given to whites and to natives who possess certain educational qualifications. "A representative government of blacks and whites will be the first result, with, of course, much stronger white representation than would be indicated by the relative numbers. A true democracy with universal suffrage is in the far future." Meanwhile Belgium is making sure that the Congo's wealth is supporting the power that exploits it. The government has projected a ten-year plan for an investment of a billion dollars "to speed up the expansion of a country whose wealth has only been scratched to date." A franker document has not come our way in some time.

"Open Corruption Openly Arrived At"

JOSEPH ALSOP has recently written three pungent columns on the source and scope of political corruption. Far from suggesting that revelations are almost complete, he indicates that after the investigation of the Internal Revenue Bureau, Congress will turn to the Office of Alien Property. There, if they "find the guts to stop scratching for peanuts and to begin digging for the big potatoes," we shall find some really important scandals.

Rejecting the notion that there has been a moral collapse in the United States, Alsop believes that this contemporary corruption results "from certain vital changes in the relationship between business and politics." He notes the tremendously increased cost of election campaigns and agrees with Senator William Benton that this

is "the area of greatest ethical discomfort in American public life." Where once Truman H. Newberry was expelled from the Senate for spending \$200,000 to get himself elected, in 1950 two Senators are each reported to have spent more than \$2,000,000 for campaign expenses. The result is that "business men and corporations pay at least 85 per cent of the . . . political bills, mostly under the table." For "business men will now pay almost anything to ease their dealings with the government."

However, this is no new development in American politics. Government and parties have always become corrupt in almost direct ratio to the resources available for distribution to deserving business men. In an earlier period government could allocate land, timber and mineral resources, franchises and charters. Now there are billions in defense contracts, legislation to be written in the private interest of oil and natural gas promoters, and tax concessions to be extorted.

Because politics is "enormously important" to them, Alsop implies that business men are hardly to be blamed for making the purchase. After all they buy "political influence that may be worth many millions for sums which they and their corporations hardly feel." Furthermore, much of the cost is passed on to the citizen as business expense and reflected in higher prices. Thus the public pays for the corruption of its servants. What is the product of this corruption? "Rows of Senators," writes Alsop, "whose votes are controlled when the chips are down by the banks, the local utilities, the mining and mineral interests, and other big business groupings." This "business is business" approach results in such complete acceptance of the commercial ethic that the United States Senate sees nothing extraordinary in Lustron Corporation's contribution of \$10,000 to Senator Joseph R. McCarthy. Washington is not alone in this politics for profit. According to Mr. Alsop, an unpublished survey showed that in 1948, "more than half the state governments were dominated in this manner by various large business interests."

One may certainly agree with Mr. Alsop that moral prating is folly "when immoral behavior is the result of compulsion." However, his suggested cures seem to stop short of fundamental reform.

There is no doubt that American democracy must face up to the problem of election costs. Until we are prepared to demand public financing with enforceable laws against corrupt practices, politics will continue to be dominated by the highest bidder.

Similarly there is no doubt that government service must be made a respected profession. In fact, tremendous strides toward this end have been made. But so long as our society stresses self-aggrandizement as the primary goal, there is no reason why a bright young man should not look upon work in the Internal Revenue Bureau, for example, as "a way station en route to a corporate posi-

tion or a Washington law firm." And so long as government service is looked upon as a stepping-stone to wealth and power, it will be difficult to uphold high standards of performance in government.

Finally, one finds it difficult to accept Mr. Alsop's picture of business men "treating the government like a huge, terrifying, hostile power." Rather it appears that they look upon it as providing "the Great Barbecue." Therefore, to have corporations, as Mr. Alsop suggests, assign executives to Washington "to study their problems with the government as they might study a plant lay-out or a sales territory" might eliminate the fees of influence brokers and save the lives of a few mink, but it would scarcely lessen the corruption of public officials.

On the other hand, it does not follow that corruption is simply the price a democracy must pay for the freedom to better their lot which it allows to individuals. The British example challenges this cynical dogma. And our own national experience has shown, as during the New Deal, that the functions and the budget of the federal government may be enormously expanded without some new plunderbund taking over. Unlike Franklin D. Roosevelt, Mr. Truman does not understand the importance of setting a proper "tone" for his Administration. This is strikingly apparent, for example, in his appointment of Judge Thomas F. Murphy to direct an inquiry into corruption. Judge Murphy did a fair clean-up job as Police Commissioner of New York, but he served as prosecutor under Attorneys General Clark and McGrath, and he could hardly have been appointed to the federal bench without the approval and support of the latter. That Mr. Truman should put him in charge of an investigation which must probe directly into the conduct of his former superiors is the best illustration of the President's failure to understand the moral basis of leadership in a democracy.

After the Deadlock

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Paris, December 12

THE inevitable happened. The talks on disarmament which the four great powers had been holding behind closed doors ended in a deadlock. Equally vain have been the last feeble attempts of various delegates to accomplish through private conversations something, anything, which could be chalked up as progress before the Assembly adjourns for the Christmas vacation. Delegates who want a cheerful holiday will try to think that the time has not all been wasted, that the talks have thrown some light on the problem. But that is not enough in the present international situation. I say that what happened was inevitable because if East and West

had really sought a reconciliation, they would not have presented grandiose rearmament plans which had not the slightest chance of acceptance but would have discussed privately the more precise issues on which they might hope to reach a compromise.

Instead of looking for possible areas of agreement, Russia and the United States have engaged in a clear trial of strength over the election of the third new member to the Security Council. The persistent efforts of the American delegation to have Greece chosen over Byelorussia, the pressure exerted on the Latin Americans when even France and Great Britain were voting for Byelorussia, indicated that the Americans were not prepared to yield ground even on a relatively minor issue. The Russians have become correspondingly intransigent. No progress has been registered since President Auriol of France, in his opening address, made his futile appeal for "human contact." And if the situation is no better after six weeks of effort, that means it has got worse.

The Russians were of course gratified that in the contest for a place on the Security Council America's "automatic majority" was broken. The number of ballots cast for Byelorussia increased with each vote taken to an impressive, and revealing, total. This may be changed in the final balloting, but even if the revolt succeeds, it does not guarantee a different line-up on other major issues, particularly on the capital question of German rearmament. The time has not come when any important Western nation will oppose the United States if it says, "Are you with us or against us?"

FOR the United States the basic difficulty is that the policy of developing "positions of strength" cannot be harmonized with the policy of "negotiation." In the first place, it is hard to say exactly what a satisfactory position of strength is. If the decision is left to the military, no position will ever be considered sufficiently strong. If the statesmen are to decide, the speeches of President Truman and Secretary Acheson ought to give the answer, but actually they throw little light on the subject. It is clear, however, that in the official American view these positions of strength have not yet been attained. So why, at this stage, should the United States take an interest in negotiation?

A few months ago the Russians showed a disposition to make concessions, but now their attitude has stiffened. They consider Herr Grotewohl's offer of unification and free elections a hint of their willingness to give up East Germany in return for the abandonment of rearmament in West Germany. Since they have accomplished nothing by previous moves, they doubtless think they might better save their good cards until the situation becomes so intolerable for all people, including the Americans, and war seems so imminent, that concessions will bring results.

Of course the Russians are influenced by other considerations too. They see that poverty and unrest in Western Europe are being increased by what Europeans call the policy of "tearing down our strong outer economic wall, built by Marshall Plan aid, in order to erect an inner defense wall"—which is not being done very efficiently either. And while there was never before so much talk of European unity, they see that Europe was never so disunited. The Russians are also probably counting on the effect of inflation in the United States, unaware of how much they are influenced by wishful thinking. They may even believe that they can win out with a policy of "wait and see," dangerous as that is. In my opinion, however, their behavior is explained principally by their conviction that for the present the Americans are in no mood to negotiate.

Whatever impels the two powers to act as they do, the really disturbing possibility is that the Assembly will dissolve in February without having brought a reconciliation any nearer. The interval between this Assembly and the next will be a very dangerous vacuum if there is no Big Four conference or other serious diplomatic initiative.

People may say that the same thing has happened before. But this time a long period devoid of any constructive action is a more than usually alarming prospect because of the planned rearmament of Germany, which introduces a new explosive element. It is false comfort to think that the strength of German feeling against rearmament makes it unlikely in the near future. Schumacher's Socialists, the Protestant church, the majority of the people may oppose it, but they cannot prevent it. With the aid of the United States all the political obstacles can be overcome. The presence of millions of refugees in West Germany and the possibility of increased unemployment will enable the government to recruit an army, and more quickly than some people think possible.

Unfortunately the new German army will be of the worst conceivable type. It will be an army commanded largely by Nazis, inspired with the Nazi spirit of aggression and revenge. In other countries of the Atlantic coalition military strength might be considered a means of preserving peace (personally I cannot agree). But the rearmament of Germany can easily bring war. It will enable the Germans to plan to regain by force of arms the provinces now in Poland's possession and to revive the idea of a Greater Germany. The very fact that German rearmament is a major factor in Atlantic defense strategy so increases the tension between East and West as to render a rapprochement almost impossible.

In the period between the current Assembly and the next, these developments will be a constant threat. To deal with them the first requirement is the courage to look the facts in the face.

Mr. Churchill Packs His Bag

BY ANDREW ROTH

London, December 13

AS THE Prime Minister prepares for his fateful trip to Washington, press and public are speculating about what proposal he will take with him. No one doubts that he will wrap up his demand for more American aid in some flamboyant covering, and the conviction is growing that he will propose the creation of a semi-federal Atlantic Union built around an Anglo-American core. This suggestion would not prevent later personal negotiations with Stalin. As the *Economist* put it, Mr. Churchill's route to Moscow must be "via Washington." In fact his approach to the Russians will be more assured if he feels he has the solid backing of the United States.

There is little direct proof that Churchill will urge an Atlantic federation in Washington, but indications point that way. Australian Foreign Minister Richard Casey, a close friend and long-time political associate, said he "would place high emphasis" on the coming Churchill-Truman talks, pointing out that Britain and the United States are the "hard core" of the democratic world. Viscount Halifax, also an old Churchill intimate, has recently proposed an enduring Anglo-American alliance.

People have not forgotten other Churchill proposals about common sovereignty. In June, 1940, he offered France, staggering toward defeat, "an indissoluble union" with Britain. And until he abandoned it last month, he was one of the chief advocates of the "European movement" and the Council of Europe. His abrupt change of front both surprised and dismayed the European representatives at Strasbourg. They had counted upon his warm support. "To members of the Consultative Assembly the name Churchill means so much that it is difficult to convey the impression even in England," wrote the Manchester *Guardian's* correspondent. "Here was the man who made the Hague Congress, who created the European movement, and who conceived the idea of the European army. At long last he had become Prime Minister again." But Sir Maxwell Fyfe, Churchill's Home Secretary and special envoy, insisted that the British government could not surrender sovereign power to a federal body in Europe because it had "interests and responsibilities" in the Commonwealth and North America as well as in Europe.

The working out of a bigger scheme, closer to Britain's strategic and economic needs, would help explain this

aloofness toward the Continent. What is the point of federating with an equally impoverished competitor when you have hopes of combining with the world's greatest power while retaining essential links with the Commonwealth?

The editors of the *Economist*, which frequently articulates conservative thinking, clearly believe Mr. Churchill must soon restate "his views on Western unity" if he is to avoid "disorder and disillusionment" arising from Britain's rejection of European union. The *Economist* agrees that Britain should not federate with Continental Europe: "Britain's position compels it to seek not new responsibilities but new strength. It is, therefore, strongly attracted by the United States. . . ." It favors the "bigger and looser alternatives" offered by the further "development of the North Atlantic Treaty," whose "purpose . . . is to multiply links across the Atlantic. . . ." The political issue for Britain is to discover how such relations "are to be organized on a permanent and efficient basis."

Probably more than at any other time in recent history the United States is in a mood to welcome a proposal of this sort. Ever since 1949, when Paul Hoffman, then Marshall-aid administrator, demanded the creation of a "single market" in Western Europe, we have seen mounting evidences of American irritation over the inefficiencies and competing claims of the weak European countries. The Mutual Security Act of 1951 explicitly advocates "the economic unification and political federation of Europe." At Strasbourg, American Senators and Representatives delivered homilies to the Europeans on how they should imitate the original American colonies and federate. And on November 23 thirty-three leading citizens of the United States, including General Marshall, published an open letter demanding an Atlantic federation which would bind together the North American and West European states.

The advantages of such a federation to the British have been spelled out by a German-born British journalist, Sebastian Haffner, who writes in the influential *Sunday Observer*. During a long stay in Washington as correspondent of the *Observer* he developed excellent connections with the planning people in the State Department. Haffner insists that "there is no future for Britain outside a permanent association at least with America. Economically, the beginnings of rearmament have produced a new British balance-of-payments crisis which can be overcome only with renewed American aid. This shows that Britain cannot hope to discharge its commitments as

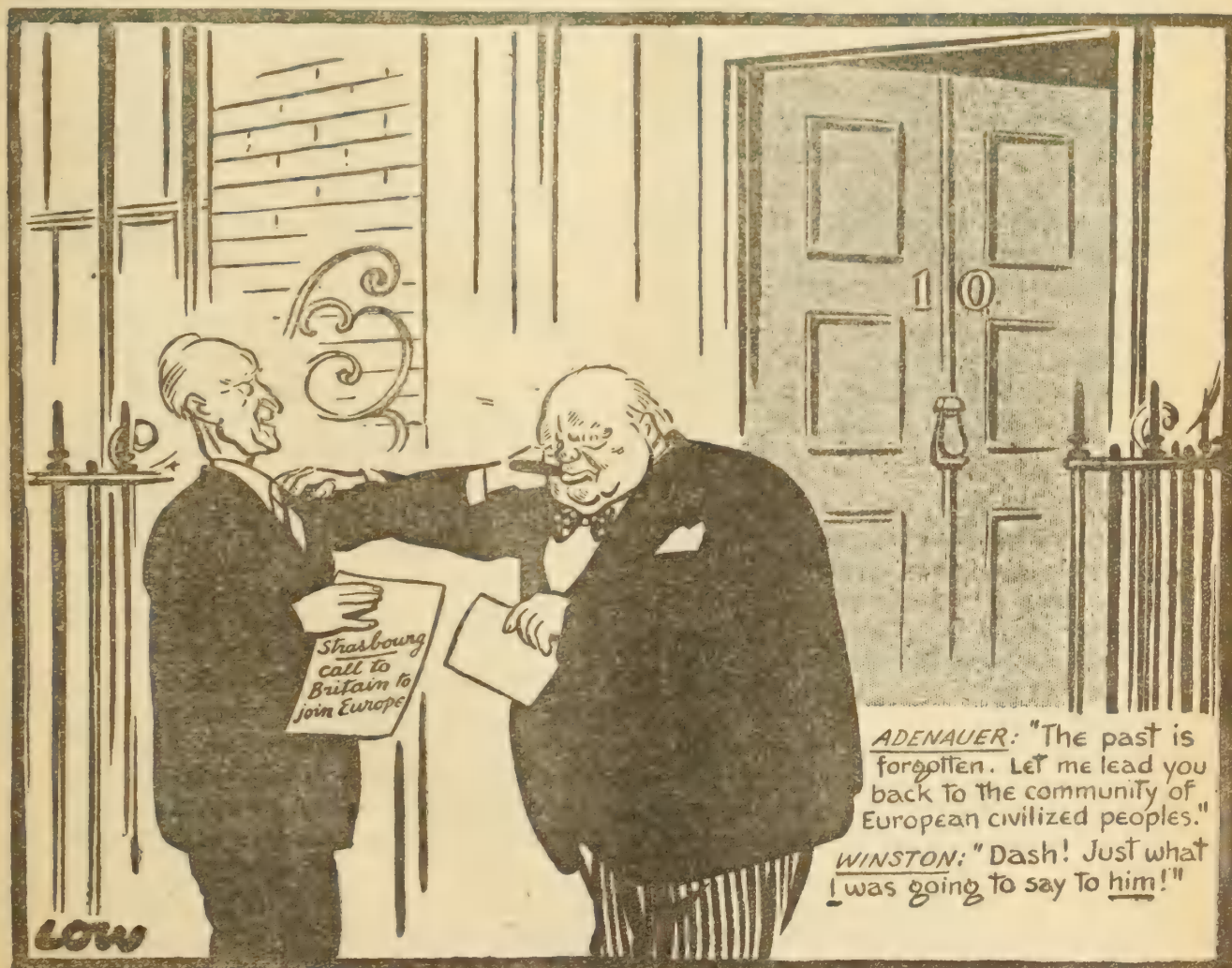
ANDREW ROTH is a staff contributor now stationed in London.

a great power without such continued aid; and it cannot abandon these commitments and contract to small-nation status without forcing half its population to emigrate or starve. Diplomatically, the Persian débâcle has proved that Britain can no longer, even in her traditional zones of influence, successfully pursue a foreign policy of her own in disagreement or conflict with American policy . . . surely it is preferable for her to merge with America in one economic and diplomatic union, in whose policies she has a say and to whose assets she still has a respectable contribution to make, than to remain in the position of a perpetual client and pensioner. She might still prefer to enter into such a union with America alone, instead of with all her Atlantic allies. But America would probably be interested only in the wider union."

It must be realized that these suggestions arise from the clear crisis in Western Europe over the economic burden of rearmament. Britain is running in the red at the rate of about £800,000,000 a year, and its situation is duplicated in France and other West European countries. Their imperfect economic recovery from the war and the loss of colonies has been complicated by the burden of rearmament and inflation. Added to this has been irritation with the United States, part of it due to in-

evitable resentment at the subordinate position of once proud Europe, part to crude American tactics. Many Western Europeans have been willing to swallow their nationalistic pride out of dread of a Soviet attack, which became general after the outbreak of the Korean war, and hope of adequate American aid. But current Soviet tactics have lulled their fears. The present period is a dividing line. Soon Western Europe—Britain included—will have to decide whether it will federate further under American influence or jettison the whole array of European and Atlantic organizations. The revolt by De Gaulle against the French becoming "America's subjects" is symptomatic.

A Churchill proposal for an Atlantic Union would be a further expression of dissatisfaction with Britain's present precarious position—the reverse side of the De Gaulle coin. It should not be forgotten that Churchill is, in reality, as impassioned a nationalist as De Gaulle. He can make a brilliant rhetorical offer to yield a measure of sovereignty if he believes it will further Britain's interest. But he will withdraw into a hard nationalist shell the moment he feels that Britain's interest is not being served. His curt retreat from Strasbourg should warn Washington.



ADENAUER: "The past is forgotten. Let me lead you back to the community of European civilized peoples."

WINSTON: "Dash! Just what I was going to say to him!"

ADENAUER'S VISIT

Courtesy London Daily Herald

The Swiss Try a Communist

BY ERIC JOSEPHSON

Lausanne, December 10

WHERE does Switzerland stand in the cold war and in the plans for rearming Western Europe? The sympathies of the Swiss government are no secret, though officials continue to assert the "traditional neutrality" of the country. What the Western military strategists have in mind for Switzerland in case of war has not been disclosed; but General de Lattre de Tassigny told the Swiss a year ago, "Your redoubt is the greatest fortress we have in Europe," evoking the image of Allied armies holding out in the Alps against the Russians. If some Swiss are made nervous by such a remark, they must also worry over the facts that 95 per cent of Swiss foreign trade is with countries in the West and that nearly 40 per cent of the national budget is devoted to military expenditures.

The problems of Switzerland's adjustment to the American new order in Western Europe and of its relations with the United States and the Soviet Union during the present crisis have been exposed by a political trial that took place in the supreme court in Lausanne during the last week in November. Pierre Nicole, a Communist journalist from Geneva, wrote a series of articles a year ago, some of which appeared in Eastern European newspapers, charging that the Swiss government was abandoning the principle of neutrality and preparing to associate itself with American aggression against the Soviet Union. In one article he referred to

... the absolutely incontestable fact that our present rulers are abandoning not only political and economic "neutrality" but even military "neutrality" in order to join ... the Yankee instigators of war. ...

In others he wrote:

Our rulers are plotting to betray our people and to associate our country with the anti-Soviet war that the American imperialists are preparing. ...

Our present rulers are not interested in assuring the future of our people, but only in protecting the interests of "our" ... financial oligarchies, which, they say, depend today on the success of the enterprises of Wall Street imperialists. ...

All these facts show the gravity of the situation. Our people must become conscious of this and react against those who are indeed "about to sell our country for profits" as Lenin had already foreseen in 1916.

ERIC JOSEPHSON was formerly on the staff of Dickinson College. He is now doing postgraduate work at the University of Lausanne.

After the appearance of his articles, Nicole was brought to trial by the government, accused of "slandering and defaming" its ministers, "slurring and endangering the independence" of the Swiss Confederation by provoking foreign intervention in its affairs, and finally of "provoking foreign undertakings and intrigues" against Swiss security. At the two-day trial, in response to the interrogation of the presiding judge, Nicole tried to justify his original accusations. Switzerland, he said, had joined the Organization for European Economic Cooperation, an institution ostensibly autonomous and supposed to improve economic conditions in Europe but in reality the executive organ of the Marshall Plan and therefore dealing with military problems. Why, Nicole asked, had the government kept secret recent economic agreements with the United States? Was it because Switzerland had been forced by the threat of a reduction in American trade to reduce its exports to the East by two-thirds and had been requested to prohibit the re-exportation of strategic materials coming from the West, as the *New York Times* reported?

What did the presence of Western generals in Switzerland mean? Did not General Spaatz visit the country in order to arrange for the exchange of Swiss and American aviators? Why did Field Marshal Montgomery, who is known to have held conversations with members of the government, make such "curiously frequent" trips to Switzerland? Was it not significant that Swiss officers attended an American army school and that Swiss weapons will be standardized on American models? Had not the head of the Swiss military department announced that the Swiss army would cooperate with foreign troops in the event of war? Finally, did not the Davis case prove that the Americans had organized espionage in Switzerland? (An American, Davis, had been expelled from the country in October, after a trial, on the ground that he had spied for Senator McCarthy, for the United States consul in Geneva, and for the United States embassy in Paris, gathering information on John Carter Vincent and Swiss and American "Communists." Four-fifths of Davis's indictment dealt with espionage he performed for United States diplomatic officials in Europe, a fact not reported in the press.)

The court allowed the defense only six witnesses, five being Communists who repeated or elaborated the remarks of Nicole. Why, they asked, were certain leftists forbidden to speak, but not reactionaries? Why was *Collier's* admitted to Switzerland but not "peaceful Soviet reviews"? Did not the government ban a meeting

of the World Council of Peace which was to have been held in Geneva? Why was a Committee of Inquiry back from North Korea prevented from delivering its report? A French general was not allowed to speak about the U. S. S. R., while the German General Speidel spoke in Lausanne on military affairs, and the American "spy-general" Donovan made mysterious visits. The sixth witness, however, the military expert of a conservative Geneva newspaper, was produced to comment on the role of the Swiss "redoubt" in the speculations of European general staffs. The impression the defense tried to give was that the Alps are of greater strategic interest to Americans than to Russians.

THE prosecutor answered directly the claim that Swiss neutrality was being abandoned. He admitted that the government had given in to American demands that trade with the East be reduced. Nevertheless, he said, in spite of its historical and geographical orientation toward the West, Switzerland would remain neutral. Its joining of the O. E. E. C. and the European Payments Union did not contradict the Swiss statute of perpetual neutrality. These two organizations, unlike the Atlantic Pact, from which Switzerland had remained aloof, were strictly economic in character. Besides, through the so-called "Swiss clause" in the O. E. E. C. agreement, the government reserved the right not to participate in any decision of which it disapproved. As for the exchange of officers, it was true that Swiss officers had gone to the United States and that American officers had been received here, but invitations for similar exchanges forwarded to the Russians were declined.

The Communists, the prosecutor said, set themselves up as the virtuous defenders of neutrality, but there was a time, not long ago, when they wanted Switzerland to abandon its traditional policy and enter the U. N. In a period of international tension, with considerable danger of war, Nicole had embarrassed the Swiss government by questioning its neutrality; this could afford an opportunity for intrigue and intervention by foreign powers, for increased Russian pressure, and for undermining the people's confidence in their government.

Nicole's lawyer, who is not a Communist, opened by submitting the celebrated issue of *Collier's* on World War III as evidence of America's designs, centered his defense on the right to express deviant opinions, and claimed that the proceedings had been turned into a "trial of opinion." Even violent views should be heard. Did not freedom of opinion exist in Switzerland? Was it contrary to the laws of a democratic regime to disapprove of the policy of the government and to oppose it? Nicole was violent in his attitudes and a frank revolutionist, but if he exaggerated or committed some errors in his articles, this was the result of the difficulties met by Swiss journalists in obtaining news. Owing to the

excessive discretion of officials domestic news sometimes only reached the country through the foreign press.

Nicole himself made a brief final statement in which he expressed his willingness to accept the consequences of his actions as a Communist, denied nothing, and reaffirmed his conviction that the Swiss government showed more sympathy for the United States than for the Soviet Union. Two days later the presiding judge sentenced Nicole to fifteen months' imprisonment, and in the course of pronouncing judgment said:

The accusations [of Nicole] imply . . . that the government, while proclaiming a policy of neutrality, plots secretly a policy of war preparation, allied with one group of powers against another, and these accusations . . . in the present state of tension in international relations endanger Swiss independence by giving a false image of our country's foreign policy and our desire for independence and peace with all foreign countries. The accusations tend also . . . to shake the confidence of the Swiss people in the honesty and loyalty of the policy proclaimed by its government and thus also constitute a danger to the country. Nicole cannot be ignorant of the falseness of his accusations. . . .

THE speed, simplicity, and dignity of Nicole's trial contrast sharply with some recent American proceedings. A large audience in the courtroom was attentive but quiet. No demonstrations in support of Nicole were organized in the vicinity of the courthouse. Most of the press, conservative and highly sympathetic to United States policy, reported the trial with restraint. So far, nobody outside the Communist Party has appeared to defend Nicole's rights. Elsewhere in Europe, aside from Radio Moscow and the left-wing newspapers, the trial has aroused comparatively little interest.

If the apathy shown by the Swiss themselves toward the Nicole case seems curious, it should be noted that the Communist Party is not regarded as a serious security threat. Banned during the greater part of World War II, the Communists today have fewer than 40,000 members, and the trial was not interpreted as part of a campaign by the government against the party. Ironically, the Communist Party in the United States is supposed to have approximately the same number of dues-paying members. In a sense, therefore, the trial derived its chief interest from its focusing of attention on the problem of Swiss neutrality.

Switzerland's experiment with "differential" neutrality as a conditional member of the League of Nations ended in 1935 when the country refused to participate in sanctions requested by the League against Italy, on the ground that such action would violate its neutrality. Subsequently, during World War II and the organization of the U. N., the Swiss reverted to their earlier policy of "absolute" neutrality. Today, as the statements of defense and prosecution in the Nicole trial made clear, Switzer-

land is under strong pressure from East and West. While it probably does not intend to abandon its heavily armed neutrality even if war comes, it is certainly closer in interest and sympathy to the United States than to the Soviet Union. On the other hand, the Swiss have shown themselves masters at the game of bargaining with great powers in a time of crisis and hanging on until the storm blows over. They may feel that they can once more calculate successfully their chances of survival.

Neutral, but not neutralist, Switzerland—with perhaps some misgivings—is “on our side.” But as it has done many times before, it will probably make strenuous efforts to keep out of a war. The Swiss like to recall that their army was prepared to fight against either German or Allied invasion during the last war. There was a time when the statesmen of Europe considered Swiss neutrality a distinct asset to Continental stability and order. Has this been forgotten?

Miami: Anteroom to Fascism

BY STETSON KENNEDY

Miami, Florida, December 14

THE terror that has engulfed this resort city since the succession of dynamite blasts designed to drive Negro residents from their homes and Jews from their places of worship is at least as intense as that caused by the Nazis' first forays from the beer cellars of Munich. Anti-Negro and anti-Jewish violence in Miami is not new. The local Klaverns have long used terror to keep Negroes inside the ghettos assigned to them, and their program for exploiting any minority has included anti-Semitism. At a “klavalkade” at Live Oak, Florida, the Miami Klan distributed anti-Semitic leaflets printed by Gerald L. K. Smith and kept shouting: “You folks are lucky; we’re from Miami where we have both niggers and kikes to contend with!” But the racial violence now rife is worse than anything Miami has known in the past. More than a quarter-million dollars’ damage has been done to Negro and Jewish buildings by the last half-dozen blasts alone, and the absence of human casualties is largely due to chance.

The campaign began on September 22 when two bundles of dynamite weighing 100 pounds each made a total loss of an unoccupied sixteen-unit building at the Carver Village housing project for Negroes. Walls were cracked and windows shattered for fifty blocks around. One bundle of dynamite, eighty sticks, failed to explode, but no fingerprints could be found. Instead of questioning Klansmen, Police Chief Walter Headley released a statement charging that investigation of the bombing “pointed strongly to the conclusion that it was part of a Communist plot to incite racial hatred.” Pressed for further facts, Chief Headley explained: “We cannot go into details at this time.” The local press ran scare headlines: “New Carver Village Explosion Linked to Reds.”

STETSON KENNEDY is the author of “Palmetto Country” and other books.

Several months earlier Carver Village, containing 216 dwelling units, had been set aside for Negro occupation from the extensive Knight Manor project previously occupied by whites only. Though Carver Village fronts on a “Negro neighborhood,” white opposition to its use by Negroes mounted. Traditionally, such opposition in Miami has been expressed by “property owners’ associations” and other civic organizations, including the KKK, through protest meetings and demands upon city officials for remedial action. In the agitation over the Pinewood project a few years ago, the Klan burned several dwellings, touched off fiery crosses on the project boundaries, and proclaimed through loudspeakers: “When the law fails you, call on us!”

In the case of Carver Village, the city commission had voted, four to one, a week before the big blast of September 22, to “condemn” the property “for municipal use other than public housing.” An injunction was filed to prevent the city from taking such action and a hearing scheduled for December 17. (The city attorney has now obtained a postponement, having discovered the case is “more complicated” than he first thought.) Not content with the city’s solution, fifty white citizens led by Ira D. Hawthorne immediately banded together as the Dade County Property Owners’ Association, and obtained a charter from the state of Florida as a “benevolent, non-profit” (tax-exempt) organization. The association, which in the weeks before the blast claimed an increase of 200 members, took the position that the city should invoke “emergency police powers” to evict all Negroes from Carver Village, without waiting for a court ruling on the condemnation proceedings.

At a meeting of the group the day after the blast Hawthorne said, “We didn’t want what has happened to happen, and we don’t want it to happen any more. . . . The city commission doesn’t realize how high the tension is out here. I’m afraid there is going to be bloodshed both ways if this thing keeps up.” He went

on to report that hardware stores in the vicinity were doing a rush business selling arms and ammunition to whites. The next day, in conjunction with the Edison Center Civic Association, the group formally renewed its demand that the Negroes be evicted "for their protection, and ours too."

THE tension continued for over two months, and then the wife of Mayor Chelsie Senerchia began to receive anonymous telephone threats to "get the niggers out of Carver Village or we'll blast them out." Sure enough, on the morning of November 30 Carver was again rocked by a blast in an unoccupied eight-unit structure. Two of the three bundles of dynamite planted failed to explode, but damages exceeded \$22,000. A large group of Negroes, some of them residents of Carver and some of them armed, gathered at the scene. Police disarmed Charles H. Gray, thirty-two, who said he was carrying a pistol "to protect my wife and children," and an unidentified man who said he was carrying a shotgun "to protect my people." Both men were taken into custody and placed in the back of a squad car, but about five hundred Negroes surrounded the car and released the prisoners while the police radioed frantically for assistance. Virtually every squad car in Greater Miami and Dade County responded with sirens screaming, but there were no further attempts to arrest Negroes that night.

Two days later, Sunday, December 2, at four in the morning, another blast rocked Carver, followed at half-hour intervals by blasts at the Hebrew School and Congregation and in a Jewish residential area. In a previous attack on the Jewish Center, on October 13, a stick of dynamite hurled at the door had failed to explode. One week before that, dynamite had been hurled at the Coral Gables Jewish Center, but the fuse was knocked out as it struck a tree; a watchman on duty all night and a police car which passed every twenty minutes reported they had seen nothing.

After the three blasts of December 2 the police arrested two Negro "suspects," grilled them for three hours under a lie detector, and kept them in jail for two days while their alibis were checked. In marked contrast to police and press handling of these Negroes was the treatment accorded several white suspects, whose names have never been made public.

A committee of Jewish leaders called on Assistant Police Chief J. A. Youell on December 3 to demand adequate protection for their centers. "Parents are afraid to send their children to school," Rabbi Simon April reported. "With the man-power situation what it is, we just can't make night watchmen out of our officers," Youell replied. He said the best he could do was to have prowler cars patrol Jewish centers at twenty-minute intervals. Sheriff J. B. Henderson offered to

deputize "anybody who wished to volunteer" for guard duty. Needless to say, no Negro deputies have been sworn. But the Jewish War Veterans have installed floodlights and arranged for round-the-clock sentries. State Attorney General Richard W. Ervin has suggested that Sheriff Henderson ask Governor Fuller Warren to alert the National Guard as a precaution against anti-Negro rioting, but no such action has been taken.

The FBI, as is its custom in civil-rights cases, stubbornly refused to look into the terror wave until December 7, when Attorney General J. Howard McGrath instructed the local G-men to "investigate to see whether they can investigate." It has been suggested that the FBI might enter the picture out of concern for a mailbox destroyed in one of the explosions.

Not the least of the factors giving aid and comfort to the terrorists is the knowledge that in a bombing wave which hit Miami last spring five white youths were arrested and, despite their confessions, promptly released, only one being placed on probation. There is also the police sanction given the Klan. Last spring there was no interference when a series of fiery K's were exhibited, fiery crosses being prohibited by state law. When the Klan asked for a permit to parade, Chief Headley not only obliged but offered to provide a police motor-cycle escort. After vigorous public protest the escort was withdrawn, though Headley continued to argue that the Klan was "an American law-abiding organization chartered by the state of Florida."

Violence is made still easier by the fact that dynamite is as readily obtainable in Miami as a glass of water. All you have to do to purchase a stick or a carload is stop in at the nearest fire station for a permit. Moreover, most of the dynamite plants are located outside the city limits, and there are no county or state regulations whatever. Fire Chief Paul Kline says he is going to ask for stricter city laws, and adds, "I hope and pray the 1953 [sic] legislature goes along."

The encouraging aspects of the situation are not numerous. The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith has set up a Coordinating Committee Against Bombing, and the Rabbinical Association has invited the Council of Churches and the Ministerial Alliance to join it in sponsoring a mass protest meeting against bombing. Most promising is the size of the reward offered for the conviction of the terrorists—\$8,900. There may be takers yet. Meanwhile the city's claim to being the "anteroom to heaven" gains in ominous portent.

Coming directly in the wake of the killing of a handcuffed Negro prisoner by a Florida sheriff (described in *The Nation* of November 24 under the title Florida: Murder Without Indictment), the violence in Miami means that the lunatic fringe of native fascism now thinks it has the green light.

"If Your Agent Doesn't Call"

BY CHARLES R. ALLEN, JR.

THE largest white-collar strike in the history of organized labor began in New York at midnight on December 1. Within a few hours it had become nationwide, with picket lines appearing in thirty-two states. An estimated 15,500 workers—members of the Insurance Agents' International Union (A. F. of L.)—had gone on strike against their employer, the Prudential Life Insurance Company, in the first national strike against a major life-insurance company.

The union and the company agree that the primary issue is compensation. For more than twenty-five years the base pay of a Prudential agent's salary has remained unchanged. The union wants the guaranteed minimum—\$35 a week—raised to \$55. In addition, it seeks adequate grievance machinery, job-security clauses (Prudential agents have never had that protection), a union shop (3,000 "free riders" are on Prudential's pay roll), and an expense allowance for an automobile ("Try to get along without a car," said a picket in front of the Empire State Building).

These demands were presented to Prudential on October 1, sixty days before the expiration of the contract as required by federal law. In the first negotiations on October 11 the company presented its "final" offer in a single package. It amounted to "an increase of \$3.11 in weekly commissions to the average agent" and an additional \$3.14 in "company-paid benefits for the worker." Prudential candidly acknowledged that the increase did not go to every worker but to the "average agent"—that is, the entire pay-roll increase was divided by the number of agents affected. After all, the company argued, there were agents who were "fit" and some who were "misfit." The few who hustle fast enough would get the feeble reward of the "increase"; the many who cannot meet the standards of the highest commission brackets would get decidedly less.

As soon as the strike was called, Prudential released a barrage of propaganda. Full-page advertisements in the papers keynoted the campaign in a huge streamer—IF YOUR PRUDENTIAL AGENT DOESN'T CALL. "The strike issue is compensation," said the text. "So far this year the average agent has earned \$111 per week . . . virtually double what he made ten years ago." What this impressive "\$111 per week" really means was not stated. Pressed for an explanation, the company finally acknowledged that the figure was based on the theoretical earnings of a theoretical person, "the average agent"; at the same time it took great care not to say that the \$111 per week represented the average earnings of

all agents. The union contends that the average take-home pay is no more than half this amount.

The same advertisement said Prudential could not possibly grant the union's request because it was "bound by . . . a New York State insurance law which limits the expenses nationally of any life-insurance company doing business within the state." The day the strike was called, the insurance industry announced that it favored a proposed revision of the law. Roger Hull, executive vice-president of the Mutual Life Insurance Company, speaking *ex cathedra* for the industry, stated that if the present commission rates for agents went up, the cost of policies might have to be increased. At the same time he admitted that "no company at present is paying the limit in commissions to agents."

The nub of the company's position appeared at the end of the ad. After the phrase, "Here's what to do to keep your insurance in force," policy-holders were instructed how to make payments on their premiums without the agent's help. If the company is able to collect premiums without the agents, it can weather the strike with few if any losses. That Prudential is prepared to hold out indefinitely was demonstrated during negotiations when an official said: "Pay-roll savings while agents are on strike will more than make up for any incidental loss which you [the union] may cause."

The company's arbitrary attitude reflects a fear of the growing power of the white-collar worker, traditionally the most feeble, inarticulate, and easily-pushed-around component of the labor force. In this case the fear is justified. Each week Prudential's agents collect eight million dollars—not, be it noted, in the form of premiums on new policies but in nickels, dimes, and quarters applied against premiums on policies already in force. "Listen, brother," explained one union official with twenty years' experience on the streets, "we're the original



five-and-ten fortune hunters. To keep the policies of working-class policy-holders in force, the agents must catch them at odd moments, coaxing the cash from them when they have it. No routine collection system could possibly garner in these premiums. Prudential has depended on the agents to collect some \$416,000,000 annually. Realizing its dependence, the company wants to break the union.

Support for the strike has grown steadily. The agents are close to the people they serve, and their case appeals strongly to the sympathies of the general public. An insurance agent works hectically all day to eke out a meager living. He must often visit the same address several times to collect sixty cents or a dollar. He works nights and week-ends. If he has clients out of town, he may have to stay overnight, at his own expense, to make collections the following morning. If he tries to supplement his earnings with outside work, he runs the risk of being summarily fired. He must dress well, and he must have an automobile. To add to his woes, he does not pick up his week's earnings until *thirteen weeks* after he has turned in the premiums on which it is based.

Officially Prudential has laughed off the strike. But in Kansas City, where the company rents offices in a building owned by a boiler-makers' union, an ultimatum has been sent to the company to settle the strike or get out. The building-trades unions in Los Angeles joined pickets in front of Prudential's swanky new office building on Wilshire Boulevard because the company had used non-union labor in its construction. And the New Jersey Federation of Labor has asked the state to withdraw from Prudential some \$2,310,000 in group policies for state-highway patrolmen.

The union recognizes that it has a tough fight on its hands. An official of the striking New York local put it this way: "Prudential has as feudal a setup as you can get. The worker is a serf. The insurance companies are masters of propaganda—after all, it's their business, and they have billions! They'll dish out a lot of figures and percentages to show they are right. But even in these days that's something we can't eat—figures and percentages."

Arabian Night's Tale

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

FOR long the United States has been able to boast a per capita income far in excess of that of any other country. In the very near future, however, its pre-eminence in this respect may be challenged by a land most Americans have never heard of—the independent Sheikdom of Kuwait, which lies at the head of the Persian Gulf. This sandy strip of territory, eighty miles long by fifty wide and so dry that it has to import drinking water from Mesopotamia, has for centuries been

as poverty-stricken as its neighbors. But beneath its subsoil there lives a genii, in the shape of the richest oil pool in the world, which is now offering Kuwait wealth in almost embarrassing amounts.

In recent months Sheik Abdullah Al Subah, the hereditary absolute ruler of the country, who has sole title to its minerals, has been receiving in royalties some \$65,000 a day, or \$22,595,000 a year. But this income was based on payments of 10 to 13 cents a barrel by the concession-holding Kuwait Oil Company—a joint venture of Anglo-Iranian Oil and Gulf Oil of America—and compared unfavorably with the 40 cents a barrel or more which neighboring potentates, such as King Ibn Saud, were collecting from oil companies operating in their territories. Not surprisingly, therefore, Abdullah demanded better terms, and with the production of the Kuwait wells gaining in importance by the loss of Iran, he has been able to renegotiate his contract on the basis of a 50 per cent share in the company's profits.

Next year, according to the *London Times*, the Sheik's oil income may reach \$140,000,000, a sum which, if divided equally among the 150,000 inhabitants of Kuwait, would give them upward of \$900 apiece, or more money than most of them earn in a lifetime. Of course, it will not be divided evenly. As I mentioned earlier, this income accrues solely to the Sheik, and its disposition is in his hands.

Fortunately, he is reported to be a benevolent despot with modest personal tastes and a relatively small family to support. Even prior to the new agreement he had a large surplus available, part of which he was devoting to social and economic development. He is building roads, schools, hospitals, dispensaries, and a tuberculosis sanitarium; he has nearly completed a plant for the distillation of salt water with a capacity for a million gallons a day; he has Western experts working on a plan for reconstruction of the town of Kuwait, where the majority of his subjects live.

But as the *London Times* has pointed out, all these projects and others that may follow will not absorb \$140,000,000 a year. Moreover, the attempt to invest a sum of this magnitude inside so small a country may easily lead to serious inflation unless great efforts are made to insure a flow of consumable goods commensurate with increased individual incomes. Thus the Sheik has a difficult problem. One solution would be for him to develop a Point Four program of his own for the benefit of his less fortunate Moslem neighbors—for instance, the Arab refugees from Israel, whose plight is again attracting the attention of the U. N. That would be an action in keeping with Arab traditions of benevolent despotism and one that would complete the resemblance of Sheik Abdullah Al Subah's story to those recorded in the *Thousand and One Nights*.

BOOKS and the ARTS

Images of History

LIFE IN AMERICA. By Marshall B. Davidson. Houghton Mifflin Company. Two Volumes. \$20.

WHILE publishing generally is said to be in the doldrums, there are apparently plenty of customers for handsome and expensive picture books. The modern eye, conditioned by movies and television, has become impatient with the printed word, says Francis Henry Taylor, director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, in his introduction to this book, but "will still linger fascinated over a thousand images of history." As a result we have "a new type of scholarship which gives authority to pictorial representation as a substitute for masses of printed words."

This is perhaps an exaggeration. At any rate, Mr. Davidson, in interpreting the twelve hundred pictures he has selected to illustrate his theme, has used, according to his publishers' count, no fewer than a quarter of a million words—quite a massive number. I have no quarrel with him on this score, since I am old-fashioned enough to enjoy reading, but a good many purchasers of the book may be content to look at the pictures and neglect the text. That would be a mistake, for Mr. Davidson's well-written commentary complements rather than supplements his graphic material, and he has as keen an eye for the apt quotation as for the telling picture.

In preparing this work Mr. Davidson ransacked the museums, libraries, and private collections of the country to excellent purpose. His collection of illustrations is most varied and includes maps, pencil sketches, lithographs, cartoons, oil paintings, and photographs. Wherever possible he has chosen pictures by contemporaries, preferring their authenticity, however crude they may be artistically, to later "reconstructions." Consequently many famous historical pictures are omitted, although room has been given to a few, like Benjamin West's painting of William Penn's Treaty with the Indians, which through familiarity have acquired symbolic importance.

This book, it must be emphasized, is concerned with social history; politics and war are treated only incidentally. It is divided into nine chapters which after the first three—Colonial America, East Goes West, and Square-Rigger Empire—deal with broad areas of interest rather than the chronological record. The section on industrial America deals adequately with technological developments, but I found its treatment of the rise of the great institutions of business and labor decidedly thin. Surely the second theme could have been more dramatically illustrated than by a very posed photograph of federal troops guarding a train during the Pullman strike in Chicago—the only picture directly concerned with the long battle for union recognition.

One outstanding American trait has been mobility. In his introduction to Chapter VIII—Roads to Union—Mr. Davidson quotes Washington on the vital importance of better communications if the struggling union was to be preserved. The way in which the young nation was bound together and the great empty West opened to settlement is here admirably illustrated. The first picture in the section shows a rutted track near York Town—the Baltimore Road in 1788: the last the traffic-control tower at LaGuardia Airport. In between we have the whole dramatic story of transportation, from the turnpikes of the early nineteenth century, through the canal, steamship, and railroad booms, to the super-highways of today.

Ideas are harder to illustrate than facts, but Mr. Davidson in his last section, The Democratic Mold, has succeeded in giving graphic representation to America's *mores*, characteristics, and attitudes. Thus an amusing lithograph of a thoroughly awkward militia squad in 1832 tells us a lot about the American resistance to imposed discipline. Again the enthusiasm for "joining," an apparent paradox in a nation celebrated for extreme individualism, is highlighted by a photograph of fantastically garbed Odd Fellows at a lodge meeting and, more grimly, by a picture of a Klan initiation. And there could be no bet-

ter comment on the physical and moral energy that conquered the West, and the habit of hyperbole that went with it, than Gropper's magnificent lithograph of Paul Bunyan flourishing a huge tree trunk.

KEITH HUTCHISON

Understanding Auden

AUDEN: AN INTRODUCTORY ESSAY. By Richard Hoggart. Yale University Press. \$3.75.

IF, as I have just done, you read most of W. H. Auden's writings at one stretch, you are likely to come away bewildered by the number and diversity of your impressions. There is, most apparently, the writer's astonishing virtuosity. In prose and verse he is equally at home. The forms he has chosen extend from the loosest and most discursive to the tightest and most epigrammatic, and he has often adapted to his purposes the archaic or outré contrivances of other literary eras. In the individual word his abilities are most appreciable; no other living poet, for instance, can surpass his skill with rhymes. His sudden shifts of temperament are baffling and sometimes annoying, for Auden can be both brilliant and dull, clownish and pedantic, persuasive and recriminatory, all in a single short poem. You feel sometimes that there is a mutiny in his vocabulary, words in swift squadrons fighting for possession of the page.

The easiest way to attack this amplitude is, in a manner of speaking, to discard the failures. Under the severest measure, which one can easily afford to apply to Auden, my own liking falls exclusively on the short poems—the songs, some of the sonnets, ballads, nursery rhymes, meditative and dramatic lyrics—a medium-sized bookful of splendid poems. I was pleased to see that they come from every phase of Auden's career, including several from his recent collection, "Nones." Yet in some ways the choice is surprising and disquieting, for Auden has devoted a great deal of his attention to longer works. His plays all seem to me imperfect; "The Quest" is almost belliger-

ently elliptical; "The Sea and the Mirror" contains excellent sections but is scarcely an integrated work; "The Age of Anxiety" is by turns unfathomable and boring. His best example of sustained good writing is, I think, "New Year Letter"; and "For the Time Being" is the best dramatic work.

In one of his letters to Christopher Isherwood, Auden wrote, "We are all too deeply involved with Europe to be able, or even to wish, to escape. The truth is, we are both only really happy living among lunatics." If one substitutes for "living" the word "journeying," this makes a pretty good description of Auden's situation as a poet, for one of his most constant themes is the journey, the search, the questing traveler in an insane and desperate society. Now this is a very romantic idea but not a practical one. How does one cope with, and at the same time please, the insane? What reliable help do the insane offer to the search? How do crazy people deal with memory, tradition, and value? The traveler's hope becomes his virtuosity; he is an entertainer, a sleight-of-hand artist. Thus he may please his crazy hosts, but if he does not, he has a good chance of escaping to the next town. His danger is that his skill may get out of hand. In Auden's long poems, where he pursues a moral end with essentially metaphysical means, his virtuosity does get out of hand. Too often the troublesome part of the argument calls up a flourish of rhetorical tricks—the capitalized abstraction, the generalized image from politics or psychiatry, the scrap of a foreign language. On the formal level, bizarre and difficult verse forms tumble after one another kaleidoscopically, and sections of prose intrude against the ear. We find the shocking instead of the genuinely evocative metaphor. These long works tend to be programs of brilliant fragments—vaudeville—not poetic units. Some short poems too suffer from these defects, but many are about ideas so particular or experiences so well known that the evasions and corroborations of virtuosity are unnecessary. And it is worth noting that the most successful long poem, "New Year Letter," is written throughout in a standard, simple English meter.

This is only a suggestion of the problems that face the critic of Auden's

work. They are difficult problems because Auden has quite rightly insisted on dealing with difficult affairs. Yet Mr. Hoggart, in this first long study of Auden's writing, has made an admirable beginning. Wisely, he has limited himself to an introduction to Auden's poetry: his book is primarily neither exegesis nor criticism. He distinguishes the periods of Auden's development, the main characteristics of his style, the principal elements of his thought. He speculates briefly on such matters as sources, influences, and motivations. As one might expect, his own motivation is partly a warm regard for the poetry he is considering, though he does not hesitate to utter a harsh criticism when the need arises. Only occasionally, as when he calls the Preface to "The Sea and the Mirror" a work "of superb polish and irony," does he commit a probably pardonable error of taste. Nor do I want to intimate that this is a superficial or stereotyped book. Although it is intended principally for those who do not have a thorough acquaintance with Auden's work, and although Mr. Hoggart sets certain obvious limits to his presentation of a poet who is still in the midst of an active career, this is a shrewd and careful essay.

Auden has said that art is a game. He has expanded this concept significantly in other areas of his thinking, but as a plain statement it is crude and a little dangerous. For one of the essential requirements of a game is that it shall be unproductive; whereas art is not art at all unless it makes something. Mr. Hoggart succeeds very well in showing that Auden's own successes are scarcely the result of a game.

HAYDEN CARRUTH

The "Happy" Homosexual

THE HOMOSEXUAL IN AMERICA.

A Subjective Approach. By Donald Webster Cory. Greenberg; Publisher. \$4.

THIS book presents us with the picture of male homosexuality in this country from a homosexual's point of view. There is no doubt that Mr. Cory has given us an accurate factual story—as heard many times in any analyst's office. The author, writing under a pseudonym, has also acquainted himself with a very adequate background of the

scientific and lay literature of homosexuality to buttress his personal experiences. All in all, this is a workmanlike job of describing the daily life of the homosexual, the prejudices of the community against him, the archaic and unenforceable laws against him, and the literature of which he is a part.

Essentially the book starts off as a plea for understanding and tolerance with which no honest observer could argue. Unfortunately, however, Mr. Cory is carried away by his enthusiasm for the advantages of the life of the homosexual to the point where the volume ends up almost as a promotional job. He attempts to protect himself from this type of accusation by insisting that the psychiatric profession—as well as other intelligent observers—come into contact only with those homosexuals who are unhappy, confused, or suicidal. He justifies his glowing description of the life of the "happy" homosexual by insisting that only those who have lived in it from the inside can appreciate its virtues. This type of argument is notorious in the analytical profession, where any scientific difference with other groups is frequently tossed away cavalierly with the comment that they should be "properly" analyzed before they can hope to discuss the problem intelligently. By such standards, only a happy, well-adjusted homosexual could review this book.

Another weakness of an otherwise interesting book is its total therapeutic nihilism toward the problem of homosexuality. Nobody questions the difficulties involved in the shift from overt homosexuality to the life of heterosexuality, with or without competent psychiatric help. But this author goes much farther and discourages any attempts at such a shift—as hopeless to begin with. He quotes very extensively from psychiatric literature to fortify his arguments, but selects only those passages which will aid his own point of view. Thus he completely neglects much recent work, especially that of Anna Freud, which has given so much encouragement to efforts to deal with this difficult problem. More than ever before, homosexuality is now considered an emotional illness, psychically determined, which is only a symptom of complex character problems frequently amenable to psychotherapy. Completely

neglected in this volume are the passive, dependent character constellations which determine proneness to homosexuality, and the dangers of seduction into a homosexual way of life by the ease of homosexual fulfillment—in contrast to the aggression, self-sufficiency, and responsibility which are necessary to establish a heterosexual way of life.

Of much more concern to this reviewer, however, is the larger ethical question which this book poses. Much of the recent literature on homosexuality and sex in general—such as Kinsey, Ford, and Beach—tends to impress the gullible reader with the wide variation of sexual practices, in different cultures as well as in different biological species. Beginning with an attitude of tolerant liberalism, they all end up with an attack on the accepted sexual *mores* of our own Western Hebrew-Christian society. As a plea for less prejudice they are undoubtedly justified. But what these authors seem to forget, or do not know, is that the sexual practices of the individual and his community can never be studied out of context of personality structure, religious-moral system, prestige values, economic system, and so forth. If the authors who recommend unlimited variations of sexual practice were prepared to argue for the family structure of the guinea pig or the economic system of the Marquesans it would make more sense. But instead, they all belittle the rather narrow limits of sexual "normality" in our culture, challenging the goals which are traditional for our culture—offering only unlimited variation as an alternative.

This undoubtedly, in the long run, will have a rather anxiety-producing effect. For no one individual can be *all* things, and each individual can and must work out a way of life which is in tune with his own background, his own family structure, and his own society. The fact that isolated individuals cannot attain the "normal" for their own society is in many ways pathetic and we certainly should be tolerant of them, but this still does not justify a massive attack against the established practices of the larger elements of the community. We shall always need guideposts for each individual society, whether all the travelers along the road desire to follow the road map or not.

MILTON R. SAPIRSTEIN

A Legend Analyzed

REUNION AND REACTION. The Compromise of 1877 and the End of Reconstruction. By C. Vann Woodward. Little, Brown and Company. \$4.

MYTHS and legends, contrived by the purposive and perpetuated by the guileless, have long obscured our understanding of the South. The Old South remains for us today a congeries of myths: of happy, banjo-strumming slaves, of a universally prosperous and generous white population, of aristocratic gentility and learning. An equally spurious mythology dominates our thinking about Reconstruction and the emergence of the New South. Myths and legends are important—as cultural artifacts—for our understanding of the past, but we cannot rightly substitute them for reality. And it is to the extent that we live in a historical world of fantasy, myth, and legend that we are unprepared to deal adequately with those contemporary problems that are the legacy of a real rather than a mythical Southern past.

One of the most persistent and widely accepted legends of the New South concerns the end of Reconstruction and the settlement of the disputed election of 1876. The story of the so-called Wormley Bargain of February, 1877, has been repeated as often as historians have written of post-Civil War America. Even today it remains the historian's standard explanation not only of the choice for President of the Republican Hayes over the Democrat Tilden but also of the resolution of the most destructive conflict of our national history. It is just this legend that Professor Woodward critically and carefully analyzes in his perceptive volume. In the significance and importance of the issues and interests uncovered in his analysis we can best appreciate the deceptive quality of myth and legend.

When the votes were counted in the Presidential canvass of 1876, it was clear that Tilden had won a substantial popular majority; it was equally clear that fraudulent manipulation of returns from Southern states still controlled by Republican carpetbaggers could give an electoral majority and the Presidency to Hayes. For weeks and then months

the nation anxiously awaited a definitive count of the electoral vote by Congress. But the Senate was Republican and the House of Representatives was Democratic, and the deadlock seemed unbreakable. Then, late in February, 1877, friends of Hayes met with a group of Southern Democrats at Wormley's Hotel in Washington. Legend dramatically has it that at Wormley's a bargain was struck that ended the fateful deadlock. Republicans wanted the Presidency, while supposedly to the gallant Southerners nothing was more important than to rescue the two states still dominated by Republican carpetbag governments. The legendary bargain was simplicity itself: Southerners defeated their own party's efforts to prevent a count of fraudulent electoral returns that would make Hayes President. In return, the newly inaugurated Hayes withdrew federal troops from the South, restoring political control to Southerners and bringing Reconstruction to an end.

But reality, alas, is not as simple as fantasy, and Professor Woodward's concern is with the complexities of reality. He finds that the traditional bargain was but the political consummation of negotiations of long duration that involved—that indeed were determined by—the economic interests of conservative Northern and Southern leaders. Here Northerners abandoned the Negro, sacrificing the "idealistic and humanitarian" fruits of the Civil War to preserve what to them was of greater importance, the "pragmatic and economic" results of that Second American Revolution. To preserve—against growing Western and laborite agitation—economic gains that amounted to the imposition of industrial capitalism upon a nation but recently predominately agricultural, Southern support had to be secured and the conservative policies and candidates of the Republican Party sustained. Only part of the price paid for that support was the abandonment of Reconstruction and of the Negro.

Professor Woodward has uncovered convincing evidence that conservative Southern participants in what he calls the Compromise of 1877 were no less concerned with economic matters than were their Republican counterparts. These descendants of pre-Civil War

Southern Whiggery were surely not seeking the simple political quid pro quo of the legendary Wormley Bargain. Their final support of Hayes had less to do with his promise to remove federal troops than with his commitment to support Southern "internal improvements," particularly appropriations for railroad subsidies and river and harbor improvements that would bring to the South a substantial share of the national "boodle."

More important, the author's researches indicate that the theme of the long months of negotiations before the actual Wormley meetings was not the mutual extortion of immediate concessions by antagonists but rather the recognition of a basic community of interests between Northern Republicans and Southern Democrats. This common interest was, briefly, economic and political conservatism—a devotion to the maintenance of the new economic order, its profitable expansion into the South, and the development of a supporting national political structure. As conservative Southerners shared in the fruits of capitalist largess, so, under their regime, "the South became a bulwark instead of a menace to the new order." And it is in this early alignment of conservatives North and South that the roots of today's Dixiecrat-Republican coalition are to be found.

In this eminently readable volume Professor Woodward has made a major contribution to our understanding of Southern interests and issues. His penetrating and provocative analysis of this most far-reaching compromise of our national history indicates clearly the inadequacy and superficiality of long accepted myths. And it provides us with important insights into the realities of contemporary Southern and national politics. This is history as it should be written—and read.

RICHARD D. HEFFNER

Books in Brief

INCREDIBLE NEW YORK. By Lloyd Morris. Random House. \$5. The author of "Postscript to Yesterday" presents a lightly readable pageant of New York life from 1850 to 1950 with especial emphasis on colorful characters, social feuds, and the extremes of ostentation

and degradation that have characterized this most hyperbolic of cities. Reading Mr. Morris one realizes that New York today is a model of decorum compared to the rough, tough, and bawdy city of a century ago, when it contained more "public prostitutes than Methodists," when every room of the most notorious brothel was equipped with a Bible as well as a bed, and when Madam Restell's palace of abortion on Fifth Avenue was one of the show places of the city.

OUR MR. WRENN. By Sinclair Lewis. Crowell. \$3. A reissue of Lewis's first novel (1914), about a meek clerk who inherits just enough money for a brief fling in Europe. Although characteristic of its author's later and better-structured work in its bouncing vitality and jovial satire of both petit bourgeois and bohemian, the fact that the story has been told so often since 1914 makes it of interest primarily to the curious and to students of American literature.

Drama

JOSEPH
WOOD
KRUTCH

ACCORDING to a program note for "Don Juan in Hell" (Century Theater) Bernard Shaw advised Charles Laughton against undertaking the project on the ground that this third act of "Man and Superman" was "nothing but words." This was one of the few occasions on which Shaw ever underestimated his own appeal and also almost the only time when a prophecy about himself ultimately turned out to be wrong.

As everyone knows by now, the reading of his philosophical dialogue by the group which calls itself "The First Drama Quartet" is the sensational success of the season and is already booked for a return engagement in April. Obviously the wit who a few years ago described Shaw as a man who had "outlived the day he was born too soon for" will have to eat his words, and the present instance is only one of many which demonstrate that so far as the general public is concerned Shaw is just now coming into his own. Nearly half a century ago he wrote his New York agent, Elizabeth Marbury, reject-

ing her suggestion that he should consider more carefully the taste of his audience and boasted that if he kept on just as he had started the time would come when he would be wallowing in the wealth showered upon him "by a dramatically regenerated public." Even Shaw did not live long enough to see just how abundantly his self-confidence was justified, and old Shavians who contemplate the laughter and enthusiasm with which fifty-year-old quips are being greeted at the Century by an audience which appears to be meeting them for the first time can hardly help feeling a little superior to those who took so long to discover things which they themselves have begun to think of as sometimes charmingly *vieux jeu*.

It is true, of course, that the bold novelty of the enterprise and the prestige of the cast count for something. But neither would be sufficient to put across two hours of talk if the audience did not find that talk absorbingly interesting, and to give Shaw himself more than half the credit is not to discount the brilliant performance put on by the Quartet or the dazzling virtuosity which enables it to realize all the possibilities of a novel method of presentation. Apparently it was the producer, Paul Gregory, and Mr. Laughton who

BOOKS AND
PERIODICALS

from the
U S S R

Just Arrived! MIKHAIL BUBENOV
Prize Winner
Novel

White Birch

In English — 578 pp. — \$1.50

Latest Soviet Records, Handicrafts

1952 SUBSCRIPTIONS OPEN FOR ALL
SOVIET NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS

Ask for Complete Catalogue P-51

FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.
W. 56 Street, N. Y. 19 Murray Hill 6-2600

Buy Your Books through THE *Nation*

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C.O.D. No C.O.D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to
M. Le Pach

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
20 Vesey Street New York 7, N. Y.

conceived the project, but all concerned have worked out a method not quite like any I have ever seen exploited before. Though the music stands with a text are still placed before each speaker, the performance is by now obviously recitation rather than a reading, and it is also something which maintains a consistent style somewhere between what could be called declamation and what could be called acting. There is enough gesture and movement to keep the whole thing beautifully alive; never enough to suggest merely an imperfect performance. The Quartet seems to have understood exactly what it wanted to do and to do just that with a sureness of touch which puts the audience instantly at ease and never for a moment creates the feeling that the method is bastard rather than a perfectly legitimate form of presentation. Moreover, each individual is admirably cooperative as well as admirably fitted to his particular role. Upon Charles Boyer the heaviest burden falls, and though I must confess that his accent became slightly disturbing before the long evening was over, no other criticism could be made of his humorously passionate performance as Don Juan, the author's own special spokesman. Charles Laughton as the sentimental old fraud who is less a Prince of Darkness than simply the embodiment of all those "human"

weaknesses which Shaw's detractors blame him for not sharing is superb; and so too is Cedric Hardwicke as the amiably dim-witted aristocrat who reached his inevitable end when he became a rather handsome marble statue. As Donna Anna, Agnes Moorehead has the fewest words to speak but for all that gives what may possibly be the most remarkable performance. She is silent for all but a few minutes of the time, but she is surely one of the best listeners three talkers ever had. With an occasional gesture of the hands, a sudden turning of the head, and above all by means of a perpetually fluid flow of quietly modulated expression across a singularly mobile countenance she provides a running commentary on the discourse without which it would lose a very considerable part of its comic effectiveness. There are probably few texts which would lend themselves as well as the present one does to this method of presentation, but I should not be surprised to see it tried with success on others. Perhaps this is one answer to the absurd and self-defeating costliness of theatrical presentation today.

"I Am a Camera" (Empire Theater) is John Van Druten's play based on one of the stories in Christopher Isherwood's fictional account of his life in the Berlin Bohemia during the early

days of Hitler's rise to power. Julie Harris's virtuoso performance as a charming and pathetic little upper-class tramp running away from herself will carry the play, and Miss Harris—who was memorable as the Member of the Wedding two seasons ago—has a verve which may well make her a sensational figure in the theater. Without her, however, the play would be little or nothing, and it never quite succeeds in what was obviously its intention. Like the title, the whole business of introducing Isherwood himself as a sort of narrator seems merely irrelevant and never gives the play the special dimension it was supposed to contribute.

Music

B. H.
HAGGIN

THE Metropolitan's new "Aida" gave evidence of the care and intelligence that had produced last year's "Don Carlo"; but also evidence this time—in details of scenery, costumes, staging, and casting—of miscalculation. Most of Rolf Gerard's scenery was impressive, and most of Margaret Webster's staging clear and effective; but the huge image of Phta with its back to the audience in the foreground of the temple scene, the placing of the king at the top of the stairs and Amneris at the bottom in the triumph scene, the colors of the costumes in this scene, the commercial waterfront setting for the Nile scene—these did not work, for me. However, they weren't as disturbing as the mistakes in casting. There were George London, a magnificent singing actor, as Amonasro; Elena Nikolaidi, still a superb singing actress though her powerful voice has lost the sensuous richness it had, as Amneris; and James Hines, an excellent Ramfis. But the Aida was Zinka Milanov, with her voice still luscious in its lower range, but able to manage the high notes only as precarious pianissimos; and the Rhadames was Mario Del Monaco, whose unpleasantly dry, hard, tight voice and lack of the slightest lyricism in his singing made his presence on the Metropolitan's stage incomprehensible.

Columbia's recording of the Bayreuth Festival "Meistersinger" offers superb singing by Elisabeth Schwarzkopf as

FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE

The NATION

MONEY-SAVING MAGAZINE COMBINATIONS

☐ with Harper's Magazine . . . \$9.50 You Save \$2.50

The NATION

☐ with Consumer Reports . . . \$10.75 You Save \$1.25

These club combinations are for one year, and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses. Remittance must accompany all combination orders.

THE NATION by itself:

☐ 1 Year \$7 ☐ 2 Years \$12 ☐ 3 Years \$17

SERVICEMEN'S RATE \$5 A YEAR

Canadian and Foreign Postage \$1 a year extra.

THE NATION, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

☐ I want to subscribe to *The Nation* for _____ years.

☐ Remittance enclosed. ☐ Bill me.

☐ I enclose my remittance for the following *Nation* combinations as listed below.

NAME _____

STREET _____

CITY _____ ZONE _____ STATE _____

12/22/51

Eva, Otto Edelmann as Sachs, Erich Kunz as Beckmesser, and Ira Malaniuk as Magdalena; but the light tenor of Gerhard Unger, clear and steady in David's high notes, quavers in its lower range, as the rich bass of Friedrich Dalberg, the Pogner, does in its upper range; and far more damaging to the performance is the shockingly deteriorated voice of Hans Hopf, the Walter. Something of a shock are the poor woodwinds in the orchestra, and the brass section which in the Prelude to Act 3 doesn't produce anything like the beautiful, integrated, and legato sound like that of one instrument which one heard in Toscanini's recent performance. And the final surprise for someone who remembers the wonderful sound of performances in the Bayreuth Festival Theater is the recorded sound of this "Meistersinger" performance—coarse, not cleanly defined, not clear in contrapuntal texture, and without depth and fullness. Moreover the sound deteriorates and is enveloped in a hash of distortion as the pickup moves toward the center of the record—earlier and worse on the five sides with the first and second acts than on the five with the third act. It looks now as though one should wait for Acts 1 and 2 of the London "Meistersinger."

Sound of finer quality and the proper depth and fullness is produced by Columbia's Bayreuth recording of Act 3 of "Die Walküre." There is excellent singing by Sigurd Björling as Wotan; but Astrid Varnay's Brünnhilde and Leonie Rysanek's Sieglinde are tremor-ridden, as are most of the Valkyrs; and the music, except for parts of Wotan's Farewell, is some of Wagner's worst.

One of the outstanding events of the year is the Columbia recording of the performance of Alban Berg's "Wozzeck" last spring in which Mitropoulos conducted the New York Philharmonic, the Schola Cantorum, and soloists headed by Mack Harrell and Eileen Farrell. It is as impressive on rehearing as it was then; and it is excellently reproduced by the recording, which is being sold for the benefit of the Philharmonic's Pension Fund. My copy produces clicks and other such noises. Only an English summary of the action.

From RCA Victor comes an LP transference of a ten-year-old recording of "Pelléas et Mélisande" that is issued

here for the first time. The singers are excellent; and Désormière conducts a beautifully wrought performance. The orchestra is reproduced well alone, but is blanketed by the singers. No French text, and not even a complete English translation.

Columbia has transferred to an LP record Muzio's recordings of arias from "La Traviata," "Norma," "La Forza del Destino," and other operas, and the two duets from "Otello." The performances of the arias are the constant swelling and contracting of vocal sound that I recall as Muzio's way of singing in her early years at the Metropolitan; only in the duets (with a bad tenor) does she sing simply. There is some distortion of the sound.

The lovely voice and simple singing of Muzio's pre-Metropolitan days—together with a sloppy performance of Micaela's aria—can be heard in the old acoustic recordings dubbed on an Esoteric LP (500).

The unique voice and style of Conchita Supervia can now be heard in a number of her recordings that Decca has transferred to two LP's. One gives us arias and duets and the Card Scene from "Carmen"—the Card Scene with some distortion of the sound. The other gives us arias and ensembles from Rossini's "Cenerentola," "L'Italiana in Algieri," and "The Barber of Seville," including Rossini's original Lesson Scene—"L'Italiana" dubbed from shellac with alteration of the voice, but the others good.

And a Victor LP offers new recordings of the lustrous voice of Jussi Björling in beautiful performances of arias from "Carmen," "Faust," and "L'Africana," among others.

CONTRIBUTORS

KEITH HUTCHISON, financial editor of *The Nation*, is the author of "The Decline and Fall of British Capitalism" and other books.

HAYDEN CARRUTH, formerly editor of *Poetry*, is associate editor of the University of Chicago Press.

MILTON R. SAPIRSTEIN is a practicing psychoanalyst and the author of "Emotional Security."

RICHARD D. HEFFNER lectures in history at Columbia and also teaches at the New School for Social Research.

Art

MANNY
FARBER

THE latest show of weariness in American art can now be viewed at the Whitney Museum, where 150 painters are enlisted in a nation-wide survey of the work of 1951—a survey that sags almost as much as the joists under the museum's squeaking floors. From its first room, given over to vertical-horizontal checkering of space by Mondrian disciples, to its last—in which a John Sloan follower named Cox uses his brush as a needle to loop endless threads around two black-stockinged nudes and thereby presents us with the cheapest sex painting ever to be invited to the Whitney—the exhibit offers New Yorkers a chance to see our best artists with their techniques up, their spirits down, and their eclecticism everywhere showing. This dispiriting effect issues from the dedication today to flat over-all design, and the clearest point made by the current doings at the Whitney is that the two-dimensional art put across by the

**SPITTA'S
BACH**

Monumental study of Bach and 17th-18th century music again available. 1800 pages. Weighs 7 lbs. 11 vols. (unabridged) bound as 2. Formerly cost up to \$40. Only 2000 copies in print. Remit \$10 to Dover Pubs., Dept. 86, 1780 B'way, N. Y. 19, N. Y. (Post free.) Unconditional 10-day cash-back guarantee.

STRETCH THE XMAS LP DOLLAR

Giant list of 1/2 price and 40% off bargains now ready. We have just received a reinforcement of Allegro and Mercury Records which will be sold at \$2.98. Send your mail orders, but please list alternate selections — these. For list of 100 other LP's at 1/2 price and 600 other LP's at 40% off, send self-addressed, stamped envelope and 25¢ (refundable) to: SALISBURY GRAMOPHONE RECORD SALES 172 Falls Village, Conn.

PULITZER PRIZE and GUSTAF AWARD
RICHARD RODGERS & OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd
present in association with
LELAND HAYWARD & JOSHUA LOHAN

ROGER RICO
MARTHA WRIGHT
IN
South Pacific

Music by **RICHARD RODGERS**
Lyrics by **OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd**
Book by
OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd & JOSHUA LOHAN
Adapted from JAMES A. MICHENER'S Pulitzer Prize Winning "TALES OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC"
Directed by **JOSHUA LOHAN**
Scenery & Lighting by Jo Mielziner
with **MYRON MCCORMICK**
MAJESTIC THEATRE, 44th St., West of B'way
Evenings 8:30. Matinees Wed. & Sat., 2:30

Cubists invariably drives the painter into repetitious parallelism and traps him into discarding such things as color transition, subtlety of form, or loving brushing. So much bath water is tossed out, in fact, that the baby just dries up and blows away.

It is not altogether surprising, then, to find that this 1951 gathering of the clan—under the “radical” banners of Hoffman, Pollock, and Motherwell—seems even more quiet and controlled than most of the more realistic Annuals of the past. These avant-gardists, who formerly specialized in out-sized canvases, this year are content with the modest dimensions that they once rejected for fear of making “a hole in the wall”; also passé now are erratic contours, aggressive color, and the thick impasto; all in all, there is so little untoward violence in these new paintings that it is comparatively easy to detach each artist's trademark and look it blandly in the eye.

Take the first thing that hits you as you enter Room 1—Fritz Glarner's “Rational Painting,” a linoleum-like construction with a pool-hall pallor.

Glarner is a cool, and overpoweringly dull, artist who seems to be trying to introduce imbalance into Mondrian's perfectly ordered geometry. The only biting sensations in this example of his work come in the patches where he has roughened up a pure color by covering it with a gray tone. Alongside this nerveless picture is an artistically computed version of what seems to be a floor plan for a ranch-type bungalow. I. Rice Pereira, promulgator of this faded Prussian blueprint, has hit on the idea of lifting some of her ruled one-inch lines about an eighth of an inch off their masonite surface. The careful bas-relief thus performed suggests a precious bit of concrete work in an orange substance succulent enough to eat.

Moving along to the Intrасubjectivists, one finds that these masters of free forms and free applications have undergone some changes. Pollock has begun to introduce organic shapes into his canvas, but his real force still springs from his homely textures and the motion of his chopped-up background space rather than his tiresomely undeveloped experiments in crescents. Baziotes has dropped the wandering watch-spring shape and most of the contours from his slithy, slimy mint-green toves; Hoffman has muralized and stiffened his explosions; Stamos, the stone-under-water painter, now goes in for a black-white picture with a slashed-out shape suggesting a badly cut boomerang; Motherwell has moved from vivid plane geometry to somber flat biology. (And yet he remains the only American, I think, who has the nerve to rely on sensibility instead of bravado. His charm comes from an ability to stand back and study balances and color relationships—as Mondrian did; his limitation lies in the fact that nothing he does seems to contain much real application of brush to canvas.) These new developments do not indicate the imaginative groping of avant-guardists so much as the worried maneuverings of no longer startling arrivistes.

Though even the best things in this Annual seem to have been done in that gray overcast of fatigue and insecurity which makes American painting look as if it were all practiced at home after a hard day at the office, there are at least a few pictures which must have caused the artist to sweat, to push his

technique beyond gaucheness into the sound, hard-earned subtleties that Americans like Homer and Eakins substituted for sparkle and bounce. In Gottlieb's ominous fantasy, for instance, even though it is stamped with the endemic crassness of the Kootz group, there is pleasantly little indecision in the large spiked shape of sanded black which sits over a scrubbed tan background and a distant sprinkling of determined-looking symbols that might be bottle-openers or spokes from the wheels of Conestoga wagons. Here is the occasional Gottlieb which is so soundly constructed as to make its objects seem hammered into place with sixteen-penny nails. The Gottlieb doesn't say much, but it happens to catch him at his best.

In a more realistic vein is Fletcher Martin's good, gentle tone-painting—a picture of a lissom female toying with a couple of shooting-gallery birds. Since relinquishing the portrayal of Negro stevedores, prelim boxers, and bronco-busters for the more lucrative job of illustrating medical advertisements, Martin has relaxed.

Of the sixty-four artists who have not previously been hung at the Whitney, the most striking is realist Kenneth Davies, who has developed an eye for tones to a point where he makes the camera seem like a feeble competitor. His picture of a dusky red blotter covered with stray objects—lobster claw, sun glasses, king of diamonds—features an envelope, puckishly addressed to Bishop Berkeley, whose three-cent stamp, watermarks, rips and tears, all go to demonstrate that Davies is an amazing mixer of pigments. He has turned the clutter on a student's desk into an array of precious objects. Another man of tones—gray, black, white—is Robert Vickrey of Greenwich Village, who piquantly reveals a nun wandering through a labyrinth of walls at two o'clock in the morning.

In Martin, Davies, Vickrey, and a few others we have painters actually painting according to Hoyle, with a good many of the delicate tonal enrichments, the compositional rhythms, and the linear refinements that are to be found in the work of the old masters. I do not think these “reactionaries” are as tired, or as tiresome, as their more famous and more liberated colleagues.

PERSONALS

In the next issue of

THE JEWISH NEWSLETTER

1. CHRISTMAS SPIRIT AND THE JEWS.
2. The Penalty of Zionist press control.
3. Double standards of liberalism for USA and Israel.
4. News Review.
5. Book Review, What Others Say, etc.

THE JEWISH NEWSLETTER

A privately circulated bi-weekly review devoted to independent, individualistic thinking in an age of collectivised thought and band-wagons.

Liberal • Unconventional • Outspoken

Write for FREE introductory copies to

POST OFFICE BOX 117

Washington Bridge Station

New York 33, N. Y.

HELP WANTED, young medical doctor, for office equipment. Modest start. Long-term loan. Married, two children. For particulars write: Dr. D. Jacobs, Beethovenloan 30, Heemstede (N. H.), Netherlands.

exit loneliness

Somewhere there is someone
You would like to know,
Somewhere there is someone
who would like to know you.
We can help you find a richer,
happier life through discreet,
dignified "social introductions."

Write for booklet, or phone

MAY RICHARDSON

Dept. TN, 111 West 72 Street

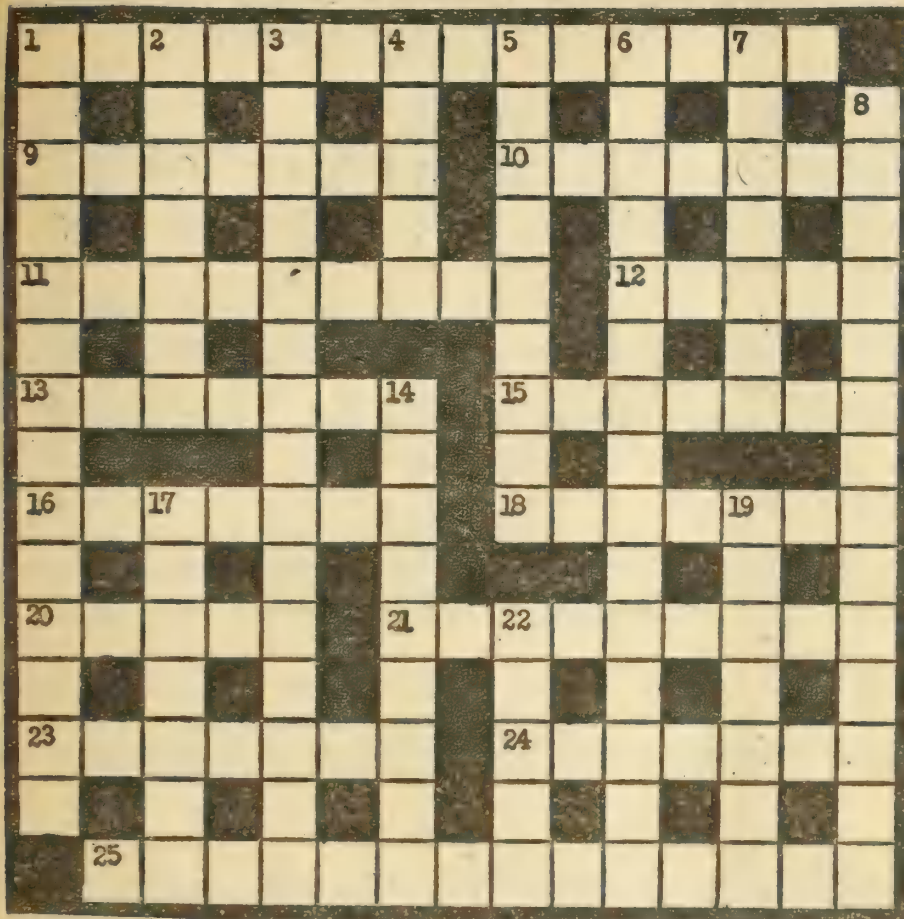
New York City EN 2-2053



**IF UNMARRIED AND MATRIMONIAL-
ALLY MINDED, WOULD LIKE TO
MEET SOMEONE WHO MIGHT LIKE
TO MEET YOU?** Write for free copy-
righted pamphlet. Address Personal In-
troduction Service, 2112 Broadway, New York
City 23.

Crossword Puzzle No. 444

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 Starting construction—by pulling something away from the terminal? (8, 6)
- 9 Driving a cab? The referee might blow his whistle for it! (7)
- 10 The sort of an ache a Greek is upset with. (7)
- 11 Are they relatively well-fixed in office? (9)
- 12 Remarkable in the first minutes of the meeting. (5)
- 13 Given a high chair. (7)
- 15 Create suspense, by the sound of it, in hiding. (5, 2)
- 16 Stretches out at full length. (7)
- 18 The difficulty seems to be mainly another country's money! (7)
- 20 Copy of a magazine for children? (5)
- 21 Test the will again—such a one would have to be abandoned! (9)
- 23 How the equitably separated might correspond. (7)
- 24 How to make the grade, by the sound of it, depends on the weather. (7)
- 25 The way one puts notices in roads determines the fees received. (14)

DOWN

- 1 Where Ochs stood in relation to his work? (6, 3, 5)

- 2 He knows how to do the Break-away. (7)
- 3 They're responsible for many a colorful yarn taking shape. (8, 7)
- 4 African title of the Levantine Gustavus. (5)
- 5 Just the bird for conversation at a lawn party. (9)
- 6 He gives the pupils their examination. (15)
- 7 If you were, you might have got the point of 3. (7)
- 8 Certainly not the quality of finished goods. (14)
- 14 Ruined Ilium is surrounded by bad deeds. (9)
- 17 The Romans used it to shield themselves against attack. (7)
- 19 Pretense that gets little notice and is extremely well done. (7)
- 22 Does one cut a caper if on the right track? (5)

• • • • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 443

ACROSS:—1 BANK FAILURE; 9 WIN-NOWED; 10 MOUSER; 11 CALUMNY; 12 MANDATE; 14 and 16 down COVERS THE GROUND; 15 and 25 down SHOOTING STAR; 17 PLUMBAGO; 20 AMENDS; 22 SQUINTS; 24 SHERIFF; 26 DIADEM; 28 FAST FRIENDS.

DOWN:—2 AD NAUSEAM; 3 KIWANIS; 4 ADDS; 5 LUMBAGO; 6 ROUND; 7 MI-KADO; 8 and 27 LEFT IN THE LURCH; 13 ESTOP; 18 LIQUID; 19 AUTOMAT; 20 ACHIEVE; 21 DEFECT; 23 INDIA.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

RESORTS

50 MI.
FROM
NEW YORK



MAMANASCO
Lake Lodge

RIDGEFIELD, CONN.

Phone 6-7000

A resort of distinction offering relaxation and recreation in the modern manner. Winter activities include skiing and skating on a mile long lake. Excellent cuisine and accommodations. Dancing, TV, recordings, fireplaces. **ATTN: MODERATE**

50 MILES TO FOREST HOUSE

Near enough for easy travel, far enough for an unforgettable vacation. Forest House achieves new levels of gay relaxation in inspiring surroundings. Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality. Two grand lakes. All sports.

FOREST HOUSE

Lake Mahopac, N. Y. • Tel. Mahopac 8-3449

RESERVE NOW FOR CHRISTMAS AND NEW YEAR'S

Glenmere
wood-burning fireplaces
in most rooms

the GLENMERE, chester, n. y.

Phones: Chester 2151; N.Y. Rector 2-5047

PUBLISHING SERVICE

AUTHORS! Sales Department available for your short stories, articles, books and plays. Free booklet, write today! Mead Agency, 419 Fourth Avenue, N. Y. 16 (OR 9-1150).

WE print, publish and distribute your non-fiction or fiction manuscript in pamphlet or book form. Send for free folder. WILLIAM-FREDERICK PRESS, 313 West 35th St., New York 1, N. Y.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING analysis. Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel. WA 4-1575. Cooperating with doctors, psychologists, schools, firms, industries. Lessons by appointment, evenings. Marital, educational, vocational, psychological problems. Fee, \$5.00.

HOME STUDY

SHORTHAND IN ONE WEEK. EZ shorthand system. \$1.00. Returnable. Zinman, 215-N West 91 Street, New York 24, New York.

Cigarettes, Cigars, Tobacco for Sale

50 CIGARS, \$2.25. Irregulars of a popular 15¢ size. Others. Public Cigar Co., East Orange 6, N. J.

Advertising Rates

CLASSIFIED

74¢ a line (6 words)
Three-line minimum

CLASSIFIED DISPLAY

\$7.42 per inch (minimum)
Remittance must accompany all orders

The NATION

TWENTY VESEY STREET
New York 7, New York
BARELAY 7-1068

A Seasonal Reminder

★ With Christmas approaching, we want to remind you that *The Nation* offers a rewarding and effortless way to get some of your shopping done.

★ A year's subscription to *The Nation* makes a substantial gift, and, considering *The Nation's* dedication to peace and good-will, an appropriate one for the season.

★ There has been no advance in our gift rate. Five dollars still sends 52 weeks of good reading to each friend on your list, a new remembrance every week from one year's end to the other.

★ Simply fill out and send the coupon, and we will do the rest—gift card and all.

GIFT ORDER FORM

The NATION

Twenty Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

Dear Nation: Please send gift subscriptions of _____ year of *The Nation* to my friends as indicated below, at the special gift rate of \$5 each.

- ☐ Also renew my own subscription to *The Nation* at the regular rate for _____ years.
☐ Don't renew my subscription now. ☐ Remittance enclosed. ☐ Please bill me.

My name is _____

Street _____

City _____ Zone & State _____

Regular Renewal Subscription Rates:

One Year \$7 • Two Years \$12 • Three Years \$17
For Foreign and Canadian subscriptions add \$1 a year.

LIST GIFT SUBSCRIPTIONS HERE

Name _____

Street _____

City _____ Zone & State _____

Gift Card should read from _____

☐ Send Gift Card to _____ for mailing.

Name _____

Street _____

City _____ Zone & State _____

Gift Card should read from _____

☐ Send Gift Card to _____ for mailing.

Name _____

Street _____

City _____ Zone & State _____

Gift Card should read from _____

☐ Send Gift Card to me for mailing.

Name _____

Street _____

City _____ Zone & State _____

Gift Card should read from _____

☐ Send Gift Card to _____ for mailing.

12/22/51

Goodby to 1951—By Freda Kirchwey

THE *Nation*

BERKLEYS
PUBLIC LIBRARY
Berkeley, Calif.

December 29, 1951

Frank ("Midas") McKinney

Everything He Touches Turns to Gold

BY IRVING LEIBOWITZ

✱

The Arab-Refugee Problem

Nineteen Leaders Propose a Plan

✱

Uncle Sam's Bitter Nephews

BY SAM A. JAFFE

AROUND THE U. S. A.

The Law's Diminishing Returns

Los Angeles

FOR twenty-three years Alexander H. Schullman, a prominent Los Angeles attorney, has specialized in labor law. While practicing in Pittsburgh before he came to Los Angeles he represented one of the first industrial unions, before the C. I. O. was born, and made a contract stick for Pennsylvania packing-house workers. In the celebrated Orloff-Opek case he defended the United Mine Workers against a charge of killing two policemen in Morgantown, West Virginia. Since coming to California to handle litigation which developed out of the A. F. of L. waterfront strike in 1936, he has devoted about 80 per cent of his practice to A. F. of L. clients and made a fine record of victories.

His labor clients have had good reason to be pleased. Often pressure has been exerted to discourage him from representing labor or other groups which had antagonized conservative elements. When a fundamental labor principle affecting labor as a whole was involved, Schullman frequently handled a case without pay—notably the Screen Extras' fight for autonomy, the Di Giorgio farm-labor case, and the Los Angeles rent-control proceedings, which he directed from a hospital bed after he was seriously injured in a plane crash. Some of his real-estate clients, resenting his efforts in behalf of the tenants, ceased then to use his services.

Last July, when fifteen Communist leaders were arrested in California for alleged violations of the Smith act, Schullman was asked to join the battery of defense attorneys. His friends reminded him of the climate of fear and hysteria and warned him that he would certainly become a victim of "guilt by association" and suffer the loss of his practice and reputation. He decided not to jeopardize his position, and quoted a high fee to the Communists seeking his aid, knowing they would not be able to raise it.

As time went on, he became less and less pleased with his decision. He was

outraged when the Communists were held in excessively high bail—\$75,000, later reduced to \$50,000, and finally to \$5,000 and \$10,000. He was repeatedly urged to join other non-Communist lawyers in the fight against the Smith act. He weighed the factors again and this time sought only his own counsel. From 1936 to 1940, he recalled, organized labor had denounced the Smith act and had helped to defeat similar legislation which "makes free speech a crime." He found the language of the Smith act strikingly parallel to legislation passed in Germany in 1933 and used first against Communists, then against trade unions, and finally against minorities. He was reminded that the Smith act had already been invoked against labor, in the Dunne case, in which teamsters had been indicted and convicted for violence and striking.

When the trial of the fifteen Communist leaders begins in Los Angeles, Alexander Schullman will defend, for an exceptionally low fee, Philip ("Slim") Connelly, Los Angeles editor of the *People's World* and a former state president of the C. I. O., and his wife, Dorothy Healey, chairman of the Los Angeles Communist Party organization.

In less time than it took Schullman to reach his decision, his law practice vanished. Both labor and non-labor clients informed him in careful phrases that his legal services would not be required so long as he associated with and defended Communists. Union leaders asked him to certify that he was not a Communist. But Schullman could not be intimidated—not by economic boycott or by irate phone calls, threats, or anonymous letters. To clients who asked for an explanation, he pointed out that he had often represented murderers, rapists, and divorcees—without being charged with any identity with their character or views.

Instead of trying to stop him, labor should have joined him at the forefront of the fight. "Unfortunately," he told his former clients, "labor itself has forgotten its objections to the Smith act, as it has forgotten its objections to the Taft-Hartley act." "I disagree com-

pletely and unequivocally with the principles, aims, and pronunciamientos of the defendants," he said, "but as long as no clear and present danger exists and no overt act is established, free speech must be safeguarded."

Finally, even the Retail Clerks' local, which he had counseled for ten years without losing a case, pulled out. "I would like to practice labor law," he said, "and I'm going to find out if it is still possible." If Schullman were in the habit of sitting in judgment instead of giving counsel, he might be tempted to speculate on whether organized labor could now enjoy its present pious detachment if the unions had been refused expert legal support in leaner and tougher years.

The law of diminishing returns, as it relates to labor lawyers devoted to civil liberties, has received still another significant local application. A. L. Wirin, who has been identified with a long list of important civil-liberties cases in California, has represented the Los Angeles C. I. O. Council since 1948. Recently the local of the United Automobile Workers at the North American Aviation plant called upon the council to oust Mr. Wirin as its attorney on the ground that his activities on behalf of the American Civil Liberties Union were "drawing increasing criticism from many C. I. O. members." "I have felt all along, and still do," replied Mr. Wirin, "that my activities in behalf of the American Civil Liberties Union have been in accord with the best traditions of the C. I. O. and of all democratic labor tradition rooted in the Bill of Rights."

By penalizing friends of labor a man and A. L. W. interested and consistent of Rights, sections ment in Los Angel ning friends nor pla the contrary, they ar interests of organize

[Hannah Bloom is
respondent in Los Angeles.]

THE *Nation*

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 173

NEW YORK • SATURDAY • DECEMBER 29, 1951

NUMBER 26

The Shape of Things

IT IS WITH GREAT SATISFACTION THAT WE present in this issue the proposals for a solution of the Arab-refugee problem presented last week in the form of a memorandum to the United Nations. The individuals signing the document are assurance that it represents enlightened, non-partisan American opinion. The proposals, in the preparation of which the Nation Associates took an active interest, should commend themselves, we believe, to all persons who share our concern lest the miserable plight of the Arab refugees—now facing their third winter as homeless dependents on inadequate relief—continues indefinitely as a source of friction and possible war. We urge that the plan set forth in the memorandum be adopted by the State Department as the basis of an American initiative in the United Nations. Sponsored by this country and backed by the promise of a substantial contribution to the development program, the plan could settle the refugee problem and bring peace to the Middle East. For reasons of security as well as humanity the effort should be made.

★

POSTSCRIPTS TO OUR POSTSCRIPT TO *Collier's* World War III continue to descend upon us. The latest, the authenticity of which we have verified, is the following: A major New York publishing house had a contract to publish the by now famous special issue of *Collier's* as a book. But at least three of the contributors to the special issue—Edward R. Murrow, Robert E. Sherwood, and Walter P. Reuther—recently notified the publisher that they did not care to have their articles included. In the meantime something like a rank-and-file protest movement had developed among the editorial employees of the publishing house to convince the firm, if possible, that the book should not be published. The attitude of the staff, we are told, was noted, but what tipped the scales against publication was the withdrawal of the three leading contributors. Mr. Murrow, it is said, was largely influenced by the European view of the special issue; Mr. Sherwood, by the delayed reaction of certain officials in Washington. Mr. Reuther's second thoughts were indicated in his

letter to *The Nation* in the issue of December 8. In any case the book will not be published. From England comes this item: J. B. Priestley, returning from a visit to the United States, has announced that he no longer considers himself a Socialist. "Ten years ago my views were vaguely Socialist," Mr. Priestley said, "but they are not now." His announcement may not be unrelated to the fact that British Laborites have severely criticized him for doing his bit in *Collier's* Third World War.

★

BUT PERHAPS THE CONCLUSIVE POSTSCRIPT on *Collier's* World War III was the formal protest lodged by the United Nations over the unauthorized use of the U. N. emblem on the editorial page of the issue, where it appeared not on the uniform of a fictitious U. N. soldier but as a seal under an editorial entitled The Unwanted War. The protest was lodged pursuant to a resolution adopted by the Assembly on December 7, 1946, governing the use of the emblem. Caught red-handed, as it were, all that Edward Anthony, publisher of *Collier's*, could come up with was the inept rejoinder that the special issue had been criticized by Andrei Vishinsky and, "in this country," by the *Daily Worker*. Somehow Mr. Anthony managed to forget about the Portland *Oregonian*, the Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette*, and a dozen other newspapers that took sharp issue with *Collier's* "unwanted" but highly profitable war of words and pictures. On the same day that the U. N. protest was released, the press reported a speech by Dr. George N. Shuster, president of Hunter College, who for the last eighteen months has served as United States High Commissioner in Bavaria. Among the "fears" under which the Germans live, Dr. Shuster mentioned the fear that America has aggressive intentions and said that this had been increased by *Collier's* special issue. Nearly everyone but Mr. Anthony of *Collier's* seems to agree that publication of the issue was a propaganda disaster.

★

IN SIGNING A NEW EXECUTIVE ORDER creating a special committee to assist defense agencies in obtaining compliance with directives against racial discrimination in employment, President Truman has made

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

- The Shape of Things 557
 Goodby to 1951 *by Freda Kirchwey* 559

ARTICLES

- Frank ("Midas") McKinney *by Irving Leibowitz* 561
 The Arab-Refugee Problem: A Plan for Its Solution 563
 Uncle Sam's Bitter Nephews *by Sam A. Jaffe* 567
 Sanity Rewarded *by Alexander Werth* 569

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

- To Fill a Wilderness *by Randall Jarrell* 570
 An Ancient Problem *by Osmond K. Fraenkel* 570
 Cautionary Tales *by A. J. P. Taylor* 571
 Angry Novel *by Harvey Swados* 572
 The Modern Context *by Horace S. Fries* 572
 Books in Brief 573
 Drama *by Joseph Wood Krutch* 574
 Ballet *by B. H. Haggin* 574

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 576

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 445

by Frank W. Lewis opposite 576

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Associate Editor: Carey McWilliams

Foreign Editor J. Alvarez del Vayo *Literary Editor* Margaret Marshall

Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin

Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting

Assistant Editor: Charles R. Allen, Jr.

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside

Staff Contributors

Andrew Roth, Alexander Werth, Howard K. Smith, Carolus

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: Mary Simon

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyright, 1951, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas. *Subscription Prices:* Domestic—One year \$7; Two years \$12; Three years \$17. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian \$1. *Change of Address:* Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: *The Nation* is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

another gesture of support for civil rights. Five contracting agencies will be represented on the new committee—the Department of Defense, the Department of Labor, the Atomic Energy Commission, the General Services Administration, and the Defense Materials Procurement Agency. The six public members will be appointed by the President. The new committee, to be known as the Committee on Government Contract Compliance, may "examine and study," "confer and advise," and "submit recommendations," but it has no specific enforcement powers. Presumably the committee could hold public hearings which might be of value if President Truman names six strong public members to it. Commenting on the new order, Senator George cynically observed: "It looks like he [Mr. Truman] may be preparing to run for President again." While the order is neither mild enough to conciliate the Dixiecrats nor strong enough to please the civil-rights groups, it is in line with the Administration's new policy of seeking to call off the civil war in the Democratic Party over the civil-rights program. Certainly this order and Senator Hubert Humphrey's recent 2,000-word letter to twenty prominent Southern editors, appealing for a "hearing" and "more understanding of our objectives," represent a retreat from the civil-rights stand which the Administration took in 1948.

★

ALTHOUGH HIS SECOND SIX-YEAR TERM expired on September 28, Judge Delbert E. Metzger continues to serve as one of two United States District Court judges in Hawaii. Judge Metzger, it will be recalled, recently provoked the wrath of Senator Joseph O'Mahoney and the Department of Justice when he fixed bail for seven alleged Communists, in a conspiracy indictment under the Smith act, at \$7,500 instead of the \$75,000 demanded by the Attorney General. Officials of the Department of Justice announced that Judge Metzger would not be recommended for reappointment—territorial judges hold term appointments—and then, acting on instructions from Mr. McGrath, sought to disqualify him from presiding at the trial of the Communists. The affidavit of disqualification called attention to Judge Metzger's refusal to accept the department's suggestions on bail, criticized his acquittal of certain witnesses who had been cited for contempt by the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and rebuked him for having suggested that the adoption of suppressive measures might eventually convert the government into a police state. Judge Metzger, of course, refused to disqualify himself. But despite its threats the Administration has neither named a successor nor reappointed Judge Metzger. The fact that the Hawaii Bar Association, made up of some three hundred lawyers in the territory, recently gave Judge Metzger its overwhelming indorsement may account for this hesitancy. Now is the

time, therefore, for the Administration to reconsider its ill-tempered and mischievous attempt to intimidate a federal judge. No apologies are needed; let the President simply reappoint Judge Metzger to another six-year term.

★

THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE FBI WILL BE assigned to investigate the tax and other government scandals appears to be causing alarm in some business circles. This is understandable, since any probe into the conduct of civil servants will inevitably involve investigation of the men who bribed them to gain some private end. So far the business men whose names have been brought into the hearings of the Ways and Means subcommittee have been mostly what the British call "spivs"—adventurers on the fringes of industry who live by their wits. But evidently there are fears that once Edgar Hoover's sleuths are turned loose they will come across trails leading to more respectable sections of our acquisitive society. In any event a well-known business news service reports opposition to the use of the FBI in this field on the ground that it might lead to a police state. Yet the infiltration of government by men prone to corruption is surely no less dangerous than its infiltration by politically doubtful elements. The corrupt not only tend to bring the government into disrepute but may be willing to sell secrets as well as special privileges and immunity to prosecution. Those who believe that the investigation of the political affiliations of federal appointees is a legitimate function of the FBI are in a weak position to protest against the use of this agency to ferret out improper ties between government officials and business men.

★

A NEW YEAR'S STEEL STRIKE SEEMS TO BE almost a certainty: the chief hope now in Washington is that the stoppage will not last more than a week. But even so brief a shutdown will mean the loss of two million tons of steel, twice the amount Britain is seeking to fulfil its defense and export programs, enough for hundreds of schools the construction of which is being postponed so that armament priorities can be met. Chief responsibility for the strike, if it comes, must rest on the employers, who seem to have made no effort to engage in serious collective bargaining. Instead, they have taken the position that before making any wage concessions they must be assured of permission to cover the entire extra cost by price increases. Very properly Price Stabilization Administrator Roger Putnam has refused any such guaranty, pointing out that steel profits are "way above" the standard promulgated by his predecessor, Eric Johnston, last April—a standard permitting price increases only if industry earnings fall below 85 per cent of the average of the three best years between 1946 and 1949.

The steel corporations, Mr. Putnam added, are "bargaining with their own money," implying that they could afford to absorb any wage increase that could be approved under price and wage-stabilization regulations as they now stand.

Goodby to 1951

BY FRED KIRCHWEY

WE SAY goodby to the old year without regret. It has been a bad year, marked by negatives: by unease, disagreement, non-cooperation, fear. Statesmen have taken satisfaction in scoring points against each other rather than finding grounds for getting together. The year ends with one solid reason for gratitude, and even that is negative: there has been no general war.

Viewed from these shores some happenings may look like positive accomplishments. On a number of issues, for example, the United States position has been adopted by the General Assembly of the U. N. Our delegation forced through the election of Greece to the Security Council in place of the candidate of the Soviet Union. The American-sponsored disarmament plan was triumphantly adopted, while Russia's was overwhelmingly rejected. At the last meeting before Christmas the Assembly's Political Committee turned down by a vote of thirty-nine to five the Soviet resolution condemning our Mutual Security Act as a threat against the institutions of Communist countries.

There were others. But examined coldly they added up to little more than points for our side in the cold war. America's insistence on the election of Greece, successful only after a prolonged and public exhibition of arm-twisting, seemed to many delegates a rather petty instance of political spite. At the beginning most of the nations that later switched their votes took it for granted that the so-called "gentlemen's agreement" assuring a seat to Eastern Europe was intended to give Russia one ally in the Council. Our victory only increased the feeling that we are against Russia even when it is, occasionally, in the right.

The American disarmament proposal, too, looked more like an attempt to outflank the Kremlin than like a serious move in the direction of peace. The similarities of the opposing plans were played down, as Lawrence H. Fuchs pointed out in *The Nation* of December 8 (Disarmament: Facts vs. Propaganda), and even in the secret meetings held to examine possibilities of agreement, both sides stood pat on their most extreme and unpalatable demands: Russia for the immediate abolition of atomic weapons; the United States for the dated "majority" plan for atomic inspection and control. Still, the fact that the Western proposal for the first time included in one package conventional and atomic weapons and

that Russia seems likely to accept membership in the commission to be set up after the Christmas recess gives a small margin of hope. Talks can continue, at least.

One of the most interesting episodes in the Assembly was Russia's charge that the United States is plotting subversive activities within the Soviet sphere, to be financed by \$100,000,000 provided for in the new Mutual Security Act. Brushed off briskly as a piece of Soviet impertinence, the resolution actually penetrated close to the heart of American defense policy. A debate on the issues involved would have raised the question: What are our ultimate purposes in the struggle with Russia? That Moscow's interests are advanced wherever possible by subversion or revolution or any other useful method, through special agents and local Communist parties, can be taken as proved. What is still an unknown factor of staggering magnitude is whether Washington, dominating Western defense operations, is committed to the use of similar methods. Representative Mike Mansfield, speaking for the United States in the Political Committee, denied we had any such idea, taking the obvious line that the shoe belonged on Russia's foot, not ours. But some reporters noted that the real issue had been dodged, for everyone knows the United States is at least trying to generate a spirit of revolt among Russia's satellites and in the Soviet Union as well.

While Mr. Mansfield interpreted the language of the Security Act to refer "only to those people who have managed to flee to this side of the Iron Curtain," the act certainly does not say that. It appropriates \$100,000,000 to enable anti-Communists "residing in" or refugees from the Soviet areas to form armed units of the North Atlantic defense forces. The "or for other purposes" controversial clause was added as an amendment introduced by Representative Charles J. Kersten, who explained that its object was to provide "a method whereby the United States can render aid for underground liberation movements in the Communist countries." Later, in attacking the proposed U. N. draft code of "offenses against the peace and security of mankind," Mr. Kersten wrote Warren R. Austin, chief American delegate to the U. N., that the code as drawn up "might prevent groups in this country, as well as our government, from assisting in the liberation of the peoples of Eastern European countries and other countries enslaved by the Communist tyranny."

"Containment" is one thing; "liberation" another. For a year or more there have been increasing indications of a shift in American policy toward the idea of freeing the peoples under Soviet rule. In a recent article in the *New York Times*, James Reston stated plainly that "the policy of the United States government is not only to contain the Russians where they are, but to push them back where they came from." Language like this horrifies our European allies, who have accepted the necessity of

large-scale defense but are by no means enlisted in a crusade against communism or war of counter-revolution. Much as they may object to Communist infiltration or agitation in their own countries, they have no reckless desire to repay it in kind. On the contrary they hope for an easing of tension, an increase in trade, and a consequent improvement of their economic life—which would do more than \$100,000,000 worth of cloak-and-dagger to minimize the Communist threat. The fear lest American anti-Communist zeal may force a war that is unlikely on any other grounds is a pervasive one, and Russia's challenge, however impudent, may well have increased it. In any case the issue has now been brought into the open, and it will be surprising if it is not followed up in private by our allies, who want desperately to believe that the Atlantic alliance can be shorn of any appearance of aggressive purpose.

The defense program itself has reached a point where this is particularly necessary. With eighteen divisions in readiness on European soil and the pressure of rearmament increasing monthly, the Western countries are facing a tough choice. They can slow up the tempo enough to ease the economic strain, thus reducing internal friction and instability—and this, indeed, is in the cards. But by adopting this course they increase the need of German man-power and productive capacity and increase simultaneously the bargaining power of the West German government. Already Bonn's price for cooperation is rising and so are the strength and arrogance of the nationalist-military reaction.

As long as German rearmament hangs on the creation of a European army—itself still a concept rather than a blueprint—some latitude for maneuver exists. The fear and distaste with which Western Europeans approach the prospect of becoming brothers-in-arms of their late enemy offer at least a faint chance that a third choice may be sought by Europe's more realistic leaders. The alternative to reviving German military power is reviving efforts to make a deal on Germany with the Russians. And that, of course, implies a serious attempt—not through public speeches or resolutions in the U. N.—to resolve specific points of difference. The much-deplored lack of unity among the Atlantic powers over German rearmament and the defense program as a whole may in fact turn out to be the most hopeful development of 1951. It represents not a mood of defeat but one of independence; on some of the great issues our allies have learned to talk back, to state policies of their own. "Bevanism" under other names is spreading. The recoil from war and the demand for positive efforts toward peace can be sensed under the disagreements registered at the U. N. Taken together with the prospect of an armistice in Korea and Russia's apparent reluctance to force differences to the point of showdown, this mood may be the best omen for 1952.

Frank ("Midas") McKinney

BY IRVING LEIBOWITZ

Indianapolis, December

THE Augean stables, containing 3,000 oxen, had not been cleaned for thirty years. Hercules, it will be recalled, cleaned them in a day by turning in the rivers Alpheus and Peneus. The Democrats have not been in power thirty years, but Mr. Truman has decided that influence peddlers and corrupt officials shall be driven from government and party positions whether they number thirty or thirty thousand. He has chosen Frank E. McKinney, an Indianapolis banker, for the task, on the assumption, apparently, that the Democratic machine politicians of Indianapolis are a different breed from those of St. Louis, the home of William Boyle. But just what manner of man is this Hercules from Indiana?

Frank E. McKinney may clean up and patch the scandal-scarred Democratic Party, but he will not be of much help to the Democrats in carrying Indiana; in fact, he will probably find it a tougher job to increase the Democratic vote in his home town than anywhere else. Long before he was chosen by Mr. Truman, McKinney was known in Indianapolis as a baseball magnate and business man with political connections galore. Less than twenty-four hours after he had succeeded the much-investigated William Boyle as Democratic National Chairman, the skeletons in his political past began to be paraded. The first of them had to do, of course, with the casual way in which McKinney and his political sponsor, Frank McHale, Indiana's Democratic National Committeeman, had picked up a small fortune through their association with Frank Cohen, the New York promoter whose Empire Ordnance Company was one of the most frequently investigated and thoroughly criticized munitions combines of World War II. The fact that Empire had been exposed by the Truman committee apparently failed to embarrass either McKinney or President Truman.

Frank McKinney's banking, business, and political connections in Indiana cannot be understood without inquiring into his Republican as well as his Democratic connections. McKinney is known to be the political protégé of Frank McHale. Not known to most rank-and-file Democrats in Indiana is the fact that McHale is attorney for the Indianapolis *Star*, long regarded as a Republican house organ. Recently, the *Star* assailed as a "dictator" Indiana's popular Democratic Governor, Henry F. Schricker, the only man in the state's history to

be twice elected to the governorship; Schricker, incidentally, detests the political maneuvers of McHale.

McKinney and McHale started their climb to political power and private wealth during the early days of the New Deal, when Paul McNutt was Governor of Indiana. McNutt personally guided their careers until he left Indiana to become Federal Security Administrator, Governor of the Philippines and then ambassador to the new republic, and, currently, a big-time lawyer-lobbyist whose clients have included the South Korean Republic. Through McNutt solid top-level connections in the Democratic Party were established by McKinney and McHale. In the Republican Party, McKinney's connections are on a much lower level but are by no means negligible. Many Indiana Democrats are disturbed by his elevation to the national chairmanship of the party less because he is known as a past master in the art of acquiring and exerting political influence than because of his unusual affinity for Republican politicians.

A good many Democrats and Republicans in Indiana insist not only that McKinney was once a Republican but that he started his political career in 1925 by working, as a Republican, for the election of the Ku Klux Klan candidate for Mayor of Indianapolis. Former Mayor John Duvall, who once paraded with the Klan drum corps to accept the Klan's indorsement, has recalled: "The McKinneys were all good Republicans at that time. Frank's father [Roscoe] collected \$1,000 for my campaign, and Frank campaigned in my behalf. I later helped promote Frank's father to Battalion Fire Chief and sent him to fire school in New York." Vigorously denying any connection with ex-Mayor Duvall, McKinney insists that his father did not collect or contribute money to Duvall's campaign. "How could I as an Irish Catholic support a Klan candidate?" he asks. "All this is a damn lie. Why, my father was too poor and I was too young."

But McKinney does not deny dealings with local Republican big shots. For many years James Bradford, former county chairman, was able to purchase liquor for the now defunct Mid-State Liquor Corporation through loans extended by McKinney's bank. McKinney and Bradford say these were "regular" commercial loans secured by warehouse receipts. But however regular the loans may have been—and there is no reason to question McKinney's statement about them—they are regarded in Indianapolis as further evidence of his close relations with Republican politicians. Moreover, at the time that McKinney bought control of the bustling

IRVING LEIBOWITZ is on the staff of the Indianapolis Times.



Frank McKinney

Fidelity Trust Company in 1935, with the aid of a \$100,000 loan, he was employed as assistant cashier by the Republican-controlled People's State Bank. In fact, McKinney's Republican connections range from friendships and business deals with ward chairmen to a close working alliance with the present Mayor of Indianapolis, Alex Clark. Recently the Indianapolis *Times*, quoting "two reliable sources," said in a front-page story that McKinney had contributed \$1,000 to the local G. O. P. war chest before tak-

ing his present post. McKinney has denied this.

In the highly partisan politics of Indiana, Democrats are supposed to be Democrats and Republicans, Republicans. McKinney and McHale have had such a strangle-hold on the Democratic Party that their bipartisan business and political activities have until recently been overlooked. But a year ago McKinney became embroiled in a torrid political feud with the Democratic Mayor of Indianapolis, the late Al Feeney, and Mayor Feeney publicly accused McKinney of trying to handpick the Democratic ticket in Marion County and attacked him in the newspapers as a "ruthless, power-mad dictator." When a long list of Democratic city administrations throughout the state were toppled from power in the recent mayoralty elections and 73 of the 103 cities in Indiana, including such normally Democratic industrial cities as Evansville, South Bend, and Indianapolis, went Republican, Indiana Democrats in all walks of life began to talk of ousting the party leadership.

A number of prominent labor leaders, regular party Democrats, and state officials are now working to reorganize the party in time for the 1952 elections. With an eye on the recent mayoralty results, these leaders are extremely suspicious of the McKinney-McHale alliance. Organized labor, with which rests the fate of the Democrats in Indiana next year, has threatened to desert the party unless labor gets a "fair deal" and promises are kept. Labor leaders particularly dislike McHale, who has been quoted as saying: "Labor can go to hell. Where can labor go but the Democratic Party?" On another occasion he said: "The C. I. O.-P. A. C. is a millstone around the neck of the Democratic Party." Neal Edwards, a key figure in the C. I. O., and Carl Mullen of the A. F. of L., who together represent more than 500,000 trade-union members in Indiana, will not be satisfied with halfway measures. Publicly warning Democratic politicians, Edwards said recently: "The Democrats must

have a sweeping house-cleaning here in Indiana. There are too many Dixiecrats and reactionaries who have high positions in the party. McHale and company have got to go." Mullen too has criticized the methods of McHale and McKinney: "Unless the Democratic Party is reorganized in Indiana from top to bottom, it won't be able to elect a dog-catcher next year." Curiously enough, the steps to reorganize the Democratic Party in Indiana really began when McKinney left for Washington and New York.

THE key factor in the extraordinary career of the forty-seven-year-old McKinney seems to have been his ability to make money. Last year Edwin C. Heinke, then assistant managing editor of the Indianapolis *Times* and now chief of *Time-Life's* Chicago bureau, wrote that everything McKinney touched turned to gold. The Indiana politician-banker has since been known as Midas McKinney. A banker who never planned or even hoped, so he says, to amass great wealth, he now finds himself the possessor of a large fortune. A politician who found politics "distasteful," he rose from county treasurer to become one of the most powerful figures in the state. A baseball fan who managed a semi-pro team in his youth for the sheer love of the sport, he became boss of the Pittsburgh Pirates. One example of his Midas touch is the way he made between \$68,000 and \$69,000 on a \$1,000 investment in the Empire Tractor Company. Another was his experience as County Treasurer. McKinney was treasurer of Marion County (Indianapolis) from 1936 to 1940. Up to 1936 the treasurer retained 3 per cent of collections on real-property and personal-property delinquencies. That year the legislature raised the fee to 6 per cent plus a 50-cent fee for each delinquency retired. "There is no record of the amount of fees McKinney collected," reports the Associated Press, "but best estimates are between \$30,000 and \$40,000 a year—possibly more." The fee system was abolished in 1941.

As McKinney has accumulated wealth, he has accumulated political influence; there can be no doubt that he has long been a power in the Democratic Party despite his relations with local Republican leaders. This was demonstrated when he personally escorted William Steckler to the White House last year and persuaded President Truman to appoint him to the federal District Court for the southern Indiana district. A subsequent event illustrates how McKinney's interest in politics has seldom gone unrewarded. The first big bankruptcy plum that Judge Steckler had at his disposal—the multi-million-dollar resort hotel at French Lick Springs in southern Indiana—went to McKinney's bank, with Frank McHale named attorney in the transaction.

State Democratic Chairman Ira Haymaker and his press agent, Robert Bloem, vigorously defend this ex-

change of courtesies as "practical politics," and so it was. "Would you have the Judge be an ingrate," they ask, "and give it [the bankruptcy appointment] to a Republican bank just to satisfy the newspapers?" Obviously not; but the fact that Mr. McKinney is so clearly not an "ingrate" in this sense makes one wonder how effective he will be in helping cleanse the Administration and the Democratic Party of "influence peddlers."

Whatever President Truman may think, Indiana Democrats are by no means unanimous in believing that McKinney will put through a clean-up campaign in the Democratic Party or that he will be of much help to them in carrying Indiana in 1952. They point to the fact, for example, that McKinney's first official act was to appoint Municipal Court Judge Joseph Howard of Indianapolis as one of his top assistants. Judge Howard was indicted for vote frauds in Marion County on September 16, 1938, while serving as deputy prosecutor. Although the

indictment was later dismissed, the appointment of Howard did little to convince Indiana Democrats that McKinney intends to clean up the mess he inherited from William Boyle. Both Howard and McKinney, moreover, were accused of actively supporting the Republican candidate for Mayor of Indianapolis, Alex Clark, in the recent election. Howard, in fact, resigned as Democratic ward chairman to work for the Republican candidate. After accepting the Democratic national chairmanship, McKinney made a feeble effort at a preelection rally to swing his support back to the Democratic nominee, Phillip Bayt. Political observers marveled that McKinney had the audacity to send men to the rally with signs advising Democrats: "It's not too late to be with Bayt."

Most Hoosier Democrats, who regard bipartisan deals as a worse crime than subversive activity, think President Truman did not help the party in Indiana when he selected McKinney as National Chairman.

THE ARAB-REFUGEE PROBLEM

A Plan for Its Solution

[On December 15, 1951, a group of nineteen religious, labor, education, and liberal leaders submitted to the General Assembly of the United Nations a memorandum offering a constructive plan for the solution of the Arab-refugee problem. This plan calls for permanent resettlement of the Arab-refugee population in the Arab states, where there is ample land and opportunity if natural resources are developed, and for help in developing those natural resources. Under the auspices of the United Nations it would be implemented through the establishment of a \$300,000,000 resettlement fund and a resources-development enterprise to which the international community might make an initial contribution of \$500,000,000, plus, of course, planning and technical assistance.]

In the view of the signatories, the plan serves three purposes: it will rescue and rehabilitate the hundreds of thousands of Arabs in the refugee camps, reclaim a once rich and productive region now in decay under feudal regimes, and make allies of the peoples of the Middle East by showing them democracy at work for their benefit. The first section of the memorandum, containing the concrete proposals, appears below.]

THE Arab refugee exists. His plight is tragic. His problem is the responsibility of the international community. But it is not a responsibility which can be discharged either by protracted palliative measures or by pressure on Israel to open its doors to his return.

The Arab of formerly mandated Palestine is truly a

displaced person. Whether or not he is classified as a refugee, he is without roots, without employment, and dependent for his daily existence upon international relief funds.

Three years of palliative measures have not alleviated his misery. "The Arab refugee population is virtually destitute. The cost of maintaining them up to date has been \$66,000,000. But they are not much better off today than they were in 1948. With the exception of Jordan, no government has proclaimed their right to stay." This is the report of the Director of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency to the 1951 session of the General Assembly.

The Arab-refugee problem can be resolved. To do so it is necessary first to take it out of the vacuum to which it has been relegated, to look at it in the full context of its cause and effect, political and economic, its relationship to the peace and well-being of the area and, therefore, to the security of the world at large. Viewed thus, solutions are possible which can become permanent and redound to the everlasting benefit of the refugees themselves and of the entire Middle East.

Proposals

I

The Arab states occupy an area of some 1,200,000 square miles. Although there are large desert tracts, it is potentially one of the richest areas in the world. Much of the land is unoccupied, a large part underdeveloped. A number of Arab states urgently require additional pop-

ulation, through immigration, to develop the great natural wealth with which nature has endowed them.

We therefore propose that:

1. In recognition of their responsibility to share in solving the Arab-refugee problem, the Arab states, principally Iraq, Syria, Jordan, should assign for the purposes of Arab refugee resettlement tracts of land in their territories, now unpopulated or underpopulated, which are capable of being developed to support a substantial population.

2. A definite assignment of specific land should be made to each Arab refugee family to be settled.

3. An orderly transfer of Arab refugees to the areas designated should be undertaken.

4. The transfer of Arab refugees should be conducted under the auspices of the United Nations.

5. The provision for housing and other requirements to establish the foundation for ultimate self-maintenance should be made by the U. N. resettlement agency.

6. As part of the undertaking, also under the auspices of the United Nations, a program for the retraining of the settlers, as necessary, should be undertaken.

7. The transfer and settlement of Palestine Arab refugees should be financed by an international fund created for this purpose in the sum of \$300,000,000.

II

Israel, occupying an area of 8,100 square miles, which in three years has been compelled to absorb 700,000 Jewish refugees—almost equivalent in number to the Arab refugee population—half of them in flight from Moslem countries of the Middle East and North Africa, cannot reabsorb the Arabs who fled its borders. But it can, and indeed has offered to, contribute to a fund for Arab resettlement.

We therefore propose that:

Upon the establishment of the Resettlement Fund and agreement as to its scope, Israel shall be requested to make a fair contribution to that fund by way of compensation for abandoned Arab land in Israel.

In arriving at the compensation total, account should be taken of Jewish property losses during the Palestine war and the property of Jewish refugees from Arab states seized or frozen by those states.

III

All experts are agreed that the reintegration of the Arab refugee population in the Arab countries can be accomplished only if simultaneously there is an improvement of living standards and employment possibilities for the whole area.

We therefore propose that:

1. A five-year program should be undertaken under the auspices of the United Nations to develop the natural resources of the area as a whole. Specifically, that a series of projects similar to the Tennessee Valley Au-

thority should be initiated to harness the water and power resources (a) of the Jordan River serving Israel and Jordan; (b) of the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers serving Syria and Iraq; and (c) of the Litani River in Lebanon.

2. A Resources Development Commission should be established to plan and carry out this program.

3. An international fund of \$500,000,000, as an initiating fund, should be established to begin the development of the natural resources of Syria, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, and Israel, and such other areas as may be designated by the Resources Development Commission.

4. Liaison should be established between the U. N. Commission for the Resettlement of the Arab Refugees and the Resources Development Commission, with a view to the coordination of plans and programs.

IV

To carry out undertakings of the scope envisaged, a prerequisite is stability. Stability requires a permanent peace settlement between the Arab States and Israel.

We therefore propose that:

The United Nations should call upon the Arab states and Israel to negotiate and conclude a peace settlement either directly or under the auspices of the U. N.

THE plans proposed are in accord both with reality and with the provisions of the Charter. They are also based on practical precedents.

Since 1919 the transfer of populations has been accomplished as a means of resolving a number of thorny problems. One of the most successful undertakings of this kind was the transfer in 1923, under the auspices of the League of Nations, of 1,250,000 Greeks from Turkey in exchange for about 355,000 Turks. The League of Nations launched a loan to finance the provision of land, homes, and work for these refugees.

The transfer of the Arab population of Palestine to Arab land is not a new idea. The exchange of the Arab population of Palestine with the Jewish populations of the Arab countries was proposed in 1937 by responsible British statesmen and favored by the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations as an effective way of resolving the Palestine problem.

In practical effect, such an exchange has been taking place. During the Palestine war in 1947-48, Palestine Arabs fled from their homes at the behest of their leaders and are now in the Arab states. The Jewish populations are fleeing from persecution in the Arab states and finding refuge in Israel.

The resettlement of the Arab refugees is a formidable undertaking. But it is much simpler to resettle them in Arab lands where identity of language, tradition, and culture exists than to return them as an alien minority

to Israel, where new homes and livelihood would have to be provided in any event.

The implementation of the program envisaged, by removing so large a cause of friction, should, moreover, stimulate and render more effective the concurrent efforts of the United Nations to bring about the negotiation of a peace settlement between the Arab states and Israel.

Can the Arab States Absorb the Arab Refugees? That this is feasible is the view of many experts.

The U. N. Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees, in its 1951 report, underscores that the region, despite its present backwardness, has enormous potential possibilities. "It not only contains nearly one-half of the world proved oil resources, the exploitation of which has started only recently, but it has large areas of cultivable land, part of which were in previous centuries the homelands of large and prosperous populations, while other parts have never been seriously developed at all."

Moreover, the experts believe that if the capital investments were made for the development of the natural resources of these areas, the undertakings, in time, would produce the revenues to pay for the outlay.

By the introduction of irrigation, modern farming techniques, and the harnessing of water resources, four Arab states—Iraq, Syria, Jordan, and Lebanon—could support many millions of people, in addition to their present populations, on a highly improved standard of living.

For two of these states, Iraq and Syria, an increased working population is imperative if they are to develop their own resources.

Syria and Iraq, occupying a land area of 182,000 square miles, and with a population of less than 8,000,000, in ancient times supported a population of many millions more, and were granaries of the Roman Empire.

President Truman's International Development Advisory Board, headed by Nelson Rockefeller, holds that, under proper development, Iraq alone could absorb an Arab refugee population of 750,000.

Responsibility for Arab Plight. In seeking a solution for the Arab-refugee problem, the international community must remember the circumstances under which that problem arose. The war of the Arab states against the U. N. resolution of November 29, 1947, is responsible for the present situation.

The records of the U. N. show that the Arab states prevented an independent Arab state, provided for in the partition plan, from coming into being in Palestine—a state which might in time have become capable of satisfying the needs of its population. And Arab leaders summoned the Arabs of Palestine to a mass evacuation, as the documented facts reveal.

Why Israel Cannot Absorb Arab Refugees. That Israel did not expel the Arabs is confirmed by countless Arab sources. When the Arab attacks on Palestine began, the Haganah, and subsequently the Provisional Government of Israel, made every attempt to prevent the Arab exodus and pleaded with the populace to stay. These pleas were not heeded.

Israel's refusal now to permit the return of the Arab refugees stems from the following facts:

1. Such abandoned Arab villages and dwellings as are fit for human habitation are now occupied by Jewish immigrants.

2. Israel still feels it is threatened by its neighbors. No peace settlement has yet been concluded. On the contrary, Arab demands for a second round against Israel continue to be heard, and no Arab government has offered to abstain from working for Israel's downfall.

3. The presence of a large Arab minority, which would be more responsive to the sentiments of the surrounding Arab states than to that of Israel, would render Israel insecure.

4. Israel, in the three years of its existence, has absorbed a Jewish refugee population about equivalent in numbers to the Arab refugee population. Half of the 669,518 Jewish immigrants which the state has received since 1948 are Jews in flight from persecution and oppression in the Moslem lands of the Middle East and North Africa. In the eight-month period of January 1, 1951, to September 1, 1951, they accounted for 71.5 per cent of the immigration to Israel.

For Israel to absorb the Arab refugees would be to dislocate the economy of a state which in the space of three years has been compelled to fight a war of defense, establish itself under democratic constitutional forms, and open its doors to almost 700,000 Jewish refugees. Indeed, its very existence would be threatened.

Problems Responsible for Creation of Israel Still Exist. Further, the United Nations should review the circumstances under which it authorized the creation of Israel.

The Jewish state was sanctioned by the U. N. in 1947 as a means of providing refuge, home, and rehabilitation for the pitiful survivors of Hitler's extermination program, who, two years after the war's end, had found neither home nor safety.

When World War II ended, it was found that six million Jews had been massacred in Europe. Of some 1,111,000 survivors, one-third found their way to displaced-persons camps. The remainder came out of hiding, in countries which had served as charnel houses, to the frightful memories of mothers, fathers, sons, and daughters put to death in gas chambers, burned to death, starved to death, done to death in labor gangs.

Few countries of the world opened their doors in the period before the outbreak of hostilities in Europe to admit those Jews who might have been saved. And even

at the close of the war no countries offered to receive the tragic remnants. Not until Israel was established did the work of rescue and rehabilitation begin.

Since 1947 the need for migration of Jews has grown more, not less.

One Million Jews Seek Safety in Israel. During the past six years, Europe has seen a revival of anti-Semitism which has stimulated the fears of the remaining Jews and produced an enormous push toward Israel. To these have been added hundreds of thousands of residents of Jewish communities thousands of years old—communities in Moslem countries throughout North Africa and the Middle East—who today have become the victims of physical attack, economic boycott, and financial spoliation in a manner reminiscent of Hitlerism.

In the North African countries many of the communities had known terror of Nazi occupation or Vichyite discrimination. Overwhelmed with the memories of so recent an oppression, these latest victims of Moslem oppression are seeking escape. The only door open to them is that of Israel.

Today the new state is confronted with the problem of receiving between 700,000 and 1,000,000 Jews of Europe, North Africa, and the Arab countries, and offering them homes and rehabilitation.

Israel Shoulders an International Responsibility. Should Israel fail, the responsibility for these Jews would, of necessity, devolve upon the international community. In offering them asylum, Israel is thus relieving the world of a burden and a duty it otherwise would be compelled to assume.

To continue this work, Israel requires, first and foremost, peace. Second, it requires space to receive and settle the new victims of oppression. The 8,100 square miles Israel occupies cannot be expanded, but neither can it be asked to accept the return of hundreds of thousands of Arab refugees who by their own choice fled its area. Third, it requires help in developing its natural resources and those shared jointly with Jordan.

In three years Israel has spent one-fifth to one-quarter of its national income on immigration and agricultural settlements for the Jewish refugees. On these two undertakings alone, as of August, 1951, this amounted to £125,000,000, or approximately \$370,000,000. A review of the expenditures of only six voluntary agencies cooperating with Israel shows they spent \$419,000,000. Together, conservatively estimated, Israel and these six voluntary agencies have already spent \$789,000,000 for the transport, training, settlement, and rehabilitation of the Jewish refugee population. The actual total is probably well over one billion dollars.

On some 41,000 Arab refugees in Israel, the government of the Jewish state has spent \$11,000,000, one million dollars more than all the Arab states together have spent on the entire Arab refugee population.

Both the Arab and Jewish refugee problems must be solved. Neither can be solved at the expense of the other.

W E PEOPLES who are still free face two main threats," says the President's International Development Advisory Board. "One is military aggression and subversion. The other is hunger, poverty, disease, and illiteracy." The proposals suggested are designed to meet this second major threat.

Loyalty to democratic principles cannot be commanded in a vacuum. It can be won from peoples only after experience of democratic practice.

When the yoke of feudalism has been lifted from the backs of the peoples of the Middle East, they may well become the loyal allies of the democratic world against military aggression and subversion. *But* they cannot become a bastion for democracy until they have been reclaimed from feudalism. Left in the status quo, they present a focal point of danger.

The United Nations faces a great challenge. It is pledged "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war," and "to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom." By being greatly daring in this critical area, it can greatly advance major objectives of peace, security, and larger freedom.

Respectfully submitted,

DEWEY ANDERSON, Executive Director, Public Affairs Institute; HENRY A. ATKINSON, General Secretary, Church Peace Union; DONALD B. CLOWARD, Executive Secretary, Council on Christian Social Progress of the American Baptist Convention; FREDERICK MAY ELIOT, President, American Unitarian Association; CHARLES KENDALL GILBERT, Retired Episcopal Bishop of New York; EARL G. HARRISON; IVAN LEE HOLT, Methodist Bishop of Missouri; FRED A. KIRCHWEY, President, The Nation Associates; KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE, President, American Baptist Convention; ARCHIBALD MACLEISH, Boylston Professor of Rhetoric and Oratory, Harvard University; DANIEL L. MARSH, Chancellor, Boston University; NORMAN B. NASH, Episcopal Bishop of Massachusetts; REINHOLD NIEBUHR, Professor of Christian Ethics, Union Theological Seminary; JAMES G. PATTON, President, Farmers International and Co-operative Union; PAUL PORTER; JACOB S. POTOFKY, President, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; JAMES T. SHOTWELL, President Emeritus, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; RUSSELL H. STAFFORD, President, Hartford Seminary Foundation; SUMNER WELLES.

Uncle Sam's Bitter Nephews

BY SAM A. JAFFE

UNCLE SAM dealt himself a bad blow last year when he sent the greater part of the Marine Corps Reserve to fight and die in Korea for a cause they knew little or nothing about. At first they may have thought it a thrilling adventure, but as battle-scarred veterans they are bitter and resentful.

The summons to active duty on July 24 of last year struck the reservists like a bolt from the blue. Some groups—like the San Francisco Twelfth Amphibian Tractor Battalion—were given only three days to square their civilian affairs. Until then the duties of the organized reserve had been considered an easy way to make extra money. They took but two hours a week, plus a two-week training period in summer, and the latter could often be dodged if a plausible alibi was presented. The idea was to have a supply of men ready to serve their country in time of need, but the training was insufficient and the equipment obsolete. The reservists who gathered at sun-baked Camp Pendleton, the overseas shipping center for the Marine Corps in Southern California, believed this would be their home for the next few months while they received intensive combat training with modern weapons. The military apparently had other plans.

During their three weeks' stay at the camp, the reservists received clothing, insurance, and allotment forms to fill out, but no training. Most men were classified as riflemen regardless of their civilian experience. An order from Washington stated that any reservist who had attended thirty-six weekly drill meetings and two summer camps was, in effect, ready for war.

The First Marine Division arrived at Kobe on August 23 and was stationed at swanky army camps complete with swimming pools, beer halls, soda fountains, and gyms. But final preparations were being rushed for the Inchon landing; so it stayed in Japan only two weeks. The men received conditioning hikes and a few final instructions. As the 21,000 marines boarded some sixty vessels in Kobe harbor on September 6, a common sight on the docks was to see a group of marines working over a heavy machine-gun and asking, "How the hell do you put this thing back together? None of us has even seen one of these guns before."

The landing itself was badly disorganized. Battalions landed on the wrong beaches. Companies became sepa-

rated from one another. Operations were way behind schedule. But not until the division reached Seoul's industrial suburb, Yongdong-Po, did it see bitter fighting. From there into the city the marines fought from door to door.

The men had been led to believe that all that had to be done was to drive the North Koreans behind the Thirty-eighth Parallel. They had also been told that the division was to be used only to establish the beach-head; the army would drive inland. But it was not until the marines moved northward that the army arrived in force. News that they were to debark for another combat operation made the troops furious. A regimental commander told me, "I'm just about at the breaking point. I've had enough of this war and so have my men. What can I tell them when they ask me what the fighting is all about?"

The fighting in the rugged, mountainous north went on for seven weeks. The Chinese, who General MacArthur had said would not enter Korea, attacked in great force, smashing at the lines day and night. The weather was, if possible, a fiercer enemy than the Chinese. The earth had frozen so solid that you couldn't dig a foxhole. Intrenching tools broke in the hard ground. Many men went for days without eating because their canned "C" rations were frozen; a bayonet could not chip the contents. Frostbite was practically universal. The fur parkas, the shoe pacs, and other items of winter clothing provided were as useless as a French bathing suit, being designed as protection against a dry cold, and this cold was wet. The heavy mountain-type sleeping bags were dangerous to use because the zipper which extended up to a man's neck made it so hard to get out of them—many marines were found dead in their bags after a Chinese raid. At the height of a battle, rifle and machine-gun bolts were found frozen solid. Trucks and jeeps became useless when their motors froze.

No man who took part in the withdrawal from the Changjin Reservoir will ever forget it. The Reds kept hitting the convoys with everything they had. A section of the road would be reported clear. The convoy would proceed slowly. Suddenly, machine-gun, rifle, and mortar fire would cut the convoy in two, trapping half the vehicles and personnel. After a pitched battle, the trucks and troops would move on again, only to meet Chinese fire a few miles farther along.

When the First Marine Division, worn to a thread, evacuated Hungnam on December 16, its members were bitter, disgusted, and broken. Aboard ship it was an-

SAM A. JAFFE is a New York newspaperman who spent eight months in Korea as a combat correspondent with the First Marine Division.

nounced that the division would not go to Japan for a long-needed rest but would land at Pusan the following day. Maintaining that "we're still civilians," the reservists released a flood of torrid letters to their Congressmen and Senators, the Marine Corps, the Department of Defense, and the President, though the military code strictly forbade this. Why had they been told by their officers that the security of the United States rested on them when President Truman had spoken of Korea as "a police action"? Why should they bear the brunt of this war when the majority of the Armed Forces Reserve and National Guard were still at home? The major topic of conversation was why the Marine Corps Reserve was the first and only military reserve to be recalled to duty as a whole.

After the dedication of the United Nations Cemetery at Inchon, a regimental commander suggested that the United Nations flag over the dead should be replaced by the Stars and Stripes. "These dead are not of the United Nations," he said, "they're Americans, and their own colors should fly above them." Groups of marines would silently steal into the cemetery and replace the U. N. flag with ours.

What disturbed the leathernecks most was that they had to wage a war against Chinese soldiers fighting with American weapons. The North Koreans were equipped with Russian weapons and ammunition, but the Chinese depended chiefly on the Thompson submachine-gun and the M-1 rifle and had little Russian equipment. In the American army one submachine gun is supposed to be

issued to a platoon, but almost every Chinese soldier had one. The Chinese also used American field guns and mortars.

All this was bad enough, but the men were further irked to find that many Koreans wanted no part of them. These were the Communists and others who were opposed to Syngman Rhee and his gang. Some even said the death and destruction we had brought them could all have been avoided if we had helped them in the past.

When the division was sent up to the central front after three weeks' rest, members were still writing letters to Washington. Many of the older men demanded to be released from active duty, saying that on their military pay they could not support a wife and children; others complained that their families had not been receiving allotments which they had approved five months before. As they left for the front, they seemed to be starting the war all over again. They were now back in the south with its blanketing, powder-fine dust, its pock-marked, kidney-shaking roads, its putrid rice paddies. Morale dropped fast. Officers expressed contempt for the U. N. and the Truman Administration.

Today the majority of the reservists who took part in the historic Inchon invasion are home. But many are still in uniform and hence have said little about Korea. They have received no mustering-out pay; they enjoy no G. I. Bill of Rights; they have no job protection. All they have is a few medals to remind them of the nightmare they went through and the losses they suffered.

At long last an Armed Forces Committee is now trying to learn why the reserves were called to duty. On October 25 the committee released a report containing a scathing indictment of commanding officers at Camp Pendleton. "Many trainees are housed in tents without lights. . . . Service personnel often is used to take care of riding stables maintained as a 'recreational facility'. . . . Fancy golf courses are provided for officers." At Camp Lejeune the investigators discovered a directive stating, "In the future it will be looked upon with disfavor if any member of this command communicates with a member of Congress." They found a group of reservists at Camp Pendleton who had not been paid since they were recalled to active duty. These men were receiving disability allowances which they would have to give up before they could receive active-duty pay. While the investigation is being conducted, the Marine Corps is again trying to activate its reserves, but it has a tough problem on its hands. Recently a high Marine officer told a group of World War II veterans that the military had destroyed its vital reserve program for the future when it called the Marine Corps Reserve to duty.

What can Uncle Sam do to console his bitter nephews? The veterans of Korea ask only that the government do its utmost to make this the last war in a generation already bloody from two conflicts.



"I'll Take a Cold War to a Hot Truce Any Time, Joe."

Sanity Rewarded

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Paris, December 20

ON DECEMBER 13 a laconic announcement in *Le Monde* said that the shareholders of the paper had decided by a vote of 190 to 65 to retain Hubert Beuve-Méry as editor. For the past three years Beuve-Méry has been the most controversial figure in French journalism, arousing greater devotion and hatred than almost any other man. Not only was *Le Monde*—the successor of the pre-war *Temps*, a paper completely in the service of the French Foreign Office—easily the best Paris newspaper and the only one with a world reputation, but it had begun to reflect, especially since 1949, a courageous non-conformist policy often described as neutralist. This was largely the expression of Beuve-Méry's own viewpoint; neutralism is actually a misnomer. If *Le Monde* in its criticism of the Atlantic Pact in 1949 could be called neutralist, since then it has become more representative of "resistance" to the excesses of French and European "satellization," voicing a widespread national sentiment in favor of greater political and cultural independence. Its views have been sharply at variance with an official policy based largely on dollar requirements.

Since the Korean war, when Beuve-Méry realized the immense dangers of MacArthurism and certain other American trends, *Le Monde* has been the target of particularly violent attacks by the French government, rival newspapers, and Washington. The campaign increased in intensity throughout the second half of 1950 and the first half of 1951, until last summer Beuve-Méry, under a variety of combined pressures, resigned. A new editor was appointed but never took the editorial chair because at the last moment the entire editorial staff threatened to strike. Faced with this possibility, the shareholders reinstated Beuve-Méry until the middle of December, and arrangements were made to give the staff a number of shares with voting rights.

All these months the battle around Beuve-Méry has continued under the surface. But it was evident a couple of months ago that his supporters were winning, both for political and financial reasons. Attempts were made to torpedo *Le Monde* by setting up rival papers like *Paris-Presse*, but *Le Monde's* circulation was fully maintained, despite a sharp rise in price, and the paper's prestige has been unaffected. This was realized in certain government quarters, not least by the Minister of Information, Robert Buron, who was also impressed by the almost unanimous loyalty of the staff of *Le Monde* to its editor.

At the general meeting of the paper's shareholders early in December, René Courtin, representing

old-fashioned French capitalist interests and hostile currents in the Quai d'Orsay, as well as American opinion, and three other important shareholders who had conducted the campaign to oust Beuve-Méry, were hopelessly outvoted by the editorial staff and a number of other shareholders, of whom two had previously been in favor of a new editor.

The large majority obtained by Beuve-Méry was due in part to the changing world situation. Thoughts that a year ago would have been considered dangerously unorthodox are now becoming almost commonplace; even an ultra-orthodox paper like *Paris-Presse* has suddenly begun to argue against the war in Indo-China, which only *Le Monde* among "respectable" papers had dared previously to do. The impression is that the French government, or some members of it, today consider it useful from an international standpoint to have an authoritative French paper voice opinions which often cannot be conveniently voiced officially.

Although Beuve-Méry is one of the most courageous and uncompromising journalists of our time, it seems, nevertheless, as if *Le Monde* were making slight concessions to the government. Certain premises of government policy, like the utility of the European army and the Schuman Plan, it now takes for granted, when a year ago it might have been more critical. The paper is also increasingly anti-Communist, which does not, however, preclude ferocious attacks on the crazier aspects of United States policy, on unofficial phenomena like *Collier's* World War III issue, or on the recent mission of John Foster Dulles to give aid and comfort to Syngman Rhee just when hopes for an armistice were brightest. If through the pressure of events *Le Monde* has become in certain ways *conformiste*, it still seldom fails to sound the alarm when it detects some particularly dangerous symptom of drift toward war. The restoration of full authority to Beuve-Méry is a tribute to his spirit and his extraordinary vigilance for peace, which even his enemies can no longer deny.

Coming in *The Nation*

PEACE IN KOREA

AND THE PROBLEMS IT BRINGS

What happens when—and if—peace comes to Korea? *The Nation* has asked some distinguished commentators on the Far East to discuss the problems that will confront us once the fighting stops. Owen Lattimore, Lawrence K. Rosinger, Kim Yong-jeung, Arthur L. Grey, Jr., and Walter Sullivan have contributed thought-provoking analyses which will be printed in successive issues, beginning early in January.

BOOKS and the ARTS

To Fill a Wilderness

A DICTIONARY OF AMERICANISMS. Edited by Mitford M. Matthews. Two Volumes. The University of Chicago Press. \$50.

IT WOULD take a lexicographer to write a review of "A Dictionary of Americanisms"—this is only an appreciation. Lexicographers say very convincingly, in several reviews I have read, that the dictionary is a judicious, copious, and unusually excellent book. That they said so pleased me, its faithful reader: I have owned and lived with and read around in this dictionary for several months, long enough to have developed a strong patriotic feeling about it—I would hate to have anybody look down on it. But who is going to look down on a book that costs fifty dollars? a book whose two dignified black-and-blue volumes are so monumental that one is afraid either to lift them or to put them down on anything but the floor? a book that makes "Huckleberry Finn" look like one of the posthumous works of Jean Racine? I am not joking; this is the most American book that I have ever read. It contains most of the new words that we Americans invented, and most of the new meanings we found for the words that we already had; some are illustrated by tame, pleasant, informative little drawings, and all are illustrated—in the most satisfying profusion—by wild, wonderful, more than informative quotations from newspapers and magazines and books and letters and speeches. Here are our fathers in direct quotation.

These quotations have not lost their life with the years, and that life is—to us—a mixed blessing, something that both delights and disquiets. As we read these quotations we may see our nation's life as Yeats saw his own—as a preparation for something that never happened. The quotations dump us into a small new world that may seem to us older and larger than our own—a world of which we may seem to ourselves, in some sense, the dwarfed and scanty survivors. (I think that George Washington would be extremely afraid

of the traffic on the Merritt Parkway, but I think that we would be afraid of George Washington.) The people who wrote these quotations had left a good deal in Europe, and it was impossible for them to fill a wilderness with what they had kept; they made up things fast—more than anyone else has ever made up, that fast—and as they made them they looked around with the confidence of accomplishment. If they didn't have it they could get it for you. They took their chances and the chances always worked—or if they didn't, the people they didn't work for were dead and didn't get into the quotations: all *these* words, you can see from a block away, were made by the liveliest of the live, men who named the plants and animals of a new world as Adam and Eve named those of Paradise, but with less hesitation. *Never explain, never excuse*, advised one of an older and uneasier race; these people explained and excused at the top of their voices, not needing to, just wanting to—it was one more thing to do, and they did everything. But they knew that they were their own excuse for being; or would have known it if they had had to stop to think about it. I sound rhetorical, but consider what I'm writing about! It would look tame to them: "I'm all brimstone, and ride the roughest rocking horse in any three of the United States," as one of them says under *Brimstone*.

Some of them remind us, sometimes, of men from Plutarch, and this is not just because they were imitating men from Plutarch. They had escaped from the scheme of things, and had set up a new one somewhere west of the sun and west of the moon. It was a kind of fault in time, a vacation from necessity; and it is hard for their descendants to have to come back to the human condition, to Europe, to the West that they had sailed west away from, and to face across Europe those Europeans who had gone east to make another people half-European. As we and the Russians look at each other over Europe, how bitterly the Europeans must think, *No more colonies!* For Montezuma never sent an ambassador to the Vatican,

or one bomber to bases in Tripolitania; and Genghis Khan, say what you like about him, stopped a long way east of Berlin.

Philosophers talk about a very primitive but very certain form of knowing called *knowledge by acquaintance*. As I read this dictionary (it is much too good merely to look things up in, you read it, and you don't complain of any lack of plot: that it is what it is and you are what you are is plot enough) I couldn't help feeling that it is just such knowledge of America that this book gives you or reminds you that you already have. It is knowledge of an America part of which has ceased to exist; but this is the echo of all of it.

RANDALL JARRELL

An Ancient Problem

CIVIL LIBERTIES UNDER ATTACK.

Edited by Clair Wilcox. University of Pennsylvania Press. \$3.50.

CRISIS IN FREEDOM. By John C. Miller. Little, Brown and Company. \$3.50.

THE COMMUNIST PROBLEM IN AMERICA. Edited by Edward E. Palmer. Thomas Y. Crowell Company. \$3.50.

THESE three books deal with recurring aspects of an ancient problem: the reaction of organized society toward the fear of revolution—a reaction usually out of all proportion to the magnitude of the danger. That such was the case when the Alien and Sedition Laws were passed out of fear of revolutionary France is made quite clear by Professor Miller's book. That we are in danger of sacrificing our liberty because of our fear of Soviet Russia is the thesis of the articles collected under the title "Civil Liberties Under Attack." And one can draw the same inference—although perhaps it was not so intended by its editor—from Mr. Palmer's compendium.

This last book, "The Communist Problem in America," is a reprint of many interesting speeches, articles, and documents—often in slightly abridged form. It contains pieces by Marx, Lenin,

Stalin, and other exponents of communism; by Max Eastman, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., Sidney Hook, and other opponents. It includes Justice Jackson's opinion in the Taft-Hartley Communist-oath case, the report of the American Civil Liberties Union on the Peekskill riot, and President Truman's message vetoing the McCarran act. The book deals with education, freedom of assembly, labor unions, the loyalty program, and the Smith act. While the editor stresses the danger of communism, he is not altogether unaware of the danger to liberty in the effort to suppress communism. And he has reprinted some pieces which reflect that point of view, notably Professor Meiklejohn's discussion of academic freedom. Included also is a piece by Alfred Friendly that is critical of Senator McCarthy. An appendix which reprints the latest available "Guide to Subversive Organizations" put out by the Committee on Un-American Activities includes all organizations listed by eleven federal, state, or municipal agencies. There is a footnote of caution, that some of the organizations have sued for the removal of their names.

Quite different is "Civil Liberties Under Attack." This consists of lectures delivered at Swarthmore. Professor Clair Wilcox of that institution describes them as voices of common sense spoken in the midst of hysteria. Here we have a university president, a judge, and several professors, all of whom, with varying emphasis, stress the danger to the community that results when people are afraid to speak out or join associations lest they be branded as Communists. To be sure, two of the pieces do not deal with that basic issue. Professor Carr discusses the need for greater racial equality; Judge Bok charmingly describes some of the absurdities in attempts which have been made to censor literature and the arts. Professors Chafee and Gellhorn give us the distillation of their own earlier excellent books. Professor Commager meets head-on the argument that suppression is justified in the name of society by pointing out that a society with our traditions can survive only if it is free.

The most provocative piece is that by President Baxter of Williams. He upholds the right of teachers to express unpopular ideas but would dismiss

avowed Communists because of their adherence to an organization which substitutes dogmatism for the search for truth. He ignores the possibility that individual Communists might still be excellent teachers, no more willing to subordinate their integrity than anyone else holding positive views on certain subjects. But while President Baxter deplors loyalty oaths and the procedures at California, he is silent on the troublesome question of whether other efforts to find out who is a Communist are not also destructive of that atmosphere of freedom he cherishes.

Though there are casual references in some of these addresses to the Alien and Sedition Laws, the comparison of those times with our own is not drawn. But Professor Miller's book shows how nice a parallel there is. Fear of revolution in France was used as an excuse to strike at liberal ideas at home. There was a "cold" war which many believed might flare up into a shooting one. And our ancestors were repeatedly warned of what "they" had done to little democratic Switzerland. Of course there are vital differences. But is it pressing the parallel too far to suggest that just as then the hysteria subsided when French policy changed, so ours will end with any let-up in Soviet hostility?

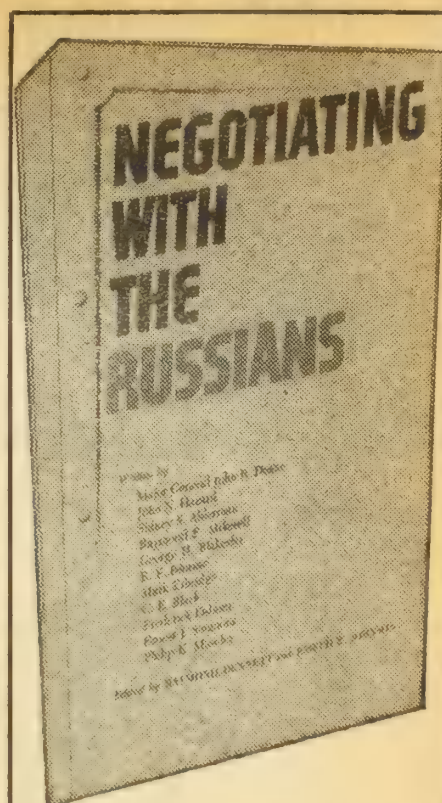
In the meantime these books may help us to preserve our sanity.

OSMOND K. FRAENKEL

Cautionary Tales

NEGOTIATING WITH THE RUSSIANS. Edited by Raymond Dennett and Joseph E. Johnson. World Peace Foundation. \$3.50.

SOONER or later, according to present theory, the United States will negotiate with the Russians from a position of superior strength. It was therefore a good idea for a number of Americans who had negotiated with the Russians to describe what it was like; and the book will be ransacked for lessons for the future. They are not far to seek. The Russians do not negotiate in the Western sense of the term. Sometimes they bargain; more often they seek to wear down the patience of the other side. Usually they understand the point at issue. This does not lead them to seek a compromise, but rather to devise some trick by which they can get



"...a primer for the inexperienced negotiator and for anyone who wants to understand the diplomacy of the U. S. S. R."

The Dallas Morning News

"Here is a discerning study of the effectiveness of various tactics in the important realm of negotiation."

The Christian Science Monitor

"Eleven men who have had experience in trying to negotiate with the Russians have pooled their experience in an exceedingly valuable book. ..."

The Indianapolis News

"...oddly humorous, wryly informing... a realistic approach to the greatest problem of our time."

New York Herald Tribune

\$3.50 at your bookstore or

**WORLD PEACE
FOUNDATION**

**40 MT. VERNON STREET
Boston 11, Mass.**

their own way. One of them defined the Russian attitude to Frederick Osborn: "Mr. Osborn, you may be sincere, but governments are never sincere." This is certainly true of the Soviet government whatever it may be of others; and any future negotiators will go wrong who do not bear it constantly in mind.

No Russian, short of Stalin, is free to negotiate: he can only state the Russian case and then refer to Moscow for instructions. This is the price which they, and everyone else, have to pay for the purges and the terror; and it is a price which will get higher every year. Certainly there have been successful negotiations in the past. The essential condition for this is not merely that the Russians should want agreement on a particular point but that they should want agreement in general. Russian diplomacy is Oriental diplomacy: it assumes that men can be ingratiated by ignoble means, and often it is not far wrong. And of course even if the men at the top ordered an agreement, those lower down would still cheat in its execution. In short, the best way to retain a high opinion of the Russians is to have no dealings with them at all, or at any rate to recognize that they live in a world of terror and suspicion which it will take generations to remove.

Still some negotiations will be inevitable, and the only point of them is that they should succeed. At least they should not make things worse than they are. Some of the writers in this book were clearly willing to show infinite patience and were not discouraged when their negotiations failed. Others hardly conceal their inclination to bang the table. The future of the world probably depends on whether American diplomacy follows the first or the second example. Those of us who compose the table in world affairs hope, though with increasing skepticism, that the Americans will not bang it. This book will, for the most part, encourage more conciliatory methods. To complete the effect, it should be followed by another symposium, written by British or French officials, on negotiating with both the Americans and the Russians; and then, best of all, a book by Russians entitled "Negotiating with the Americans." This might show that the Americans were always conciliatory, always understanding, always anxious for a

genuine compromise, never assertive that the United States was the richest and most powerful country in the world. Or, on the other hand, it might not.

A. J. P. TAYLOR

Angry Novel

WE FISHED ALL NIGHT. By Willard Motley. Appleton-Century-Crofts. \$3.75.

MR. MOTLEY'S angry novel tells the story of three poor Chicago boys who survive the war but not the post-war world. Chet Kosinski, who had attempted to escape from poverty by changing his name to Don Lockwood and acting with a little theater group, loses a leg and uses his histrionic ability and his physical disability to become a corrupt politician. Aaron Levin, a walker in the city, goes into the army only long enough to be discharged as a psycho and to "resign from the human race." Jim Norris, an over-handsome union organizer, is sexually disoriented during the war, and escapes degradation as a pervert only by sacrificing his life in a strike at the factory that is the backdrop against which all Mr. Motley's characters are seen.

Reviewers have commented favorably on Mr. Motley's characterization of Don Lockwood, which seems to me to be precisely the area of his book that exposes most sharply the weakness of his method. (There is more to be said for his portrait of Jim Norris as an honest man tormented by erotic nightmares, and there are pages where this torment is deeply affecting.) The story of the poor boy who betrays his class is already a cliché, and has been done far better by Dos Passos and others less gifted.

Actually it is harder to discover what Mr. Motley is driving at than if he had written an experimental or avant-garde novel. At times he seems to be saying that the war warped American young men, but we know now that, for a variety of reasons, our ex-soldiers of both wars have not become either nihilists or killers, not even those who have lost limbs. At other times he seems to be writing a proletarian novel, imputing the misery of his heroes to their miserable and poverty-stricken boyhoods and to the greed of a senile factory owner; but the main direction of American life has long since turned

away from that indicated by the novelists of this school.

The paradoxical truth is that while realistic novels like Mr. Motley's have a superficial correspondence to the facts of American life—so that to Europeans they probably have the quality of revelations—in actuality they express all too little of the inner quality of our existence and seem rather like the troubled utterances of writers who feel that they should have something strong and polemical to say about the ugliness of the post-war world but do not quite know what it is that they must say, or even how it should be said.

HARVEY SWADOS

The Modern Context

THE WAY BEYOND "ART"—THE WORK OF HERBERT BAYER. By Alexander Dorner. Wittenborn, Schultz. \$6.

I SHALL be sorry for those readers who fail to get from reading this book that increment of meaning and vitality to perception, to taste and judgment, to enjoyment, that these pages have in them to supply." These are the closing words of the glowing Introduction which John Dewey has supplied to Dr. Dorner's book.

It is good to find emphasis on enjoyment in art at the beginning of a book which tells us what is wrong with our customary aesthetic enjoyment. The stress on enjoyment is especially fortunate because of one important paradox which the book makes clear. Except that it is more fundamental, it might be considered one phase of the famous old hedonistic paradox that the sure way to miss pleasure in life is by its deliberate pursuit. Dr. Dorner shows that a society which allows art to become a mere recreation is no longer re-creative or capable of yielding the rich and deeply satisfying joys of visual communication. Visual communication is such a pervasive aspect of human living that unless its success is insured through the creation of new and modern forms, the enjoyment of modern life is impossible.

Human beings can only see the environment which they have. This environment happens to be modern. Even the ancient masterpieces which may be looked at in isolated splendor in the traditional museum or a private collec-

on are permeated by the context in which they now inorganically exist. The difficulty of looking at a picture is perhaps complicated by the fact that we see only by means of our past experience. But this fact also reveals how these indispensable cultural inheritances and habits can be deliberately utilized to release new creative forms. From his own rich experience as museum director Dr. Dorner suggests how such aesthetic utilization of the past can be achieved.

Because we see in the world in which we act it seems necessary that "functionalism and the new vision merge and transform each other." Dr. Dorner chooses Herbert Bayer to illustrate for us how this process can occur, and how it can achieve an inner dynamic unity—inner to the interacting process of living, not merely to an unconscious dream world of an "artist."

The extended analysis of the work of Bayer provides for the reader in part the increment to his aesthetic enjoyment to which Dewey refers in the Introduction. But as Dewey indicates, aesthetic enjoyment cannot be separated from judgment. The remainder of the book is a penetrating philosophical analysis of changing historical art forms and efforts, and of changing realities, which shows why traditional visual art standards have become inadequate for aesthetic judgment and enjoyment in the *real* relativities of the contemporary world.

Let us take only one, somewhat sophisticated, example. Attacks on the concept of causation by Dewey, Einstein, Wittgenstein, and others even less radical in their thinking do not imply that the concept has no practical utility. But the modern scientific situation definitely requires that causation take its place, along with concept of purpose, in the category of human activity. It has become an anthropomorphic fallacy to project it into the cosmos. Dr. Dorner not only succeeds in illuminating this difficult problem, but he helps us to see how, in the dynamics of modern art, cosmic causation is giving way to the "autonomous change" of process.

Forms of Marxism, as well as public-relations practices, share responsibility for degrading the concern with the cultural functions of art to an unaesthetic concern with "propaganda" effects of "art." In any case, "the way beyond

'art'" paves the road to an intelligent and aesthetic concern with the cultural functions of art. Unless they are performed by art, they will not be performed; and aesthetic enjoyment will be forgotten. It is the exceptional merit of Dr. Dorner's book that it shows how life permeated with art can become a crucial achievement of a technological and scientific age. It is up to artists, but it is also up to us.

HORACE S. FRIES

Books in Brief

THE RIDDLE OF EMILY DICKINSON. By Rebecca Patterson. Houghton Mifflin. \$4.50. Given the intensity of Emily Dickinson's personal relationships, one supposes a book like Rebecca Patterson's was bound to come along sooner or later. In brief, Mrs. Patterson constructs from Emily's friendship with Katie Anthon an "affair," complete with a bedroom scene and a rejection, that unlocks the secret of Emily's poetry, carefully guarded by her surviving relatives until Mrs. Patterson nosed it out. This edifying result is arrived at by a series of unsubstantiated hypotheses and a flagrant manipulation of the poetry to a literal or symbolical sense, depending on which at the moment best suits the author's thesis. Apart from the question of proof, the book in its handling of its subject is a model of biographical and critical ineptitude.

HITLER'S INTERPRETER. By Paul Schmidt. Macmillan. \$4. Behind-the-scenes glimpses of German diplomacy from 1935 to 1945 as observed by Hitler's chief interpreter. No revelations or deep illuminations but a good many fascinating off-guard glimpses of dictators and diplomats at work and of Hitler's techniques of negotiation.

YEARS OF MADNESS. By W. E. Woodward. Putnam. \$4. "The story of the Civil War, if truthfully told, sounds like the group experiences of a nation of madmen. In the first place, there was nothing at stake that could not have been adjusted. The proof of this is that the Union did endure and differences were adjusted. Had the South retained its voting strength in Congress during the years given over to war and Reconstruction it could have avoided the onerous and even harsh results of that

adjustment." It is, perhaps, a little less than fair to single out the passage quoted as typical of this "reappraisal of the Civil War"; nevertheless it is an example, though extreme, of the illogic and contradictions that run through a book that gives the impression of having been thrown together with considerable haste and a single-minded desire to prove the author's theory that "there is hardly anything in modern history so absolutely foolish as this war."

WILLIAM HEARD KILPATRICK: TRAIL BLAZER IN EDUCATION. By Samuel Tenenbaum. Harper and Brothers. \$4. The life and philosophy of one of America's most influential educators, whose work at Teachers College of Columbia University has profoundly affected the methods of teaching here and abroad. Dr. Tenenbaum writes vigorously and with unqualified enthusiasm.

THE PERON ERA. By Robert J. Alexander. Columbia. \$3.50. A detailed history of the Peronista regime—its background, the methods by which it seized and has held power; its relations with labor, the church, the army, and the schools; and its economic and foreign policies. An honest, sober, compact, and disturbing book.

BOOKS OF ALL KINDS FROM THE USSR

1952 Subscriptions Open for All Soviet Newspapers and Magazines

PRAVDA, IZVESTIA, in Russian
NEW TIMES, NEWS, in English
Delivered to Subscribers by Airmail
Request Complete Catalogue "Periodica-52"
Latest Soviet Records, Handicrafts
Ask for Complete Catalogue "P-51"
FOUR CONTINENT BOOK CORP.
55 W. 56 Street, N. Y. 19 Murray Hill 8-2600

Buy Your Books through THE *Nation*

Nation readers can avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price post-free if payment is received with the order, or the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C.O.D. No C.O.D.'s outside the United States. When ordering, please give name and author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to
Miss Le Pach

THE READERS' SERVICE DIVISION
20 Vesey Street New York 7, N. Y.

Drama

JOSEPH
WOOD
KRUTCH

ACCORDING to the general opinion expressed a few seasons ago, John Patrick's "The Hasty Heart" was an interesting play not quite at home on Broadway. Its subject—the gradual humanizing of a dour Scotch soldier dying in a military hospital—was not very cheerful, and the treatment in a minor key was a little too subdued for a noisy street. Contemplating Mr. Patrick's new offering, one gets the impression that he was rather too determined that no such criticisms should be made this time and that "Lo and Behold!" (Booth Theater) is a bit on the brassy side. I joined in the laughter of an audience which seemed to find it highly satisfactory, but I had always the feeling that what might have been a farce comedy with a special tone and flavor degenerated into the commonplace and was funny in mostly expected ways. Even an admirable cast, which included among others the suave Leo Carroll, the engagingly awkward Lee Grant—formerly the shoplifter in "Detective Story"—and the always dependable Doro Merande, never succeed for long in stamping it with any unique cachet.

The initial situation is unusual enough. Mr. Carroll is a famous and very cynical writer who dies serenely during the first quarter-hour of the play, leaving a will in which he provides that his house shall be kept forever vacant so that, if he should survive as a ghost, he may haunt in peaceful solitude his own beloved rooms. Shortly after arising as an astral body he discovers two disconcerting facts: (1) that empty houses are much favored by ghosts and that he can do nothing about a mad pianist, a Southern belle shot by a rejected suitor, and a smelly Indian maid, all of whom have moved in on him; (2) that a substitute maid, hired a few days before his demise has picked up enough of his Machiavellian morality to take advantage of several coincidences to claim his estate as an illegitimate daughter. For a time, until all the difficulties are happily resolved, it rather looks as though Mr. Carroll were going to spend eternity not only in very uncongenial company but also compelled to contemplate the consequences of his own amoral writings.

No doubt the moral of all this is that Machiavellianism looks better on paper than in practice, but this moral gets pretty well submerged in the farcical complications, and that is perhaps just as well. What is not just as well is the fact that these same farcical

complications among ghosts are not quite sufficiently different from those which occur in farces where the persons concerned are not, admittedly, dead. The heavy hand of the gag writer seems to be responsible for quite a good many of the laughs, and the humor of these airy spirits is seldom sufficiently airy. I am afraid that the odiousness of comparison cannot be indefinitely avoided. Like, probably, every other commentator I find myself compelled to say: "Lo and Behold" just doesn't achieve that special atmosphere which made "Blithe Spirit" seem to be, in fact rather than merely by premise, a comedy about ghosts.

"POINT OF NO RETURN" (Alvin Theater) is a sweet and sour, smart and sentimental concoction, spiked with fashionable references to anthropology. It deals with the fortunes and family life of a young man who works in a bank and aspires to be a vice-president—he gets the job. The piece is handsomely mounted. Its star is Henry Fonda, whom everybody loves and who remains Henry Fonda throughout, though his name in the play is Charles Gray. Leora Dana as Mrs. Gray is charming and convincing, and Malcolm Bryant as the anthropologist wields his abstractions with a suitable air of humorous, and impervious, omniscience. I found it amusing and boring by turns, but I suspect it will give many people the feeling that they are enjoying a serious play. It is already a hit. M. M.

FOR YOUR CONVENIENCE

The NATION

MONEY-SAVING MAGAZINE
COMBINATIONS

☐ with Harper's Magazine . . \$9.50 You Save \$2.50

The NATION

☐ with Consumer Reports . . \$10.75 You Save \$1.25

These club combinations are for one year, and may be mailed to different individuals and addresses. Remittance must accompany all combination orders.

THE NATION by itself

☐ 1 Year \$7 ☐ 2 Years \$12 ☐ 3 Years \$17

SERVICEMEN'S RATE \$5 A YEAR

Canadian and Foreign Postage \$1 a year extra.

THE NATION, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, N. Y.

- ☐ I want to subscribe to *The Nation* for _____ years.
- ☐ Remittance enclosed. ☐ Bill me.
- ☐ I enclose my remittance for the following *Nation* combinations as listed below.

NAME _____

STREET _____

CITY _____

ZONE _____

STATE _____

12/29/51

Ballet

B. H.
HAGGIN

IF Balanchine's "Apollo" in 1928 defined the new personal classical style he was to develop and elaborate in subsequent works, his "Four Temperaments" in 1947 gave us that development and elaboration at its highest point, in a much larger work filled much more densely with invention exciting in its richness and complexity, its imaginative and expressive power, its unending profusion and variety. That invention was more clearly revealed and had more impact in the New York City Ballet's recent revival, which discarded the hideous, irrelevant, and absurd cos-

tunes that had obscured it; but though no costumes were better than the bad ones, a work that is "melancholic, sanguinic, phlegmatic, and choleric" should be better with good costumes than with none. Another change was the revision of the end, which I thought increased its effectiveness.

"The Fairy's Kiss," which also was restored to the repertory, is one of the greatest of the works in which Balanchine's classical style serves his dramatic imagination and theater sense. The original conclusion has never worked at City Center; and Balanchine's experiments with substitutes continued until the very last of the recent performances, where he achieved what seemed to me exactly right: the room from which the fairy has dragged the bridegroom remains empty; the bride returns in bewildered, anguished search of him, recalls moments of her earlier happiness there with him, and slowly sinks to the ground; then the room disappears and the triumphant fairy is seen with the bridegroom for a moment before the curtain falls. Or at least it seemed right with LeClercq on the stage to communicate the bride's tragic desolation, as earlier she had communicated her sweetness and gaiety, with a force of presence and projection and a range of expressive power that amaze one anew in her every performance.

Of Balanchine's two new works, "Tyl Ulenspiegel" is a product almost entirely of his theater sense—a spectacle with magnificent scenery and costumes by Esteban Frances, an action piece with amusing incidents which are made effective by Robbins's gifts as a comedian, but almost no dancing. It is, then, a good work of its kind (and for its purpose of drawing people to the box office); but the kind—since it doesn't employ the most important of Balanchine's powers—keeps it from being a work of much consequence; and I doubt that it had much interest for him.

On the other hand I doubt that he has ever done anything he cared more about than his new version of Act 2 of "Swan Lake," which engaged all his powers, and which is one of the most beautiful and most consequential of their achievements. It engaged, first of all, his remarkable powers as a musician: what he talked most about was Tchaikovsky's music—the fact that it

had been put together with a mastery of musical construction like Stravinsky's, that it had always been played and danced to in a way which had destroyed its subtleties of accentuation and phrase-construction, and that these would now be heard in the music and seen in the dancing. Those musical powers are evident in the two pieces of music he has introduced from Act 3 and the dances he has invented for them—a brilliant pas de trois, superbly danced by Wilde with Fontaine and Jillana; and a pas de neuf which is the most enchantingly beautiful number in the entire ballet, exquisitely danced by Mounsey and the corps. His dramatic powers are evident not only in the revisions which create a clear line of dramatic meaning in the first encounter and last scene of the swan queen and the prince, but above all in his invention for the swans—their wonderfully animated entrance and first waltz, their groupings when threatened by the hunters, their hair-raising swirling and rushing at the end. And no doubt his theater sense had something to do with the magnificent scenery by Beaton.

Tallchief dances the swan queen not only with her technical perfection and brilliance but with the lovely delicacy that she has acquired in the last couple of years, and with dramatic expressiveness. The one thing her performance lacks is the projected personal presence and force that made Danilova's and Markova's the great performances they were. As for Eglevsky, he is less damaging to this work than to "Apollo" only because there is less of him.

The pied piper of Robbins's new ballet of that title is the solo clarinetist of the performance of Copland's Clarinet Concerto, who sits in a corner in the front of the bare stage, and whose playing, we are asked to believe, lures onto that stage dancers in practice clothes and impels them to dance. As it happens, the music, to my ears, is something contrived by an efficient technique out of no ideas; and so there is, for me, no lyricism in the slow first movement to produce the soaring lifts and other lyrical movements of the first pair of dancers. Neither am I able to believe in the make-believe of the violent compulsive effects of the fragmentary jazz figures of the cadenza and the second movement; and most of the re-

sulting movements that the audiences have found terribly funny I find terribly and embarrassingly cute and corny. Nor, finally, can I believe in the climactic compulsive effect of the music at the end, which is to drive the dancers frantic, and which I suspect represents a Serious Idea, this time about the Jazz Age. There were no Serious Ideas in "Fancy Free" and the wonderful ballets of "High Button Shoes" and "Look Ma, I'm Dancing"; if there had been they probably would have been no better than "The Age of Anxiety" and "The Pied Piper"—to say nothing of "Facsimile" and "The Cage."

In Tudor's "Lilac Garden," in which Kaye and Laing danced their old roles very well, LeClercq's distinction and force created, for me, the only moments of the "amplitude of meaning" that art—and dancing, like any other art—can give.

CONTRIBUTORS

RANDALL JARRELL has recently published "The Seven-League Crutches."

OSMOND K. FRAENKEL, a practicing lawyer in New York, is the author of "Our Civil Liberties."

A. J. P. TAYLOR is fellow and tutor in modern history at Magdalen College, Oxford University.

HORACE S. FRIES is professor of philosophy at the University of Wisconsin.

30% Less than List on LP Records

Send 15¢ for LP catalog to:

DISCOUNT RECORD CLUB

DEPT. N-38

Box 175, Radio City Station, New York 19, N. Y.

Add 15¢ per record postage and handling charges (50¢ minimum) 48 HOUR SHIPMENT

PULITZER PRIZE and CRITICS' FAVORITE

RICHARD RODGERS ■ OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd
present in association with
LELAND HAYWARD ■ JOSHUA LOGAN

ROGER RICO MARTHA WRIGHT IN South Pacific

Music by RICHARD RODGERS
Lyrics by OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd

Book by
OSCAR HAMMERSTEIN 2nd ■ JOSHUA LOGAN
Adapted from JAMES A. MICHENER'S Pulitzer
Prize Winning "TALK OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC"

Directed by JOSHUA LOGAN
Scenery ■ Lighting by Jo Mielziner
with MYRON MCCORMICK
MAJESTIC THEATRE, 44th St., West of B'way
Evenings 8:30. Matinees Wed. ■ Sat., 2:30

Letters to the Editors

A. F. T. Membership Restrictions

Dear Sirs: I wish to report an interesting and significant sequel to my article, Four-Point Agenda for Education, in the December 15 issue of *The Nation*. One of the four points was the recommendation that teachers join the American Federation of Teachers (A. F. of L.) as offering "the best immediate expectation of a nation-wide, autonomous union of teachers backed by millions of other skilled workers." I had been a member and local officer of the A. F. T. for about ten years, but had withdrawn for a time because of such questions as were raised in the article. In the course of writing it, however, I became convinced that, despite these questions and to be consistent with my own recommendation, I should rejoin the A. F. T.

The application form which I signed specifies that "no discrimination shall ever be shown toward individual members because of race, religious faith, or political activity or beliefs, except that no applicant whose political actions are subject to totalitarian control such as Fascist, Nazi, or Communist shall be admitted to membership."

My political actions are not and have never been subject to any form of totalitarian control. . . . On principle, however, I do question the right of organizations representing public school teachers in a democracy to exclude members of any legally recognized party, and I hold the belief that the right of dissent must be granted to any citizen of a democracy or to any member of a democratic organization. In accordance with these convictions I appended the following to my application: "I shall abide by this provision since it is sanctioned by a majority of the membership, but I shall also seek to persuade the majority that it is undesirable." There was no question of my acceptance of the central justification for the A. F. T.'s existence. . . . What I did request was simply the right to criticize while abiding by the provision, and to persuade as many as I could that its effect is likely to be injurious to the cause of academic freedom.

Yet just before publication of my article I was notified that my application for renewed membership was rejected by the Executive Board of the

Teachers Guild, New York local of the A. F. T. I appeal to members to request reconsideration of the application, as evidence of the A. F. T.'s regard for such beliefs as the right to dissent, and also as evidence that A. F. T. practice agrees with its own explicit qualifications for membership.

THEODORE BRAMELD

New York

Pleased Reader

Dear Sirs: Congratulations on the series *The Battle for Free Schools*, devoted to the exposure of the enemies, open and hidden, of education in this country.

F. L. KUNZ, Executive Officer,
Foundation for Integrated Education
New York

Misleading or . . .

Dear Sirs: The article *Quebec's Bitter Brew* in your issue of October 20 is misleading in several respects:

1. Quebec is not "Canada's greatest industrial province." The latest figures (August 18) of the official quarterly *Labour Force* give Quebec's non-agricultural labor force as 1,230,000, and Ontario's as 1,633,000; Quebec's non-agricultural "persons with jobs" as 1,203,000, Ontario's as 1,614,000; Quebec's "paid workers" (salary and wage earners, practically all non-agricultural) as 1,077,000, Ontario's as 1,489,000. On August 1 Quebec's employees in the nine leading groups of industries (forestry, mining, manufacturing, construction, transportation, storage, communication, public-utility operation, trade, finance, insurance, real estate, and service) numbered 691,483, with a total weekly pay roll of \$33,184,269.17; Ontario's numbered 1,026,059, with a total weekly pay roll of \$53,662,885.70. Quebec is ahead of Ontario in forestry (30,085 employees to Ontario's 19,305), but is behind in every other industry. In manufacturing alone Ontario leads by over 200,000 employees.

2. Mr. Montcalm's remarks on the "St. Laurent-Duplessis axis" are also inaccurate. He might just as well talk about the "Truman-Taft" or "Truman-MacArthur" axis. "Duplessis' role in the axis," says Mr. Montcalm, "is to insure that the French Canadians submit to conscription, to heavy taxation, and if necessary to foreign war." Mr.

Montcalm does not offer a tittle of evidence to support this statement. . . .

3. Mr. Montcalm says Mr. Howe "is known to the cynical as 'our American Gauleiter.'" This is news to me. He also says that "the Ottawa bosses" want to "lead it [Quebec] to war," a statement which is fantastically untrue.

Surely the suggestion that the Canadian government is one of "warmongers" ought to have put you on your guard. Or are you innocent enough to believe such tommyrot? It might be well to make a few inquiries before you print statements which well-informed Canadians know to be ridiculous.

EUGENE FORSEY,
Director of Research,
Canadian Congress of Labor
Ottawa, Canada

. . . Misled?

Dear Sirs: I have no doubt Dr. Forsey's figures on labor force are correct. But in calling Quebec Canada's greatest industrial province, I was thinking of its heavy industry, its aluminum, copper, iron, and titanium industries, its forests, its airplane manufacturing and shipbuilding, and its hydroelectric power—almost half the whole Dominion's. The point was that all this is essential to the American war effort.

As for "evidence," any newspaper would tell Dr. Forsey that the Liberal government is furnishing territory, material, and men to be used as the United States sees fit. I did not call its leaders "warmongers," but if they feel any reluctance about rearmament and the drive to war, they certainly conceal it. One tragedy of the situation is that the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation national leadership, including Dr. Forsey, accepts uncritically the Liberals' foreign policy. Provincial leaders, especially in Quebec and Saskatchewan where the C. C. F. indorsed Bevan's stand, and many of the C. C. F. rank and file oppose it.

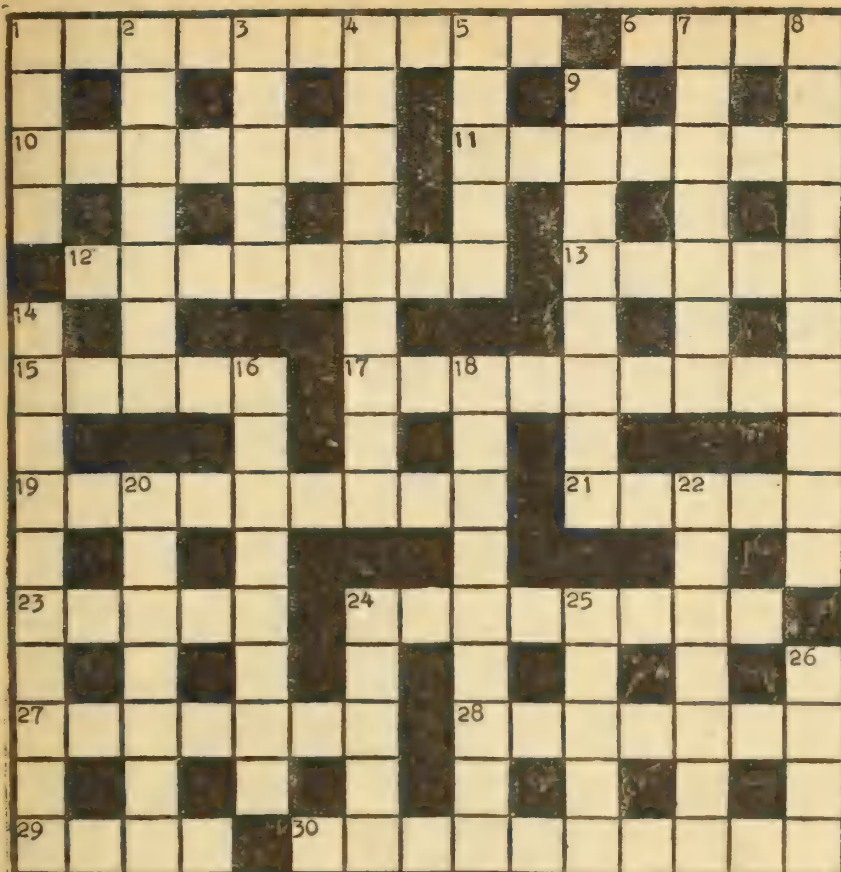
The Co-op Press, the C. C. F.'s own press agency, refutes Dr. Forsey's criticism of my statements about the St. Laurent-Duplessis axis.

About Quebec, I can only say that, like a great many English Canadians, Dr. Forsey is ill-informed on events and obviously does not follow French Canadian opinion.

HENRY MONTCALM
Montreal, Canada

Crossword Puzzle No. 445

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1, 10. Periodically, ■ Vesey Street blessed event? (3, 5, 2, 1, 6)
- 6 Take off for the out-building! (4)
- 11 See 1 across.
- 12 Grave. (7)
- 13 Manages to study tubes. (8)
- 14 Leave nothing in South America! (5)
- 15 Influx in a group of games. (5)
- 17 This makes us go white, yet we're lighter than that which does it to us. (9)
- 19 The sort that describe aren't the sort which point. (9)
- 21 and 7 down. Make sport of drums with cry of derision. (12)
- 23 The anointed are well. (5)
- 24 Change a tire before the copper is inclined not to say anything! (8)
- 27 Why the field goal didn't count? (At the start of the game, too!) (7)
- 28 Club---- for high-ranking officers that is! (7)
- 29 A jerk? Not when he's one of us! (4)
- 30 Frivolous talk is ■ sort of gripe? False! (10)

DOWN

- 1 What happens in the spring up north? (4)
- 2 Names or charms. (7)

- 3 I contended such things should be green! (5)
- 4 Counties ■ holding made possible. (9)
- 5 Nothing just as it stands could be so welcome to the thirsty. (5)
- 7 See 21 across.
- 8 Oust. (10)
- 9 Often looks sort of queer in the middle. (8)
- 14 Flying saucer pilot? (4, 6)
- 16 How one enters a two-wheel carriage? (4, 4)
- 18 One of the first things to do if trouble 15? (4, 5)
- 20 What is able to claim it's a perfect food? (4, 3)
- 22 Some things are beyond recall with it. (7)
- 24 Pilfer? All but the soft spot is misplaced! (5)
- 25 Refuse to ridicule someone. (5)
- 26 No more than ■ poetic lake. (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 444

ACROSS:—1 BREAKING GROUND; 9 HACKING; 10 ACHAFFAN; 11 NEPOTISTS; 12 HELLO; 13 THRONED; 15 HOLED UP; 16 EXTENDS; 18 TROUBLE; 20 ISSUE; 21 REPRORATE; 23 EQUALLY; 24 CLIMATE; 25 CONSIDERATIONS.

DOWN:—1 BEHIND THE TIMES; 2 ESCAPER; 3 KNITTING NEEDLES; 4 NEGUS; 5 GRASSHAT; 6 OPHTHALMOLOGIST; 7 NEEDLED; 8 INCOMPLETENESS; 14 DESTROYED; 17 TESTUDO; 19 BRAVADO; 22 PACER.

RESORTS

50 MILES TO FOREST HOUSE

Near enough for easy travel, far enough for ■ unforgettable vacation. Forest House achieves new levels of gay relaxation in inspiring surroundings. Superb food, fine accommodations, cordial hospitality. Two grand lakes. All sports.

FOREST HOUSE

Lake Mahopac, N. Y. • Tel. Mahopac 8-3449

SO NEAR! SO WONDERFUL!

Glenmere
Private Ski Tow

the GLENMERE, chester, n. y.

Phone: Chester 2151; N. Y. RE 2-5047

50 MI.
FROM
NEW YORK



MAMANASCO
Lake Lodge

RIDGEFIELD, CONN.
Phone 6-7000

A resort of distinction offering relaxation and recreation in the modern manner. Winter activities include skiing and skating on mile long lake. Excellent cuisine and accommodations. Dancing, TV, recordings, fireplaces. RATES MODERATE

PUBLISHING SERVICE

AUTHORS! Sales Department available for your short stories, articles, books and plays. Free booklet, write today! Mead Agency, 419 Fourth Avenue, N. Y. 16 (OR 9-1150).

PERSONALS

IF UNMARRIED AND MATRIMONIAL-ALLY MINDED, WOULD LIKE TO MEET SOMEONE WHO MIGHT LIKE TO MEET YOU? Write for free copyrighted pamphlet. Address Personal Introduction Service, 2112 Broadway, New York City 23.

exit loneliness

Somewhere there is someone you would like to know. Somewhere there is someone who would like to know you. We can help you find a richer, happier life through discreet, dignified 'social introductions.' Write for booklet, or phone MAY RICHARDSON Dept. TN, 111 West 72 Street New York City EN 2-2033



Advertising Rates

CLASSIFIED

74¢ a line (6 words)

Three-line minimum

CLASSIFIED DISPLAY

\$7.42 per inch (minimum)

Remittance must accompany all orders

The NATION

TWENTY VESEY STREET

New York 7, New York

BARclay 7-1066

BUY

**UNITED STATES
SAVINGS BONDS**

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

On helping young people to think for themselves

THE propagandists of orthodoxy, both of the Right and of the Left, have always made special efforts to capture and to curb the minds of students. Those of us who care about freedom must do as much to keep our viewpoint before the new generation. These considerations recently led a liberal-minded Chicago businessman to take action.

He arranged with *The Nation* to obtain a list of the valedictorians in the high schools of his city. To each of these honor students he sent a year's subscription to *The Nation*, both as a reward for scholarship and as a stimulus to further independent thinking. An honor

certificate and a letter from *The Nation's* editor, crediting the donor of the award, went to each winner.

Many other readers of *The Nation* have found merit in this idea, and have added their help to the program. We recommend it to your attention as an honorable investment in the future of freedom. Young people today are being led to believe that there is something "disloyal" about exercising their traditional American liberties. *The Nation*, as America's oldest liberal weekly, may serve as an antidote to this dangerous lie, and as an example to future voters of how to think for themselves about social and political matters.

If you would like to support such a program in your own community, *The Nation* will be happy to cooperate. Subscriptions for this purpose are available at half the usual rate, and we will attend to all the necessary arrangements.

Business Manager

THE NATION

20 Vesey Street ■ New York 7, N. Y.

Please send me complete details about your special subscription plan for Valedictorians.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ ZONE _____ STATE _____

12/29/61

